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Nongender-Specific Business Periodicals: How Do They Communicate to Women?

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NONGENDER-SPECIFIC BUSINESS PERIODICALS: HOW DO THEY COMMUNICATE TO WOMEN?

BY

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 15-20 years, women have made significant strides in becoming corporate officers, senior executives, and, increasingly, entrepreneurs. Before becoming a corporate officer was even a dream, women went to work helping the United States win World War II.

During World War II, women were strongly encouraged to go to work. Not just as seamstresses, secretaries, or nurses -- a few of the appropriate occupations for women -- but as factory workers building airplanes, bombs, tanks, and other equipment necessary to fight the battles in Europe and the Pacific. As the war escalated, women suddenly accounted for 12% of one Ford Motor Company's 93,000-member workforce (Nichols, 1994). However, after the war, women again only counted for 1% of all hourly workers in the same factory (Nichols, 1994).

What happened? How did women lose their place on the line? Plants justified laying off women by claiming that women were no longer qualified for the way the factories were retooled for car and truck production. Managers, all male, claimed that the work had changed so completely that the occupations where women had once proved themselves capable no longer existed. Bombers were riveted; cars are welded, the managers said (Nichols, 1994). As one woman who had worked on the factory line during the war put it, "During the war, they (the male managers) didn't care what kind of work we did..."(Kossoudji & Dresser, 1994, as cited in Nichols, 1994, p. 4). According to Lewis and Neville (1995), approximately 80% of women workers in war

production plants expressed an interest and desire to work in similar positions for similar wages after the war, but would have to wait.

Rosie the Riveter[1] proved her abilities, but remained a cultural enigma: a woman in a man's job. Her skills helped win World War II, but companies deemed those skills unnecessary in the fight for competitiveness that began about the time she left the factory. She would have to spend her time baking cookies, not building machinery. "Rosie was a victim of the power of definition, a demon that managerial women still struggle with today" (Nichols, 1994, p. 5).

During the next 20-25 years, women made slow gains in the business world, usually in traditional women's positions such as training or human resources. Even though more and more women have achieved managerial success, the definition of what it means to be a manager is as ingrained as the belief that the manager will be a man (Nichols, 1994). Attitudes toward women in the workplace have changed in 50 years, but a considerable number of men and women continue to define women managers because of their gender, not their abilities.

Today, women are involved in almost very field of work -- including construction and firefighting -- but the price some pay to succeed is very high. Men view work as a way to earn money and are more likely to pursue fields that lead to well-paying jobs. Women are still more likely to have less-defined job structures and view work as

1. The United States Government created the fictional "Rosie the Riveter" character encouraging women to join the workforce during World War II — years 1942 through 1945. Rosie was depicted as an attractive woman who made work outside the home patriotic rather than unfeminine. With the help of the campaign, over six million women worked in factories producing food, clothing, and munitions. When the men came back home when the war ended, women went back to primarily working in the home (http://encarta.msn.com/find/Concise.asp?ti=00BFE000). The term "Rosie the Riveter" is used to describe these women who worked outside the home. "Rosie the Riveter" first appeared on the May 29, 1943, cover of the Saturday Evening Post (Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991).

personal satisfaction (Orenstein, 2000) rather than a way to make money. Orenstein

(2000) also discovers through many interviews with women of all ages that they also reflexively factor inequality into their futures. Women, and others, assume that family responsibilities will limit both their advancement opportunities and earning potential, but not their spouse's.

As a woman in the financial services industry, in some ways a woman-friendly field, the author has encountered sexism in the form of being called "doll" and told to "go shopping" while waiting for an interview, as well as having a male co-worker explain something in sports jargon. One of the reasons the author decided to pursue this subject is that a friend subscribes to BusinessWeek, but feels that the magazine does not speak to her as a woman. Should a business magazine such as BusinessWeek address women's concerns about the workplace? Should it only report business information? How women are portrayed in business publications could be crucial to how welcomed they are into the inner-sanctums of major corporations.

Research Question

How do nongender-specific business periodicals communicate to women? This study explores this question by performing a content analysis of five business periodicals: BusinessWeek, Fast Company, Forbes, Fortune, and Inc. These periodicals are among the most widely read periodicals in the country as well as being top business-related publications.

Subsidiary Questions

The following subsidiary research questions attempt to determine how these business periodicals further affect their intended audiences, both male and female:

1. Does the content and advertisements in these business periodicals reinforce stereotypes of women?

2. Do these periodicals accurately represent women in business today?

3. Do men view women in business differently because of these periodicals?

4. When women read these magazines, what are their reactions?

5. Is there a need for gender-specific business periodicals?

The author answered these questions through content analysis, a survey, and by reviewing articles relevant to the subject.

Need for the Study

Labor force participation rates among more educated, more career-oriented women are rising as the number of baby boomers and other generations in the workforce increases. In addition, men's labor force participation rates at older ages will maintain their gradual decline (Nelson & Burke, 2000). According to a 1999 study by Catalyst (as cited in Nelson & Burke, 2000), a research group that focuses on women in the workplace, women held 11.9% of the corporate officer positions in Fortune 500 companies, up from 8.2% in 1995. When the same study was expanded to include Fortune 1000 companies, 84% of the companies have at least one woman on the board, but only 62% have female directors. If the trend toward increased representation of women in traditional and nontraditional work continues, the way these business periodicals communicate to women could help or hinder them in pursuing and succeeding.

Despite comprising almost half of today's workforce, women still have great hurdles to overcome. The author believes these five business periodicals are not just information sources, they reflect the business world, corporate and entrepreneurial, at large. Sloan and Krone (2000) note that the relationships between women and men in organizations reflect the larger "socio-historic patriarchal system" (p. 111), which these magazines can enhance or help maintain the status quo.

Magazines, and therefore business magazines, are viewed as "society's blueprints for progress in every field...defining the trends, shaping the future, proclaiming what's next for all the ways we work and live" ("Magazines: Branding the information age," 2000, p. 6). By that standard, these five business magazines influence how society and organizations view women in the workplace and affect workplace relations between women and men. The supplement also claims that leaders read magazines because they offer important information and the necessary information to make a difference in the business world. "People don't just read magazines, they use them to help their careers and better their lives" ("Magazines: Branding the information age," 2000, p. 6).

Substantial research has been conducted about how the media portray women in television shows, movies, advertising, and women's magazines. However, the author located little research that focuses on how women are communicated to in widely read business publications. Since women and men read the periodicals in this study, and because these periodicals influence society's perception of women in the workplace, research should be conducted. McShane (1995), who studied four business magazines (two American -- which are included in this study -- and two Canadian), concludes:

> Business magazines have received little scholarly attention, even though
> some of these publications have circulation numbers approaching one
> million in the United States and 300,000 in Canada, and are among the
> most important new media read by business and government leaders. (p.
> 192)

In 2000, the average adult spent 15 minutes per day reading business and trade publications (Busines Media Intelligence, 2000, p. 1). In addition, nearly one-half (47%) of the daily readers of business and trade publications are female; approximately 37.2

million women (Busines Media Intelligence, 2000, p. 2). These significant statistics

justify the importance of studying business publications.

<div align="center">Definition of Terms</div>

1. <u>Nongender-specific business periodicals</u>: Periodicals that provide business

information that is not targeted to a particular gender.

2. <u>Gender-specific business periodicals</u>: Periodicals that provide business

information that is directed to one particular gender, such as <u>Working Woman</u> and

<u>Working Mother</u>. A distinction is made between nongender-specific and gender-specific

periodicals in this study because nongender-specific periodicals provide information that

is relevant to all people in business, not just a specific (female) audience. One of the

goals of this study is to determine if women still need gender-specific periodicals

available to them.

3. <u>Content analysis</u>: A content analysis is any review of communication. verbal

or written, in any form -- radio conversations, poetry, newspaper articles, advertising,

magazines, or television. Content analysis can be quantitative or qualitative. Fico, Lacy,

and Riffe (1994) define quantitative content analysis as:

> The systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which
>
> have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the
>
> analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, in order
>
> to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from
>
> the communication to its, both of production and consumption. (p. 20)

Fico et al. (1994) provides definitions of content analysis from several researchers

including a very basic definition of content analysis as a "research method that uses a set

of procedures to make valid inferences from text" (Weber, 1990, as cited on p. 18).

Qualitative content analysis can be used, but since content analysis in general is criticized for being subjective rather than being objective, quantitative content analysis is preferred. More information about this topic follows in Chapter III.

4. <u>Feminist (Feminism)</u>: The belief by some women and some men that women should have economic, social and political equality and freedom.

5. <u>Gender</u>: "A pervasive identity and set of self-feelings that affect <u>all</u> social roles. As such, gender is part of a complex set of interrelationships that structure <u>every</u> social interaction" (Robinson, 1994, p. 194).

6. <u>Gendered values</u>: These are values associated with a particular gender. Women are associated with values such as "collaboration, sharing, and connection..." (Sloan & Krone, 2000, p. 112). Men are associated with values such as "competition, control, and independence, which have been idealized" (Sloan & Krone, 2000, p. 111). These gender values hinder women's advancement.

7. <u>Reliability</u>: Refers to the "stability, reproducibility, and accuracy" (Levine-Donnerstein & Potter, 1999, p. 270) of the results of a content analysis research project or any research project.

8. <u>Validity</u>: Refers to the accuracy and interpretation of the results of any research study, in this case content analysis.

9. <u>Glass ceiling</u>: Refers to the barriers placed on women and minorities attempting to advance to top executive positions. They can see the opportunities, yet are not able to advance into those roles. In Oakley (2000), the Glass Ceiling is defined as:

> A transparent barrier which prevents women from moving up the
>
> corporate ladder past a certain point...The glass ceiling is not one ceiling

or wall in one spot, but rather many varied and pervasive forms of gender

bias that occur frequently in both overt and covert ways. (p. 321)

The United States Department of Labor created a Federal Glass Ceiling Commission to

study the barriers that exclude women and minorities from equal opportunity.

10. Semiotics: The study of signs and symbols.

11. Double Bind: Women in the business world continue to have to prove they

can be managers -- tough-minded and analytical, yet also have to prove they are still

feminine so male managers will not feel intimidated by them. Women who are perceived

as too feminine, however, may be considered ineffective, while women who are too

masculine may be perceived as too aggressive (Orenstein, 2000). This double bind

places women in a no-win situation at work.

<div align="center">Limitations</div>

Publications Selected For the Study

The Association of Business Publishers (ABP) (as cited in Tebbel &

Zuckerman, 1991) describes the business press as:

> Independent, specialized periodicals of a business, technical, scientific,
>
> professional, or marketing nature, published in either a magazine or
>
> newspaper format and issued in regularly specified frequencies to serve
>
> special fields of private or public enterprise and not directed to the public
>
> at large. (p. 346)

The author further discusses why these five publications were chosen as the

prototypes of nongender-specific business periodicals in the design of the study section.

To use all of the magazines that call themselves "business magazines" increases

the size of the research population, but may not increase the accuracy of the research

results. The selected magazines, <u>Fast Company</u>, <u>Fortune</u>, <u>Forbes</u>, <u>BusinessWeek</u>, and <u>Inc.</u> are more general in content than the definition given by the ABP, but contain more specific business information than other consumer and general interest magazines such as <u>Time</u> and <u>Newsweek</u>. Time, Inc. publishes a magazine for small business owners, <u>Fortune Small Business</u>, but is not included in this study. <u>Forbes FYI</u> and <u>Forbes ASAP</u>, <u>Forbes</u>' specialty magazines, also are not included in this study.

Trade publications, to which the more specific ABP definition applies, target readers in specific industries such as Human Resouces or Management. <u>Business 2.0</u> and <u>The Industry Standard</u> are trade publications for the New Economy and technology. The publications included in the trade publication category communicate to people in the investment community, telecommunications industry, advertising industry, etc, rather than providing general business information.

Content Analysis as a Research Method

Reliability and validity in communication research are two very important goals of any research project and just as important in content analysis. There are two basic types of content analysis: quantitative and qualitative (Fico Lacy, Riffe, 1994). These two methods vary in how information is reviewed and recorded. More information about content analysis is provided in Chapter III.

Feminist Research Methodology

Research about feminist and women's issues has long been criticized in academic circles for not being scientific and therefore invalid as a legitimate research subject. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, academic research began focusing on gender and it

appeared across many disciplines such as psychology and sociology (Kitch, 1997). This coincided with new studies that looked at how women are portrayed in many types of media: advertising (print and television), movies, books, and television, and women's magazines.

Much of women's research comes from speaking with women and letting them tell their stories instead of empirical scientific research that is prevalent in psychology and the sciences (Dallimore, 1999). Reliability and validity bring credibility to empirical and scientific research ensuring that results can be reproduced and tested in different settings. Additional information about feminist research is provided in Chapter III.

Lack of Specific Research

While the author gathered quite a lot of information about women in the workplace and media research about women, very few of the articles specific to the thesis topic were found. Most of the information is about related subjects such as content analysis, feminist research, and information about women as managers. Journal articles as well as articles from the Internet and consumer magazines are reviewed. The research used is from 1990 and later. Studies of how women are portrayed by the media and women in the workplace have been done for 30 years, and while significant, the author wants to present the most recent information to provide relevance.

Scope

This subject of this thesis is limited to discussing the portrayal of women in current business magazines, any woman, but not necessarily minority women. Some of the research located mentions ways in which the glass ceiling and a double bind of a different kind affect the advancement of minorities in corporations, but does not explore how it affects minorities.

Chapter II

WOMEN IN BUSINESS TODAY: WHAT THE LITERATURE SHARES

When a substantial number of women began to enter the corporate world as managers in the late 1960s and early 1970s, very few expected to pursue a career path leading to a senior management position. Affirmative action programs and corporate policies promoting women to senior management (any level of senior management) positions did not exist, making the first generation of women managers even more wary of setting these goals (Oakley, 2000). In spite of this, women have made tremendous gains in the business world -- 46% participation rate in the workforce (Catalyst Research, 1999), 9.1 million women-owned businesses (Edley, 2000), and three CEOs of <u>Fortune</u> 500 companies (Nelson & Burke, 1999).

Despite these positive statistics, rising to senior-level positions within corporations has been slow. In a 1992 survey of CEOs in U.S. firms (Oakley, 2000), only 2% (out of 201 total) considered it likely that their company would have a female CEO within the next decade. This indicates that the forces that hold the glass ceiling intact are still very strong when it comes to women ascending to the CEO position (Oakley, 2000). Eyring and Stead (1998) present the following statistics in their article to illustrate that a lack of women in senior corporate positions remains:

1. Only 5% of the nation's big six accounting firms' partners are women.

2. Of the 1,000 largest U.S. companies, women represent only 16.9% of more than 31,000 managers.

3. Men outnumber women as executive vice-presidents by three to one.

4. Five hundred women hold 721 (6.2%) of the 11,715 board seats.

5. Men average 50% more compensation (includes salary and other perks) for similar positions.

6. Women occupy less than 3% of the top-level jobs in the largest U.S. corporations.

7. At the current rate of increase in executive women, it will take until the year 2466 -- or over 450 years -- to reach equality with executive men. (p. 246) Nelson and Burke (2000) also find that in 1999, only 11.9% of Fortune 500 companies had women in corporate executive positions.

<div align="center">Barriers to Top Corporate Positions</div>

In 1995, Catalyst (as cited in Nelson & Burke, 2000; Oakley, 2000) surveyed 461 senior female executives (vice presidents and above) and 325 male CEOs of Fortune 1000 companies. The survey asked their feelings about why so few women were rising to senior leadership positions and what barriers were most important in preventing their promotion. Between 49% and 52% of the women felt that male stereotyping of women and women's exclusion from informal communication networks persisted at the top levels of corporations. The male CEOs' top two reasons there were so few women in top corporate positions were: (a) a lack of line or general management experience and (b) the scarcity of women in the executive pipeline (Oakley, 2000). The disparity in perceptions as to how women are regarded in corporate situations indicates that women still have a long way to go before they truly feel included in the executive suite.

When asked in the same survey about whether opportunities for women to advance to senior leadership positions had "greatly improved" during the past 5 years, nearly half of the male CEOs answered that there was a great improvement. However, only 23% of the female respondents felt there had been great improvement. Women

executives, especially CEOs, are extremely rare in large corporations throughout the world although women comprise approximately 40% of all managers. In the largest companies, women hold less than 0.5% of the highest paid management jobs (Oakley, 2000). Corporations have recently become more aware of the under-representation of women in top positions in the corporate world and this has prompted many corporations to review their policies and practices and often place one or more woman on their board of trustees. Multinational firms are also seeking to promote more women into senior management positions (Oakley, 2000).

One barrier women have had to break to gain access to top corporate positions is the glass ceiling. The glass ceiling describes the limits placed on women's rise to power over the past 20 years and still applies today. "The glass ceiling is not one ceiling or wall in one spot, but rather many varied and pervasive forms of gender bias that occur frequently in both overt and covert ways" (Oakley, 2000, p. 321). Glass ceilings are also visible to those whose careers have been affected by it. Statistics reveal a great disparity in the percentage of women and minorities who have taken the same educational paths as their white male counterparts, but have not had the same opportunities for advancement (Eyring & Stead, 1998). A woman interviewed by Orenstein (2000) relates that her current boss said that if anyone could shatter the glass ceiling, it would be her. She says this with pride, but asserts, "That's also proof positive that it still exists" (p. 49).

Orenstein (2000) spent 4 years interviewing 200 women between the ages of 25 and 45, both alone and in small groups, to get a sense of the key pressures they faced. These women are in what is defined as "early adulthood," the time when one sets up one's career and makes decisions about love, sex, marriage, and childbearing. She asked for volunteers when she gave talks, attended meetings of women's professional associations,

advertised in community newsletters and on e-mail lists. She even spoke to women in restaurants and on airplanes. It was not a scientific process, but used the same process that was used in Sloan and Krone (2000) to find study participants. Sociologists call this the snowball method -- and it yielded broad results for both researchers.

Sloan and Krone (2000) began their snowball efforts by asking key individuals to suggest women in management positions who might be interested in being interviewed about women and leadership. Sloan and Krone (2000) continued in this fashion until they found 30 interviewees and felt satisfied that their efforts had reached "sampling to the point of redundancy" (Patton, 1990, as cited in Sloan & Krone, 2000, p. 114). The interviewing process was much more scientific in Sloan and Krone (2000) since the researchers asked the interviewees the same questions and received a consensus of answers. Orenstein (2000) asked different questions based on where the women were in their careers and family life rather than asking the same questions to all of the respondents.

In Orenstein (2000), the women spanned ethnic, regional, religious, and racial lines. They were single, divorced, married, and lesbian; women with and without children; working, stay-at-home, and single mothers as well as women trying to become pregnant on their own; women in elite, previously male-dominated professions such as law, medicine and finance, as well as those in more conventionally feminine fields such as teaching, clerical work, and nursing.

Most, but not all, of the women interviewed had graduated from college, which was significant. A college education is crucial to the architecture of a female self: Women with bachelor degrees report a greater sense of agency and enhanced feelings of potential than less educated women (Orenstein, 2000). All of the women were currently

in the broad swath considered middle class -- the group a well known woman author called these women "pacesetters" -- although they were raised in blue-collar homes or in poverty (Orenstein, 2000). They had grown up all over the country, but at the time of the interviews, lived on the east (NYC, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C) and west (L.A., Portland, and San Francisco Bay area) coasts or in the Midwest (Minneapolis, Chicago, and rural South Dakota).

What are some of the other factors (perceived or real) that are keeping women from attaining these highest corporate positions? Throughout the research some of the factors found are women feeling their voices are silenced, women continuing to feel in a double bind about their roles as managers, and women's feelings about power. Few of these factors have little to do with the largest problem: managing a work/life balance that allows women to do their job and be a part of their family's lives without having to sacrifice one for the other.

Oakley (2000) presents two distinct ways that corporations keep women out of senior management positions:

1. Barriers created by corporate practice, barriers stem from objective and therefore easier to change causes of gender imbalance that often tend to favor the recruitment, retention, and promotion of males over females, especially in jobs that comprise the typical career paths of a future senior manager.

2. Behavioral and cultural causes are rooted in explanations that revolve around issues of stereotyping, tokenism, power, preferred leadership styles, and the psychodynamics of male/female relations. (p. 322)

Historical View of Women as Managers

Historical views of managers contribute to what it means to be a woman in a corporation. In the early 1900s, the scientific management style emphasized routine, order, and analysis. "The very design of organizations thus was oriented towards and assumed to be capable of suppressing irrationality, personality, and emotionality" (Young, 1998, p. 21). Nichols (1994) reports that early professional managers defined themselves by establishing expertise in the scientific methods of management. These managerial methods continue to be labeled "masculine" because they represent characteristics our society attributes to men. These attributes are: tough-minded approaches to problems; the ability to set aside personal and emotional considerations in the interest of completing a task; the ability to analyze, abstract, and plan; and the intellectual superiority to solve problems and make decisions (Nichols, 1994). A 1965 Harvard Business Review (as cited by Nichols, 1994) study found that 32% of the respondents believed that "a woman's fundamental biological makeup makes her unfit for a managerial role" (p. 5).

A new organizational model advocated a more humanistic approach to management by emphasizing communication and cooperation; management styles often associated with women. This model was established in the 1930s in response to the "logical" approach of scientific management. However, organizations changed very little despite this innovative approach. "Through patriarchy and the maintenance of patriarchal value systems, Western society has emphasized male values, and these have shaped its organizations, cultural norms, language, and so on. Female forms are relatively devalued, underdeveloped, and muted" (Marshall, 1993, as cited in Young, 1998, p. 21).

The first women managers tried to incorporate the masculine traits of self-reliance, aggressiveness, arrogance, and dominance to gain access to management

positions (Nichols, 1994). They also tried to use sports metaphors to fit in. Neither approach worked. Male managers felt that the women were too aggressive, arrogant, and self-reliant and women did not gain any points of acceptance from their male counterparts. Also, they could not disguise the fact that they were the ones who got pregnant. As a result, the Mommy Track was created (Nichols, 1994). This track divided women who were of childbearing years into two groups: one group focused on moving up the corporate ladder, and the other group focused on having babies and not having a career.

Recently, much has been reported about the "special" abilities of women managers. As early as 1990, they were touted in Sally Helgeson's book, The Female Advantage (as cited in Nichols, 1994):

> As women's leadership qualities come to play a more dominant role in the
> public sphere, their particular aptitudes for long-term negotiating, analytic
> listening, and creating an ambiance in which people's work with zest and
> spirit will help reconcile the split between the ideals of being efficient and
> being humane. This integration of female values is already producing a
> more collaborative kind of leadership, and changing the very ideal of what
> strong leadership actually is. (p. 7)

This new management style sounds promising, but it may further keep women in roles of nurturing and more traditional roles (Nichols, 1994). Gendered values such as collaboration, sharing, and connection define helper or subordinate (Sloan & Krone, 2000) and thus further devalue women's roles. Plus, these attributes are considered by many in business to be weak and ineffective.

Many companies are adopting a more "feminine" approach as the workplace changes. However, by overvaluing the "new" women's way of managing -- more compassion, communication and cooperation -- this approach may help to stereotype women as managers who use a feminine style. There are women managers who do not use a more "feminine" style of management and this could further enlarge the gap between what characteristics define a good manager. This adoption of soft skills does not make women as managers or their style of management better, just different (Orenstein, 2000).

<div align="center">Double Binds</div>

Through narrow definitions of what it means to be a manager, women have found themselves in a double bind. Double binds are representative of the second part of Oakley's theory: they are a result of our culture rather than corporate policy. A double bind occurs when women in leadership positions must be tough and authoritative (like men) to be taken seriously, but if they act too aggressively, they will be perceived as "bitches." Yet if they are too feminine, they are seen as ineffectual and incompetent (Nichols, 1994; Oakley, 2000; Orenstein, 2000).

Reporters often describe high-ranking women in politics with terms that carry negative connotations, carrying the notion of double binds into that arena as well. A leading national newspaper (as cited in Oakley, 2000) described former Canadian Prime Minister Kim Campbell as "brittle, defensive, and haughty," and former Prime Minister of England Margaret Thatcher is known as the "Iron Lady" (p. 325). The existence of toughness and femininity in one personality are difficult qualities for our culture to reconcile and digest.

Former First Lady and current U.S. Senator from New York, Hillary R. Clinton was loudly criticized for her active role in her husband's presidency. She was criticized because she did not bake cookies and because she was an integral part of her husband's presidency. She was also criticized for her hairstyle and clothing choices. Even Katherine Harris, Florida's Secretary of State, was criticized for her personal appearance during November 2000's election aftermath.

An interviewee in Orenstein (2000) talks about her experiences.

I've noticed that women who think about the fact that they are women have a harder time. They expect more obstacles against them and so they see more. And most don't succeed. The ones who do don't think of themselves as women first. Some women try to take everything that's feminine and erase it. Or they'll swear a lot. Men recognize women who are doing that and they don't like it. If they're going to deal with a woman, they want her to be a woman. They may be uncomfortable with you being there at all, but it's worse if you pretend to be a man. (p. 51)

Double binds often present themselves to women executives as challenges or obstacles to surmount, but may be disguised and are not usually articulated. But challenges like speaking assertively but not too assertively, dressing "like a woman" but not dressing "too feminine" can only serve to provoke needless self-monitoring and self-consciousness, and drain energy away from the really important tasks at hand if women take the double bind too seriously (Oakley, 2000). As a result of these double binds women begin to doubt their abilities.

The hardest part of being a woman in charge of a men's (sic) business was changing my own stereotypes....It took me 10 years of working in the lab

to change my view of what I can accomplish and ask for a transfer to manufacturing. (Nelson & Burke, 2000, ¶ 13)

Informal and Formal Communication Networks

Women in the Catalyst study cited in Oakley (2000) felt they were excluded from the informal networks of their workplace, thus not being included in a vital part of the corporate organization. However, in Young's (1998) study, informal communication networks help women cope when their bosses negate their voices.

Young (1998) studies five women (out of 50 in the company) of various ages, professions, and levels in one company. All of the women felt they did not have a voice in the formal communication networks within their organization so they created their own informal networks. The author of this study was a former employee of the company as well as an outside consultant and was very familiar with its policies and attitudes. In addition to research about organizations and bureaucracies, each woman was interviewed individually to learn about personal experiences. Unobtrusive observation of each participant was also conducted to gain first-hand knowledge of the formal and informal communication networks at the company.

The women in the study had to find alternate ways to communicate information rather than relying on formal communication networks that seemed to work well for men. In one case, a woman was reprimanded for using superlatives to describe one of her staff members. The president promptly informed her not to continue in this manner because "it will come back to haunt you" (Young, 1998, p. 25). Despite disagreeing with this statement, the woman did not voice her opinion. "What he says goes. That's just the way it is. The more your say, the more you are chastised. Besides, I did not want to mouth off to my superior" (Young, 1998, p. 25). Another episode occurred when a dean yelled

at a woman about a decision made by the Academic Standard Committee. He demanded that she change the decision made by the group. When she explained that she alone could not reverse the decision made by the committee, the dean stormed out of the office in the middle of her sentence (Young, 1998). Young (1998) suggests that these and other episodes "demonstrate a deliberate dismissal or shutting off of the employee by a superior. They also illustrate that the freedom to respond is inhibited by a necessity to maintain the predetermined rules, norms, and expectancies appropriate for the bureaucracy" (p. 26). Young (1998) does not specify if male co-workers are subject to the same attitudes from the dean and others in management.

As a result of a dismissal by a superior, all of the women confided in at least one other person their feelings about the silencing incidents. They all felt it was helpful to confide in someone for support. In this way, the informal network of this organization actually encouraged a sense of trust among the employees.

Since the informal network is spontaneous and unregulated, it may serve as an outlet for bureaucratic injustices and as a resource to compensate for the formal communication structure's shortcomings. To recognize informal communication networks as resource outlets, it is important to recognize how bureaucracies are problematic (Young, 1998). In some women-owned businesses, owners do not listen to their female employees (Edley, 2000) so it is not a problem specific to large bureaucracies.

Information has always been a way to control the power of others. When women are excluded from formal and some of the informal communication networks in bureaucracies, their power is undermined and limited. Young (1998) asserts that male-dominated values of competition and control are so commonplace in organizations that

they are often taken for granted or incorrectly viewed as gender-neutral. This bias, whether disregarded, ignored, or overlooked, devalues women's voices in the organization. Bureaucracies tend to foster isolation by perpetuating the muteness of its employees, often leaving employees without a sense of control over their situation. Women in male-dominated occupations are highly susceptible to social isolation.

> Bureaucracies separate people from one another in their activities and from themselves in their roles; our lives are fragmented into partial actions and needs…and our dependency on the very organizations that spawn this fragmentation is perpetuated…Persistent isolation (as opposed to the deliberate seeking of aloneness for reflection) leaves us (women) mute and immobilized. (Young, 1998, p. 21)

Because the male values of separation, individual autonomy, distance, and detachment are prized in bureaucratic organizations, women who do not share these sentiments may find themselves excluded from organizational discourse and structure (Young, 1998). The women in Young (1998) used the informal communication networks to come together and listen to each other when their voices were not valued in formal networks.

Young (1998) also says that bureaucracies purposely and inadvertently control the formal communication network that is not timely in its informational content, deals primarily with routine matters, and sometimes does not make distinctions among specific events. By monopolizing information, bureaucracies are able to control which information will be delivered, how it is delivered, and when it is delivered (Young, 1998). This manipulation and "the lack of communication may intensify feelings of victimization" (Silver & Workman, 1980, as cited in Young, 1998, p. 21). Also, a lack of

access to information in one's work environment can retard the socialization process and impair one's ability to succeed. Again, because formal structures determine how, when, where, and to whom information will be dispersed, they can also control who will succeed. This type of information control promotes dependency on bureaucracies and the formal communication networks that may or may not be accurate (Young, 1998).

As women become a larger part of corporate and, especially, executive life, they will need to find ways to include themselves in organizational discourse and structure and to find ways to procure the information needed to perform their jobs successfully. Men have informal networks such as the "Old Boys' Club" that helps other men up the corporate ladder.

The Old Boys' Club transfers the competition and power advantages in the formal structure onto friendship patterns and alliances within the informal system, such as playing golf, going out after work for a drink, and going to strip clubs to do business. The network functions as an efficient way to reinforce a system of obligations and reciprocations among its members (Oakley, 2000). Since women have been in the workplace for a relatively short period of time, their networks are fewer and less defined than the Old Boys' Club is. Women have formed networking groups, but these groups tend occur less spontaneously and be more formal. Some companies have developed various strategies such as creating special networking groups for women (Eyring & Stead, 1998).

Women are also kept from making these networks work because of the need to pick up children from daycare or have other responsibilities. Some female executives want to help other women up the corporate ladder, and some women do not give women extra help. A female CEO of Ogilvy & Mather prohibited anyone who worked part-time

from becoming a senior partner in the firm, infuriating working mothers (Orenstein, 2000).

In response to the controlling nature of bureaucracies as well as a new era of corporate downsizing there has been a large increase in people working in small, women-owned businesses. Studies show that 35% more people work for these small businesses in the United States than work for the entire Fortune 500 worldwide. Another study shows that women-owned companies make up 36% of all companies, making them a significant economic force in America (Edley, 2000). The number of women-owned businesses has risen from 0.7 million in 1977 to 4.1 million in 1987, to 9.1 million in 1999 (Catalyst, 2000).

"If this woman-owned business phenomenon is impacting the business landscape, then it stands to reason that we need to examine systematically what working within such businesses is like" (Edley, 2000, p. 273). If it is true that women manage differently than men, in a more cooperative, communicative, and compassionate way, then women workers in all-women operated businesses should not feel excluded, devalued, and their voices should not be muted. In Edley (2000), a woman-owned business was studied to learn the day-to-day communication processes in a woman-owned and operated interior design firm. To gain in-depth information, the researcher became an employee of the 10-person design firm working 6 months alongside her research subjects; a respected part of feminist research methodology (Dallimore, 2000). In addition to working at the design firm, the researcher conducted interviews with the owners and employees of the firm. The 10 women in the firm came from various backgrounds, religions, socioeconomic class, marital status, and education providing a wide range of experiences from which to draw. A few men worked as warehouse/delivery people.

Nan's Interiors (the fictional name of the design firm used to study communication and power in a woman-owned business) was founded by Nan, who, at the time the firm was established, was a young mother "struggling to support her family" (Edley, 2000, p. 285). When Nan hires each woman she repeats the story and she establishes the design firm as part of a myth of the ideal workplace for women to create a culture of control (Edley, 2000). Nan and her associate Melissa, who is poised to take over the business, reproduce the culture of control through disciplinary power. The employees reproduce this concept of control by buying into the myth of the perfect workplace for women and by perpetuating the myth through their communication with each other and with Nan. When one woman began working at the firm she was very excited.

> [When I started working] here I thought, "Wow, a company of women."
> They'll certainly be different, you know. It has got to be different. And in
> a lot of ways it is because they understand my situation with my children,
> and they're flexible in that way. (Edley, 2000, p. 286)

All of the women, in fact, agreed that they could not work in an environment that was not caring and understanding and flexible. However, the women received contradictory messages.

In particular, Nan seemed vehemently opposed to the emphasis placed on being woman-friendly and family-friendly. Although employees willingly covered jobs for each other, Nan had problems if designers missed a few days of work. One time, Nan gave the employee who said the glowing things about Nan's Interiors "a hard time" when she missed a week of work because her small children were ill with bronchitis and the employee had pneumonia. Nan quizzes

job candidates about their potential for missing work if their children are sick and asked one potential employee if she planned to have children. She also hires married women because they had husbands and could afford to be paid less. Nan's employees, however, tolerate the contradiction between the founder's folklore around creating a women-friendly business and her communication actions (Edley, 2000).

The employees silence themselves to be seen as team players, achieve job autonomy, and also gain a sense of voice to exert their own power (Edley, 2000). However, the employees at Nan's Interiors cannot express their opposition to the policies or autocratic decisions made by the owners similar to the women in Young's (1998) study. Instead, employees silence their voices of dissent to avoid being labeled deviant, which could lead to any number of "undesirable consequences" (Edley, 2000, p. 292). For example, an employee who is considered deviant is publicly humiliated in weekly meetings and is subject to close supervision and other actions that take her "out of the loop" of getting jobs for a while. If an employee expressed dissatisfaction with the firm, it is considered a part of premenstrual syndrome (PMS) or as a part of the emotional nature of women (Edley, 2000). Using PMS and their emotionality, these women legitimize their complaint, but really devalue their feelings and voices (Edley, 2000).

This study reflects that this female-dominated organization has created ways to silence women voices. Nan propagates the myth that her company being run by a woman with women as key employees will be more women- and family-friendly. However, it is still an organization functioning in and influenced by a patriarchal social structure (Edley, 2000). The women who work at Nan's Interiors have found their own informal networks to help them function within the formal communication network Nan has structured.

When the women in the Catalyst study (as cited in Nelson & Burke, 2000; Oakley, 2000) say they are not part of informal communication networks that would help promote them, the author believes they are referring to not being a part of the Old Boys' Club where deals and work are discussed in a nonwork environment. Also, women may too busy trying to be perfect managers and they fail to become involved in corporate politics that revolve around the corporate grapevine.

Women and Power

Young women may dream of power, prestige, and financial security, but often they feel more authentic pursuing "helping" professions and "meaningful" careers such as social work, nonprofit, or teaching (Orenstein, 2000). Although more and more women are getting their MBAs, many are not staying in the high-powered occupations for which they are trained.

By midlife, most of the women interviewed in Orenstein (2000) defined power differently than men, in a way that was more conventionally feminine: They were less comfortable with establishing dominance and more focused on influence and personal autonomy. One woman commented:

> Oh, I want power. I like power. I want to be the one telling people what
> to do rather than being told. I want to be a decision-maker. Not that I
> have to be at the top top, but I like to be in control of my work.
> (Orenstein, 2000, p. 218)

When women combine the need for power with self-determination, along with the barriers to advancement women face, the explanation of the much-touted recent boom in female entrepreneurs is made clear. "I didn't want to work under someone. I have the

personality that as soon as someone tells me what to do, I just start boiling. I need to be the decision maker" (Orenstein, 2000, p. 218), so she is her own boss.

Research on women in leadership roles shows that women are actually more likely than men to express strong needs for power. However, when some of the women interviewed in Orenstein (2000) were asked about power, they squirmed, and sometimes admitted they felt that acquiring power was vaguely unfeminine -- unless it was being used for "the greater good" of a company or society. Women were equally conflicted about power in others, often subtly keeping one another in check. The women in Edley (2000) kept each other in check by helping each other out and by using language that reinforced Nan's power structure.

Wage Gap

According to a woman economist, just one in six of today's middle-aged, college-educated women with children can claim career success when "success" is defined merely as earning more than the lowest 25% of college-educated men. In contrast, 75% of male college graduates hit that mark (Orenstein, 2000).

The wage gap between women and men is a barrier controlled by the corporation, and is not as subjective as the double bind or issues about power. While the gap has almost matched men's as a ratio to men's earnings at one time, the gap has widened again, and it hinders women's ascension to senior management positions.

A 1999 Bureau of Labor Statistics Report found that the average female wage for all full-time workers over 16 years of age as a percentage of male salaries was 76.5%. However, when specific occupations are examined, the discrepancy is larger in many cases. In the Executive/Administrator/Manager category, women earned only 67.5% of what males earned. A few of the occupations where women earn upwards of 92% of

what men earn are Cashier (92.9%), Sales workers in furniture and home furnishings (92.7%), Data-entry keyers (96.9%), Mail clerks (92.2%), Bartenders (100.1%), Miscellaneous food preparers (101.3%), Waiter/Waitress assistants (97.2%), and Mechanics and repairers (95.2%). These are low paying, low-prestige jobs for men and women.

The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor (1999) also reported the top 20 occupations of employed women over 16 years of age and their salaries in relationship to men's. The only job where women and men make nearly the same salary is as registered nurse -- women make 94.4% of a man's salary. Other information in the same report shows shows the top 20 jobs held by men -- detailing a man's wage as a percentage of a woman's wage in the same position. Men make 108% of what women earn in the food preparation and service industry, the lowest percentage of any other profession on the list.

Oakley (2000) found in one study (performed in 1990) of women at the vice-president level that female executives earn 46% less than men in Canada and 42% earn less than their male counterparts in the U.S. A 1997 study (as cited in Oakley, 2000) of 57 female senior (management level surveyed is not provided) officers and 1,772 male senior executives of Fortune 500 companies found that the average cash compensation for the men was $765,000. For the same position, women made $518,596, the equivalent of a female earning a median of 68 cents for every dollar earned by their male counterparts, which compares to the statistics in the 1999 Bureau of Labor Statistics report.

Women also receive less in the way of perks and time off for training and education at every level of organizations. They are also more likely to receive fewer stock options, golden parachutes, and other perks designed especially for senior managers

(Oakley, 2000). The author claims that by earning less, female managers find themselves less likely to be next in line for promotions to the top positions, as substandard earnings tend to slow their ascendancy up the corporate ladder throughout their careers. Oakley (2000) also cites the generally large amounts of salary, bonuses, stock options, and other perquisites that CEOs receive for their duties as a way to further discriminate against women becoming CEOs. The conclusion is that because women usually earn much less than their male counterparts, male CEOs see this lower salary standard as a threat to their large increases, which are already under attack by shareholders and the media.

Also, women often do not promote their abilities to get the raises and promotions they deserve. In corporate life, women are less likely than men to engage in behaviors that promote their own abilities, a pattern that can be traced back to the habits learned in early childhood. This works to the disadvantage of women who work in hierarchical systems where negotiating for salary and benefits/perks is a common occurrence. The promotion of managers up the corporate ladder often depends on their skill in negotiating authority and whether or not others support or undercut their efforts (Oakley, 2000).

In childhood, girls are socialized to believe that sounding too sure of themselves will make them unpopular with their peers. Boys, on the other hand, are expected to emphasize, rather than downplay their status. Boys learn to use language to enhance their status in the group, to play up their abilities and knowledge, and to challenge others directly. In contrast, a group of girls will ostracize another girl who calls attention to herself, and therefore girls seek to find ways to express themselves that balance their own needs with the needs of others (Oakley, 2000).

The next section shows how sex and gender roles encourage society's belief that women should earn less than men do.

Sex/Gender Roles

To understand what it means to be a woman and have a career, one must understand that despite changing social views of women who have careers, not much has changed in response to the fallacy that women are the only family members who are capable of taking care of children. Most (95%) male executives who work have wives -- and most of them (75%) have wives who stay at home. However, top-ranking women executives are significantly more likely than other women to be divorced, widowed, never married, and childless (Orenstein, 2000). A Catalyst (Catalyst Research, 2000) study of MBAs -- men and women at an average age of 40 years old who are in top jobs in their corporations -- found that 14% of men are single while 27% of women are single, 74% of the men have children whereas only 49% of women have children, and 48% of men's spouses stay at home or work part-time while only 10% of women have stay-at-home spouses or have spouses who work part-time.

The way gender roles are assigned to women and men also contributes to the continued disparity in the wage gap and other management stereotypes. Many men and some women feel it is all right for the wage gap between men and women to exist because women take time off to have children and do not deserve to be paid the same as men.

> The "time out" factor is the main reason women have lower lifetime
> earnings than men, meaning lower pension and Social Security benefits. It
> is also the main reason more elderly women live in poverty. In 1997, the
> poverty rate of elderly women was nearly double the poverty rate of
> elderly men: 13.1 percent for women, 7.0 percent for men. Isn't that a nice
> "thank you" to our moms for staying home with us? (Gould, 2001, ¶ 3)

The time out argument highlights how little we value the "mother's work" that women take time out for and seems to contradict the assertion of traditionalists (often the same people who deny the existence of the wage gap) that mothers should stay home with their children. Many women who take time out to stay home with their children are active in volunteer organizations or learning new skills to avoid having to pay someone else to do things for them. In fact, the very necessity of running a household with more expenses (children) and fewer resources requires good management skills. Stay-at-home moms learn and do many activities that would be considered valid work experience, if they were being paid a reasonable wage for them (Gould, 2001, ¶ 4). And, children of working and stay-at-home mothers do not differ on whether they feel they have too little time with mom. It is a fact that many children are more likely to feel they have too little time with their fathers (Orenstein, 2000).

Not only are women being paid less because they take time out to have children, they continue to be fired from their jobs just for being pregnant. A recent Glamour (December 2000) magazine article (Salerno, 2000) reports the number of pregnancy discrimination complaints has risen from 3,385 in 1992 to 4,166 in 1999 (Salerno, 2000) and some experts say that many instances of pregnancy discrimination are not reported. Of the cases resolved in 1999, 55% of the cases were found to have no reasonable cause for termination while only 4.3% were found to have reasonable cause to terminate the pregnant women (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2000). The balance of cases needed to complete the fact-finding portion.

The Federal Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 says that any employer with a staff of 15 or more must allow a pregnant employee to remain in that job

for as long as she is able. Some individual states have additional laws that cover smaller workplaces (Glamour, December 2000).

> Pregnant employees must be permitted to work as long as they are able to perform their jobs. If an employee has been absent from work as a result of a pregnancy related condition and recovers, her employer may not require her to remain on leave until the baby's birth. An employer may not have a rule which (that) prohibits an employee from returning to work for a predetermined length of time after childbirth (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1997, ¶ 5).

> Employers must hold open a job for a pregnancy related absence the same length of time (that) jobs are held open for employees on sick or disability leave. (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1997, ¶ 6).

The wife of Lew Platt, the former Chairman and CEO of Hewlett-Packard, died in the 1980s. Mr. Platt then became responsible for raising his teenage daughters. He was amazed at the effort it took to keep his home and work life running smoothly. Once he realized the burdens placed on families, he worked to make Hewlett-Packard a family-friendlier workplace. The number of hours people worked in the office was reduced, several policies were changed to help people with children, and he promoted more women; resulting in Carly Fiorina being named as the first woman CEO of a Fortune 500 company (Orenstein, 2000). His wife died before he realized that family was just as important to him and his employees as work was.

As more men are given custody and bearing more responsibility for raising their children, they are learning how difficult it is to balance work and a family. Will men face the same challenges that women have or will they make the system work for them?

Conclusion

The explanation for the extremely low numbers of women in the CEO and other senior management positions extends far beyond corporate policies and practices to embrace the impact of gender-based role dynamics. This is true when considering subjective explanations that take into account the reasons why women are often not attracted to senior management positions to begin with or feel uncomfortable in the positions when they attain them. And, women executives are more likely to cite these subjective reasons as important barriers to top positions than are their male counterparts (Oakley, 2000).

Today's women have more choices about achieving success in many different occupations and are encouraged toward economic self-sufficiency, yet they are subtly pressured to choose lower paying, more flexible professions that accommodate conventional motherhood. Women learn at a young age that it is all right to be assertive professionally, yet still feel they cannot express themselves to their bosses without feeling their opinions and knowledge are not valued. Society continues to tell women that it is okay to work, yet if they want success they will have to sacrifice their family. It appears that while much has changed, there is still more work to be done before women are fully accepted into executive positions.

Chapter III

RESEARCH REPORTS: A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Human communication is thousands of years old; however, it was not until the late 1960s-early 1970s that it became a subject of scholarly and scientific study. The study of women's issues also became popular at this time. Much original communication research began in the social sciences where the effects of political propaganda were studied (Fico et al., 1994). In fact, communication study is interdisciplinary, meaning that many academic subjects use communication research techniques, such as content analysis, to learn about their own subjects. The fact that feminist study is interdisciplinary and lacks a proper intellectual history that links these studies together to a particular historical time and place makes these studies easy to criticize (Robinson, 1994). Much of this research, furthermore, fell into the period of the 1970s, when social methodology came under critical fire and new theoretical initiatives were launched (Robinson, 1994).

In early feminist and women's studies, the focus was on how women were portrayed in the media -- women's magazines, advertisements, books, movies, television -- using different types of research methods, one of the most popular being content analysis. Both feminist studies and communication studies are criticized because they do not use traditional scientific research methods and do not have long histories. Members of the academic research community claim that communications and feminist studies are not objective when compared to research in the true sciences and some of the more quantitative studies (such as double-blind methods). And they lack the reproducibility of results that make these other, more objective, research types reliable and valid (Dallimore, 2000; Levine-Donnerstein & Potter, 1999).

Content Analysis Research

Fico et al. (1994) use quantifiable content units to reduce very large sets of data to manageable forms, and to characterize the variations in the data with summary statistics such as percentages, averages, and ranges. The use of quantitative measures on representative samples of data permits researchers to assess their samples objectively so statistical tools to test hypotheses and answer research questions are used. Using quantitative analysis in content analysis gives test results a validity that many of its critics cite against content analysis.

Levine-Donnerstein and Potter (1999) argue that the challenges of using content analysis as a research tool can be met if researchers design studies by making clear initial decisions about the nature of the content they want to analyze and the role of the theory, or hypothesis, in their study. This attitude is confirmed in Fico et al., (1994): "If the categories and rules are conceptually and theoretically sound and are reliably applied, the researcher increases the chance that the study results will be valid (e.g., that the observed patterns are meaningful)" (p. 2). The validity of conclusions as a result of content analyses, however, depends on how closely the content evidence can be linked empirically (through observation) or theoretically to that context. And, communication content also merits systematic examination because of its assumed role that cause a variety of responses (Fico et al., 1994).

When performing content analysis, researchers must remember that all communication uses symbols, whether verbal, textual, or visual and that the meanings of these symbols vary from person to person and culture to culture by a matter of degrees (Fico et al., 1994). There are two main types of content that interests content analysts: manifest and latent. <u>Manifest content</u> is that which is on the surface and is easy to

observe, such as the appearance of a particular word in a written text, the gender of a character in a film, or certain behaviors (blinking eyes, scratching head) in interpersonal interactions (Levine-Donnerstein & Potter, 1999). <u>Latent content</u> focuses on the meaning of the underlying elements on the surface of the message.

According to Levine-Donnerstein and Potter (1999), there are two main types of latent content. Projective content emphasizes the coder's judgment, which requires coders to use their pre-existing perceptions to judge the meaning of the content. Pattern content, in contrast, stresses patterns found in the research material, rather than the coder's own preconceptions. One concern that designers of content analysis research have is the degree to which the content analyst allows for subjective interpretations that may or may not affect the validity of the research results (Fico et al., 1994.

The difference between latent and manifest meaning is not always as clear-cut as researchers would like. Symbols in any language that is actively being used change in meaning over time. A manifest meaning of a word in 1997 may not have been the same 100 years before. For example, the word "cool" applied to a film, means to most people that it was a good film, which would make it manifest. This meaning, which can be found in dictionaries, was certainly not manifest in 1850 when "cool" meant that the temperature was slightly cold (Fico et al., 1994). Researchers need to be careful of the changing nature of symbols when designing content analysis research. Language users share meaning, but they also can have idiosyncratic variations of meanings for common symbols (Fico et al., 1994).

The requirements for scientific objectivity dictate that coding should be restricted to manifest content; the use of latent meaning comes at the interpretive stage, not at the

point of coding. Quantitative content analysis deals with manifest content, by definition, and makes no claims beyond that (Fico et al., 1994).

Content analysts typically begin their research with a theory or hypothesis that they want to prove or disprove. Content analysis is only one of many research methods from which they choose since it may provide answers to those questions. From their data, they seek to answer theoretically significant questions by inferring the meaning or consequences of exposure to content or inferring what might have contributed to the content's form and meaning (Fico et al., 1994).

Feminist Research

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, feminist research has also been criticized for its supposed lack of scientific, rational, and objective standpoint. Feminist research goals are to "create social change" and to "strive to represent human diversity" (Reinharz, 1992, p. 240 as cited in Dallimore, 2000). Dallimore (2000) broadens this definition to include the "wide range of people conducting research on women and whose goal is to improve women's status through emancipation and social action" (p. 158).

To study feminist issues, definite methodologies are used. However, several forms of methodology or "multiplicity" of appropriate methods may be used for the same study. The key of all of the methods is to "capture the experiences of participants using participants' own voices" (Dallimore, 2000, p. 159).

Feminst research has been cited as not being objective in relation to the standards of traditional social scientists. "The ideal of objectivity is to remove the particular point of view of the observer from the research process so that the results will not be biased by the researcher's subjectivity" (Acker et al., 1991, as cited in Dallimore, 2000, p. 159). One researcher critiques the importance of objectivity because it separates the researcher

from what is "known" from any interests or preconceptions. Frey (1998) asserts that many scholars have argued that research is never a "politically neutral act; that decisions about what to study, which method(s) to use, and where and how to report research privilege certain values, institutions, and practices" (p. 156) are never solely objective.

Other feminist researchers critique the notion of objectivity for three reasons. The first is that objective science is sexist in both purpose and effects, and therefore it is not objective. Second, objectivity imposes hierarchical and controlling relationships on the researcher and the researched subject, and third, by idealizing objectivity, subjectively based knowledge has been left outside of what is considered science (Dallimore, 2000). What feminist methodology attempts to do is to "bring together subjective and (emphasis added) objective ways of knowing the world" (Dallimore, 2000, p. 160). Not all researchers agree that reducing objectivism to this definition is desirable or possible.

According to Mumby (1996), some themes that are found throughout postmodern feminist thought are:

(a) A critque and interrogation of dominant Western forms of rationality;

(b) a rejection of representational views of language in favor of a view of

language and discourse as constitutive of reality and expericence; (c) a

questioning of any claims to foundational, universal Truth; (d) a

decentering of the Western rational subject (traditionally conceived as the

wellspring of knowledge) in favor of a subject who is fractured,

discontinuous, and an effect of knowledge rather than its source; (e) a

focus on power and domination, and an exploration of their relationships

to truth and knowledge; (f) a focus on difference and the "other,"

embodied in a concern for marginalized groups and a rescuing of the

"erudite knowledge" that they produce; and (g) a critique of forms of knowledge rooted in binary oppositions (e.g., wrong/right, subject/object, culture/nature, and so forth). (p. 263)

In several of the studies reviewed in Chapter II, not just one research method was used. Young (1998) used personal interviews, on-site observation, and journal article reviews to help her make her study reliable and valid. Sloan and Krone (2000) used the snowball method (as described in Chapter II) to locate interviewees. When they actually interviewed the respondents, they used the same questions for each person to get a complete picture of women's experiences.

Media Research

Thirty years after content analysis and feminist research methods became research methodologies, there is no lack of analyses of movies, magazines, books, television shows, and advertisements to show if the media has changed the way it addresses women's issues, portrays women, and communicates to women buyers. Unfortunately, very little of the research findings have changed the way women are portrayed in all types of media. In fact, media organizations continue to give these studies little credibility (Danner & Walsh, 1999).

Some of the emphasis in research has changed from the general stereotypes of women to how professional women are portrayed in the media. To help describe some of the different types of research that has been conducted over the past thirty years, Kitch (1997) surveys major works in feminist media criticism and offers four categories of feminist content analysis scholarship that helps future research define itself better (Kitch, 1997).

The four types are (a) the stereotype approach, (b) the search for alternative representations of women inside and outside mainstream media, (c) examinations of the function of media imagery within cultural and political ideology, and (d) semiotic analyses of media images as texts with multiple meanings. These types provide a framework for discussing the changing historical perspectives on women's representation in American mass media.

Most histories of women's media portrayals done during the late 1960s and early-to-mid 1970s focused on the documentation of sexist stereotypes of women. The basis of this type of study was Gaye Tuchman's (1978) reflection hypothesis (as cited in Kitch, 1997, p. 478) in which cultural imagery serves as a mirror held up to the real world, reflecting women's real-life values and options. Betty Friedan's 1963 landmark book The Feminist Mystique (as cited in Kitch, 1997) argues that (then-contemporary) media imagery -- specifically, women's magazine fiction -- offered evidence of American women's social oppression. The magazines that were reviewed are not mentioned in this article. Women's magazines were frequent targets of this type of scholarship since they have served as role models for women for over 150 years. According to Tebbel and Zuckerman (1991), the Ladies Home Journal and Saturday Evening Post differed in the ways they depicted women. Most of the Journal's heroines were responsible for creating a happy home and family; what every woman wanted, it implied. Career women were seldom depicted having neither a career nor family. The reward for virtue and appropriate middle class behavior was love. The Saturday Evening Post's fiction portrayed women in careers until a marriable man came along to rescue her.

The use of stereotypes as a lens for media history was itself questioned. A growing number of scholars seemed to agree with literary critic Elaine Showalter (as

cited in Kitch, 1997) that this approach had "lost much of its power to surprise, disturb, or rearrange our ideas" (p. 452). Using stereotypes as a media research theory continues to be popular and is used in many studies.

The second approach searches for alternative mass-media representations of women and womanhood in the American past -- images of unusual women inside as well as outside the mainstream culture -- started in the late 1970s and remained popular until the early 1990s. The goal of this research was to recover media images of women who did not fit in with the larger American ideal in historical periods (Kitch, 1997). Rosie the Riveter would be an example of this representation. Although many women in America worked, there was an absence of successful workingwomen in women's-magazine fiction. Rosie was an anomaly since she not only worked, she worked in the male-dominated field of manufacturing.

Most historical work in the alternative-images era focused on the (predominantly negative) media representation of women who were outside mainstream culture, mostly African American women. Another work included research on Native American and foreign women in the 1992 study of women in turn-of-the-century American tobacco advertising that helped create the notion that smoking a specific cigarette is exotic and subsequently deviant (Kitch, 1997). Native Americans in westerns of the 1930s and 1940s were shown as being raped and/or murdered as well as being "slaves, household drudges, or bodies en masse in camps and caravans" (Green, 1975, as cited in Kitch, 1997, p. 481).

Class was another segment of society where alternative images of women were researched. One article titled "The Working-class Woman and Recruitment Propaganda during World War Two" (Honey, 1983, as cited in Kitch, 1997) examined images

according to the economic class of the audience. Imagery at the time, 1940-1945, suggests that upward mobility such as women's entry into high-paying jobs during the war was unacceptable for working-class women.

The third representation focused on women as symbols of larger ideas and idea systems. These writings were based on at least one of three assumptions about why women were represented in the mass media. They are:

> (a) That women are part of a larger American story, a cultural mythology
> that has more to do with national values and identity than it does with the
> literal description of women, (b) that they are intentionally constructed by
> societal leaders to perpetuate the political, economic, and social order of
> the United States, and/or (c) that they constitute a patterned form of
> patriarchy, a symbolic system that reinforces sexist ideology. (Kitch,
> 1997, p. 571)

One researcher argues that during 1876-1919 what America came to mean in this era was closely tied to what womanhood came to mean (Banta, 1987, as cited in Kitch, 1997). The argument proposed that images of womanhood stood not only for patriotic concepts, but for American concerns about race, sexuality, and consumerism (Kitch, 1997), especially since advertising was gaining importance at this time and women were considered a large audience targeted by advertisers. During this period of time France gave America the Statue of Liberty, advertising revenues skyrocketed from advertising in women's magazines, and, during World War One, women were acknowledged for the first time as essential workers replacing men who had gone off to fight the war.

In "Women at Work: Warner's in the 1930s," (Dalton, 1977 as cited by Kitch, 1997) the author felt that film imagery reinforced cultural roles during the Depression

that women belonged at home, not at work. A book, <u>Women's Film and Female Experience, 1940-1950</u> (Walsh, 1984 as cited in Kitch, 1997) said that movies contained the same messages, though female characters were shown as independent until they found ultimate fulfillment in marriage (Kitch, 1997), a theme also found in some magazine fiction of its day.

The last scholarship type remains popular and influential today. In this type of scholarship, historians assess the meaning of the imagery itself. Kitch (1997) says that much of the prior scholarship types were based on the notion that meaning is inherent in media images, that is, that anybody looking at such images would receive the same messages (manifest content). This approach borrows from semiotics and cultural studies to consider images as "texts" containing multiple meanings (latent content) depending on whom is "reading" them, which further increases the likelihood of multiple readings. Scholars who use this method agree with art historian Griselda Pollock (1994, as cited in Kitch, 1997) that "the efficacy of representation, furthermore, relies on a ceaseless exchange with other representations" (p. 14)

Because of this assumption, the newer scholarship tends to define "media" more broadly than just film television, magazines, and so forth. This would include all types of cultural production that are not typically viewed as mass media, such as a burlesque show that portrays both the restriction and the expression of women's sexuality. Today, many researchers adopt a different approach in which mass culture is neither monolithic nor unrelentingly repressive. Mass culture is full of contradictions, ambivalence, and competing voices and these voices are evident in the imagery contained in other historical media (Kitch, 1997).

Kitch (1997) asserts that the categories defined in this article should not be seen as a logical progression of theories, but rather as sets of related ideas that are likely to go in and out of favor, and used individually or in some combined form. These scholarship types shape how images are made sense of today. Two of the views assume that media stereotypes exist and that they are widely recognized by audiences who see them as some kind of reference to a day-to-day reality (Kitch, 1997). The other view incorporates the last two approaches (ideological and semiotic) which states that media imagery is never a literal depiction of reality, but is rather a part of "a complex symbolic system that serves to advance particular ideas among particular people at particular times" (Kitch, 1997, p. 485). The question this second view asks is "Who controls the meaning of media texts?" (Kitch, 1997, p. 485).

Kitch (1997) feels that the survey of historical works provides evidence that the work of historians -- despite their commitment to careful methodology and in many cases their aspiration to objectivity -- is very much influence by their own academic (and cultural and political) feelings.

In addition to images, language influences how messages communicate stereotypes and assumptions about gender roles and attitudes. Artz Munger, and Purdy (1999) feel that sexism remains, with some improvement, toward a more respectful portrayal of women in U.S. advertising. However, a number of broad patterns can be found throughout advertising across cultures: (a) women are more often portrayed as young and concerned about physical attractiveness than men, (b) women are less likely than men to be portrayed as authority figures and more likely to be shown as product users, and (c) women are more often shown in subordinate roles or as decorative and/or sex objects. These typically Western patterns have been adopted by other cultures as

Western businesses and technologies have established business in other countries (Artz et al., 1999).

The main point made by Artz et al. (1999) is that "every utterance or piece of text can be categorized as gender-neutral, gender-specific, or gender-biased (p. 20). Gender-neutral language has either no reference to a specific gender or it refers simultaneously to both genders. Gender-specific language refers to one of the two genders in a nonbiased manner. Gender-biased language can take a variety of forms. Some cases exclude one gender (e.g., "the average man" when used to refer to "people"), convey unsupported or biased meanings (e.g., "doctors spend little time with their wives" rather than spouses), or imply or contain irrelevant evaluations of gender evaluations (e.g., "the little woman") (Artz et al., 1999, p. 20).

In most cases, women use and tend to produce less gender-biased language than men since they also tend to be more aware of its effect. Artz et al. (1999) say that annual reports are generally bias-free, and magazines, in-house employee publications, newspapers, and speeches by male business leaders have improved over the years but still include gender-biased language. However, the biggest barrier to creating a less gender-specific language is that there are few formal guidelines to discourage the use of sex bias in advertising and other public communication forms. The American Psychological Association (APA) has guidelines for research writing, but the general communications field does not follow these guidelines for everyday promotional writing.

Advertising shows more gender bias in pictures than in language. "Within language, bias is more evident in songs and dialogue than in formal speech or when popular culture is involved" (Artz et al., 1999, p. 24). As Artz et al. (1999) point out, "a moral argument can be made for the elimination of biased language because it results in

women being ignored, deprecated, or negatively stereotyped" (p. 24). These portrayals can be attributed to a negative effect of self-concept, achievement, aspirations, and self-image. "Portraying women as adornment or sex objects strips women of their individual identities, causing others to view them as 'things,' objects of male sexual desire, and/or part of the merchandise rather than people" (Artz et al., 1999, p. 24).

Artz et al. (1999) also comment upon biased language in corporate communications. They add that the neutrality of language in corporate communications is a quality issue that reflects on the firm's relationship with its customers, employees, and the public. Fair treatment of women in corporate communications has been shown to enhance attitudes toward the firm whereas negative role portrayals can lead to negative company image and purchase intentions by some segments. One study (as cited in Artz et al., 1999) concludes that by avoiding negative effects of stereotyping through positive portrayals of women toward women consumers is worth the investment. More educated, socially-conscious women serve as opinion leaders for the purchase of a number of product categories and are especially opposed to supporting companies using negative portrayals of women; many of these same women work and are often executive and upper-management roles and have great buying power.

Media Views of Women

By looking at different forms of communication and reviewing their attitudes toward women, it is found that while progress has been made, there is much work to be accomplished. Kilbourne (1990) researches how "managerially capable" housewives and professional women are when presented in different scenarios. Danner and Walsh (1999) use qualitative content analysis to find out how two national newspapers cover the Fourth World Conference on Women held in 1995. McShane (1995) reviews different source

types used in two U.S. and two Canadian business- magazines by gender, region, and manager level. Hoon and Lee (1995) use quantitative content analysis to show how Singapore newspapers cover female and male managers. A Salon (salon.com) (Brown, 1999) article looks at how business and trade magazines portray executive women in the technology industry, which, while not a research study, does provide interesting material to confirm the information reviewed in Chapter II.

Kilbourne (1990) uses the premise of stereotypes to research male and female business students' perceptions of women's managerial capabilities in home and work situations. The researcher feels that the nature and development of stereotypical roles appear to be functions of cultural norms, socialization, observation of family members and media exposure. The interest for the purposes of the study is print media and how it employs sex role stereotyping. This study uses content (in the form of advertising) for the study, but this is not a content analysis.

The study explores the effect that exposure to traditional female stereotypes in magazine advertising has on perceptions of women as possessing requisite managerial attributes such as leadership, aggressiveness, emotionality, and analytical abilities. These traits are considered important to being a manager. The purpose of the study is to examine the possibility that exposure to advertisements using stereotypical sex roles for women results in significantly lower perceptions of women's managerial abilities than exposure to advertisements depicting women in professional roles requiring the abilities described above (Kilbourne, 1990). It has been suggested that roles portrayed by women in advertisements provide information from which viewers draw conclusions about women and then use those conclusions to generalize key characteristics about other women; such cues are referred to as diagnostic information.

When making social comparisons, stimuli are measured or evaluated on the basis of standard or anchor stimuli (Kilbourne, 1990). Whether a particular behavior is viewed as in-role or out-role would be a function of the standard stimuli of the individual in determining the informational value of diagnostic information. In-role and out-role are subjective and are based on the study subjects' own behavior and perceptions. For this study, a female in a professional setting is considered the out-role (Kilbourne, 1990).

The sample group consisted of 103 male and 70 female undergraduate students in the first week of the semester during a regularly assigned introductory business class. Four randomly selected classes were assigned to view either a housewife-role condition or a professional-role condition. The introductory business class was selected because few of the students would have been exposed to marketing or advertising courses, which could have affected their responses. There were two versions for each of three ads that represented either a housewife sex role or a professional sex role. Changing the setting and text, while keeping the model and product constant modified each version. In addition, a slide of a female who was approximately 25 years old was shown to each class. The photograph provided no cues as to what the individual might do or what roles she might play. Subjects in both sections saw and evaluated the nonrole female after they had evaluated the ads.

The researcher recognized that viewing one or a few print ads would not have the same impact as many years of magazine readership or advertising viewing would have, therefore additional research was performed by asking each student to evaluate each ad. The students were asked to respond to a set of evaluation scales for each of the ads (11 items) and then to evaluate the ad itself (nine items). The evaluation items for the model were in reference to the managerially oriented attributes and measures of self-concept.

The nine items evaluating the ad were used to disguise the purpose of the study (Kilbourne, 1990).

The students in the two sections (four groups altogether) received the same instructions and data collection instruments. They were told that they would be viewing and evaluating three ads on each of its own merits since the ads were not being compared to one another. After each group viewed the ads and evaluated them, the nonrole female was evaluated. Afterward, the students were debriefed to find out if they had discovered the purpose of the study and sex roles were not mentioned. None of the students had discovered the purpose of the research.

The results show that males rated the models in the professional versions significantly higher on managerial attributes than models in the housewife versions. The females in the groups (67% of the total study group) rated the housewife and professional models as having the same managerial attributes (Kilbourne, 1990). This result may be due to the fact that the women in the business classes already believe there is no difference between the housewife and professional women in the attributes they need to run and house and/or a business successfully. The women in the business classes would not be in the class if they did not believe that they could be successful in the business world with the same qualities that women have used to keep a house successfully for centuries. It is not surprising to find that the men rated the professional-looking women higher than the housewife model.

The researcher concluded that the results confirm previous research that has been done using out- role characterizations relative to in-role characterizations and, from the advertising perspective, that advertisers should avoid using the use of sex stereotypes.

The researcher says:

> While it is not suggested that advertising engenders stereotyping and,
> thereby, sex descrimination (sic) in the workplace, it appears that there
> may be contributory influence so long as stereotypical sex roles are used
> in advertising and the media in general. (Kilbourne, 1990, p. 31)

Although the main point of the research is to test images, the study could also have reported upon whether it is the image or text that determined whether one ad is more stereotypical than others are. If the text uses stereotypical gender-biased language and the image is of a professional woman, or vice versa, which would be the most influential in determining the viewer's perception: the image or the text? If the researcher was just testing images, he could have just shown women in in-roles and out-roles rather than using advertisements. Another aspect of the research could have looked at what type of publication the advertisement was in: If the housewife stereotypical picture was in a business magazine would the perception of her capabilities be different? While this is not a true content analysis, the research is important because it illustrates the importance images have on the degree to which we perceive women's roles in the home and in a professional setting and the standard one is using to evaluate those differences.

Newspapers, since they are a part of the mass media and a part of how we learn about events happening in our everyday lives, are an important factor in determining how women gain knowledge of themselves and their status in our culture. Although this thesis does not review newspapers, they significantly contribute to mass media and participate in the "general cultural reluctance to acknowledge the power of language in our lives and surreptitiously shape a dominant world view" (Danner & Walsh, 1999, p.

63). "The way in which the mass media...construct and interpret events, what they focus on and what they omit, helps construct a public opinion" (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1990, as cited in Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 67). It is reasonable, from this statement to assume that the U.S. media is the most readily available channel through which most U.S. residents learn about world events, and thus how U.S. citizens learned about the Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW) (Danner & Walsh, 1999).

Danner and Walsh's (1999) research shows that U.S. media news lacks coverage of women newsmakers and issues affecting women on a national and international level. They further submit that women and women's issues are marginalized as a result of mainstream, Western news writers' apparent inability to recognize the "multiple identities" of the news sources or of subjects who are both female and members of an ethnic group (Danner & Walsh, 1999). Kitch's (1997) stereotype view, alternative view, and views of women as symbolic of larger ideas are seen in this study as well as Artz et al.'s (1999) assertion that media use gender-biased language that "results in women being ignored, deprecated, or negatively stereotyped" (p. 24).

Although the number of women journalists has increased, the way in which women's events are covered in the mainstream U.S. print media has neither increased nor improved. One such event is the United Nations' Decade for Women conferences that were held in 1975, 1980, and 1985. The way the U.S. newspapers covered these conferences is illustrative of this phenomenon. Despite the major issues discussed at the conference, including human rights, women's rights and roles as well as many other issues, the majority of the mainstream press coverage focused on conflict among the women participants and the disorganization of the meetings. The premise of this study is to find out how women and women's issues are covered in mainstream U.S. media as

representative of a more insidious trend in media (and American society in general) that emphasizes the ideology of white males as the dominant group in American society (Danner & Walsh, 1999).

Part of the theory this research is based upon is the notion of <u>hegemony</u>. Hegemony refers to the idea that the "ruling class'" belief systems are imposed on the rest of society. This dominant ideology becomes so ingrained in our society as to become more commonplace than the prevailing common-sense attitude toward a subject. In this case, institutions such as churches, schools, and media create the popular notions of what it means to be a woman (Danner & Walsh, 1999). Danner and Walsh (1999) suggest that their overarching theme of "backlash" is the product of this process.

Their backlash theme is taken in part from Susan Faludi's 1991 book, <u>Backlash: The undeclared war against American women</u> (as cited in Danner & Walsh, 1999). In her book, Ms. Faludi details American political, economic, and social institutions and reveals a covert movement in mainstream America to "remind women to embrace traditional roles or suffer the consequences" (Faludi, 1991, as cited in Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 65). In Faludi's estimation (as cited in Danner & Walsh, 1999), the press plays a significant role in bringing about increased backlash sentiment especially in regard to the "trends of antifeminism" (p. 65) most dramatically in their coverage of the feminist movement's Second Wave. Faludi suggests that reporters in the 1980s perpetuated the underlying backlash theme in their coverage of women newsmakers and women's issues by claiming that women have made many gains, yet still feel quite dissatisfied. If the women are still dissatisfied with these gains, feminism's achievements are to be disregarded because they fail to satisfy women (Danner & Walsh, 1999).

To find out how women and the conference were portrayed in the press, Danner and Walsh (1999) use qualitative content analysis to find general themes in the news reporting during the conference. The conference provided a unique context in which newspaper coverage of women's issues and events could be analyzed.

Using backlash as a theoretical link to the study of newspaper coverage is particularly relevant to feminist media research in that it allows media content to be analyzed in relation to preferred social, cultural, political, and economic meanings concerning gender and class, which may be produced at the institution, text, and reception levels. (Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 64)

In 1995, the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, China to review and appraise women's advances since 1985. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action made this conference a historical event toward making progress in women's issues and as a way to promote the Forward-Looking Strategies that were drafted at the previous conference. The researchers assumed that at least some U.S. media would have covered the important issues of the conference since the mass media "are the major source about international events in far places" (Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 67).

The researchers allow for outside influences affecting how news is reported and how those influences may have affected conference reporting. Staff cutbacks and the elimination of foreign news bureaus by domestic media resulted in a reliance on prominent news stories to be covered rather than stories that may affect only one part of society. Also noted as probable hindrances to covering all stories properly, are budget constraints, foreign news censorship, and crisis-oriented reporting. Reporters are trained

to report timely news, news that impacts people, news that has human interest elements to it, or news that is unusual, different, or shows drama or conflict. However, they usually end up emphasizing people over problems, crisis over continuity, relying on fragments of an event rather than on the "big picture," and reliance on officials as news sources rather than news participants (Danner & Walsh, 1999). News reporters are also involved in shaping the news to "attract audiences and, sometimes, to encourage particular interpretations through its content and form" (Edelman, 1988, as cited in Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 68). The necessity of magazine editors to sell magazines also means shaping stories to attract audiences and encouraging interpretations of content. The newspapers studied are daily, but BusinessWeek is a weekly magazine, and Forbes and Fortune are biweekly and must also gather information quickly and regularly in order to meet deadlines and deliver timely, relevant articles.

In addition to the women's conference, there were other issues between the U.S. and China that had been in the news that affected the reporting style in the articles about the conference. The two countries were talking about opening up trade relations and other issues made the location of the conference controversial. Also, the fact that Hillary R. Clinton decided to go to the conference, a first for any First Lady of the U.S., made the conference an exciting subject despite the restrictions on news reporting from China.

The method used in this study focused on manifest content as well as "latent meanings concerning gender and the systematic reproduction of those meanings in news content, which lies at the heart of Faludi's thesis" (Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 69). The content was examined for frequency of certain units that are not "in themselves valid indicators of meaning unless considered within an entire dominant meaning system (theory or hypothesis as described by Fico et al., 1994; Levine-Donnerstein & Potter,

1999) occurring within a society at any given historical point in time" (Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 69). The coders shifted the emphasis away from content meaning to how many times the reporters referred to the conference agenda versus the number of times they mentioned women in conflict. This added to the understanding of "the media's role in constructing social definitions of gender when it is considered in relation to some underlying structure of the content" (Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 69). Society based its opinions about the conference on reading the newspapers in the study.

The study examined the New York Times' and Washington Post's reporting of the conference, that was held from September 4-15, 1995. The New York Times was chosen because it is a national newspaper that sets the national and international news agenda for smaller newspapers. The researchers assert that any backlash themes occuring in this newspaper are likely to have been repeated in newspapers around the country. The Post was chosen because it is the major daily newspaper of Washington, D.C., which is the center of international policy and foreign relations. Only bylined stories written by staff writers were reviewed. Articles from wire services and stories without bylines were not analyzed (Danner & Walsh, 1999).

The New York Times ran 31 articles about the conference between August 18, and September 26, 1995, and 29 articles ran in the Washington Post between August 16, and September 21, 1995. Each article was chosen based on whether it explicitly addressed a topic directly or indirectly referred to at the conference at least once (i.e., if the conference had not taken place the story most likely would not have been written). After the article had been selected, it was reviewed for words, phrases, themes, or topics that may have indicated backlash. "Each researcher analyzed the whole of one newspaper's coverage, and we consistently cross-checked and compared results to ensure

we were looking for the themes in the same manner" (Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 70). From the articles, four backlash themes were clearly indicated.

1. Conflict: women protesting, angry women, women competing with each other

2. Stereotypes: of women as unfeminine, as having "no sense of style," or as "having let themselves go"

3. Marital/family status: emphasis on traditional roles, motherhood as desirable over a career

4. Other backlash themes: including feminism fallout (women portrayed as suffering from feminist gains; women without relationships or children whose "biological clocks" are ticking ever more loudly); stories ostensibly about women, but which fail to cite women as sources, experts or examples; and stories which appear to ask, "They have equality; what more do these women want?" (Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 70)

If article subjects and topics could not be substantially linked to conference coverage and if the theme was included for no other reason than to portray women in a particular way, the article was considered to have backlash themes present. For instance, if the article reported about the protests at the conference, and these protests were clearly linked to issues raised at the conference, no backlash themes were considered present. If, however, a protest was covered because women were protesting and no reason for the protest was given, backlash themes were determined to exist (Danner & Walsh, 1999).

Of the 31 articles about the conference found in the New York Times, only 11 focused specifically on substantive conference issues; of the 29 articles about the conference covered by the Washington Post, only 5 reported on substantive conference issues. The study also looked at reporter gender, but found nothing inconsistent with the

number of women to men writing these stories as to the ratio of men to women journalists in general (Danner & Walsh, 1999).

The result of this study found references in nearly every article that characterized women in conflict with each other, in conflict with officials in Beijing; complained/complain/complaints, battles, clashes, refused, outright, shouted down, spat, commotion, jostle, defiance, angry, agitating, fighting, and so forth. Only occasional stories suggested commonality and agreement, but were framed accordingly: "Despite differences, many women argued that there were threads that bind women together and join the world's women in some common direction as they struggle for equal rights" (Danner & Walsh, 1999, pp. 71-72). One New York Times article reported "The conference ground to its conclusion with far less rancor than expected" (Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 72).

Although the words at their barest meanings suggest that there were disagreements among the women, the number of references and emphasis on these negative terms "serves to reinforce the (mis)perception that competition between and among women is an inherent aspect of femininity" (Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 72) and it is this perception that keeps women from achieving meaningful social change. Other stereotypical references in the newspapers are that African women are "good storytellers" and that the conference attendees are "radical feminists" (Danner & Walsh, 1999, p. 72). The authors contend that the media, by continuing to focus on only one notion of feminism (in the form of Bella Abzug), little insight into the variety of viewpoints within the movement are represented (Danner & Walsh, 1999). Many more instances of stereotyping and other backlash themes were found than can be reported here.

The researchers conclude that the Western print media contributed to the hegemonic process by criticizing the women for being women, rather than for their political beliefs or for the legitimate actions that occurred at the conference. Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the study, the researchers conclude, is that this event could have given reporters a way to report on women's issues with a unique and international perspective. Instead, they took this opportunity to maintain the status quo and add to the existing backlash (Danner & Walsh, 1999).

Despite the authors specifically noting that they used qualitative content analysis, they used many of the techniques found in quantitative content analysis. First, they determined a specific theory or hypothesis to give the study a clear-cut purpose. Second, the researchers use manifest content as a way to guide the study and later used latent content to analyze the themes. And third, the study set parameters prior to the coding process to keep the results valid and reproducible. Whether they proved that backlash was a result of the media's planned assault on women or women's issues or as a result of the need to sell newspapers remains to be analyzed.

Hoon and Lee (1993) study how women managers are portrayed in Singapore's newspapers. While Singapore is halfway around the world, their economy is very similar to the U.S. economy and women in that country deal with many of the same issues women in the U.S. face. Since the early 1970s, women have made slow inroads into management; they are mostly in low and middle management levels. Surprisingly, 59.1% of women held university degrees while only 49.6% of the men hold degrees (Hoon & Lee, 1993).

Like women in the U.S., women in managerial and administrative positions have faced the backlash of social and cultural attitudes that assume that women cannot

successfully hold an important and high-level position to which they are committed and be considered "normal" (Hoon & Lee, 1993). As in Danner and Walsh (1999), Hoon and Lee (1993) recognize the power of mass media to "change an aspect of a dramatization to present an alternative view of reality" (¶ 6). The authors lean toward the view that the mass media constructs and shapes the way reality is communicated through rhetorical vision. The article's definition of rhetorical vision is the "composite dramas which catch up larger groups of people in a symbolic reality" (Hoon & Lee, 1993, ¶ 7). Kitch (1997) defines this as "a cultural mythology that has more to do with national values and identity than it does with the literal descriptions of women" (p. 481).

Three specific research questions are asked in this research.

1.   Who are the women and men portrayed by the mass media?

2.   What are their managerial attributes?

3.   What are the problems they face as managers?

For this article the definition of content analysis is "a research technique that objectively, systematically, and quantitatively describes the manifest content of communication" (Hoon & Lee, 1993, ¶ 8). Local Singapore newspapers were used in the analysis: The Straits Times, The Sunday Times, and The Business Times. These papers were chosen because they are the three most widely read papers. Articles about women and men managers from 1980 to 1990 were selected to have three analyses performed on them: profile analysis, word analysis, and theme analysis. For the profile and word analyses, the word manager was the unit of analysis. The word manager was counted for the number of times it appeared in an article. More than one manager could appear in the same article. The article itself was the analysis unit (i.e., the total number of articles selected for the analysis).

Categorizing the content in an analysis is important since it differentiates and describes the content being investigated and forms a crucial link to the actual measurement and the larger theory or concept of the analysis. The categories explicitly define the boundaries into which material is grouped for further analysis and should be mutually exclusive, yet exhaustive of all possible responses. They should also be clear enough to ensure that the coders have high agreement that a specific item should or should not be coded in a particular category.

The coding process is also extremely important since it is the process in which raw data are systematically transformed and grouped into units that allow precise description of relevant content characteristics. Coding the information was done twice to ensure reliability. The researcher coded the data once by refining the categories and then coded the data again. Reliability occurred when three coders reproduced the same finding using a set of very explicit rules (Hoon & Lee, 1993).

For this study, coding units were the demographic characteristics of the women and men managers in the study. The characteristics include age, marital status, educational level, organizational title, lifestyle, and personalities. Word analysis included looking at words that described female and male managers. Coders paid special attention to subjective words such as "strong," "confident," and "emotional." Theme analysis looked at the different themes and messages communicated in the article and were coded and analyzed as well (Hoon & Lee, 1993).

The key difference in how different personal characteristics were reported was that in all except one article, women's marital status was mentioned, whereas in only 52% of the articles men were mentioned as being married (Hoon & Lee, 1993). The researchers felt this implied that the woman manager's role as wife and mother is much

more important and emphasized by the press. This could also have to do with the implication that these women were successful despite the fact they were married and possibly have children.

One newspaper described a typical woman manager as being "high-profile, outspoken and direct in dealings, perhaps too direct...a seemingly tireless, forthright and tough-minded businesswoman..." (Hoon & Lee, 1993, ¶ 19). Other words used to describe women managers are "confident," "determined," "enthusiastic," and committed," as well as "assertive," vivacious," "outspoken," and were of "strong will" (Hoon & Lee, 1993, ¶ 20). Despite some of these words being fairly positive descriptions, women's managerial capabilities were rarely described and mentioned (7%) (Hoon & Lee, 1993). Many of the same adjectives used for women were also used for men with the addition of the word "successful" being found 42% of the time. In addition, men's abilities and capabilities were more often described (29%), luck and risk (26%) and challenges and willingness (26%) were perceived to be more important to male managers' success. Also for women managers, proving themselves was less commonly described (Hoon & Lee, 1993).

Several themes about women working were found through the content analysis. In the interest of space, only the findings on women managers are discussed. A general theme that emerged from the content analysis is that for the women managers, issues more often discussed in the articles were the dilemmas faced by them as managers, wives, and mothers; whereas the coverage of male managers focused on management style. Also mentioned were the reasons women work. They work to "bring home the bacon" and to "basically earn the money to keep (herself) in the style in which (she is) accustomed" (Hoon & Lee, 1993, ¶ 26). Articles also touched on women's relationships

with male subordinates, but not with subordinates in general, and almost never about women subordinates (Hoon & Lee, 1993).

Resentment from colleagues, winning credibility with bosses and subordinates, and relationships with clients were also issues that were brought up in the articles reporting on women managers. Specific examples: "bosses doubted that they (women) took their careers seriously, perceiving them as working merely as an interesting interlude between marriage and family," "her prospective clients found it hard to trust a woman at the helm of a business dominated by men," and "(the woman manager) should keep her aspirations to herself or else her colleagues who saw her as a threat might create obstacles to stop her" (Hoon & Lee, 1993, ¶ 28).

Another theme involved balancing work and home obligations. Articles that mentioned women as managers usually discussed the issues they have to overcome due to the fact that they are women rather than any other reason. Female managerial abilities were rarely mentioned, in fact the ability to plan, coordinate, delegate, and control her work was not regarded highly at all (Hoon & Lee, 1993). A woman manager reported that she often felt "torn between (my) family and a demanding job in which (I'm) committed to deliver my very best" (Hoon & Lee, 1993, ¶ 30).

It is interesting to note that in all of the articles, the women in the articles had already "made it" in terms of their career, and there were more articles about women managers than men managers. The authors felt the intent of the selected articles was to provide role models for aspiring young professionals, especially aspiring women executives. However, the harsh reality that the articles present shows that women have a very tough and demanding life. It is important to note that these authors feel that

although the articles report on the issues that women face, they do not advocate any

changing the way things are (Hoon & Lee, 1993).

Four important themes were found in the research. First, the media continues to

portray the reality of dilemmas women face as a result of conflicting roles as mothers and

wives _and_ excellent managers. Second, the research revealed that both women and men

possess similar attribute such as confidence, commitment, determination, ambition, and

so forth, which are more masculine than feminine. This occupational stereotyping

implies that men's characteristics are more valued than women's stereotypical

characteristics. The articles show women being measured two ways: (a) how as a woman

she carries out the work role, and (b) how as managers, she lives up to the ideal images of

womanhood (Hoon & Lee, 1993).

Third, the study reveals that the media continue to focus on women as women

rather than on how women manage effectively. Success was mentioned in conjunction

with various factors, but not combined with managerial skills. Women's job performance

was rarely mentioned. Women also do not make it to the top on their own. They need

mentors, or the willing support of a man. Last, the research findings show that sexual

stereotypes are still prevalent when writing about women managers (Hoon & Lee, 1993).

> The absence of a positive vision for the woman manager implies that she
>
> has to live a very tough and demanding life, slow her career advancement,
>
> or abandon it altogether at almost any time. The depiction of women
>
> managers in the media can possibly limit the career expectations of
>
> women. There is no advocation for change. (Hoon & Lee, 1993, ¶ 51)

In contrast to Hoon and Lee (1993) and Danner and Walsh (1999), McShane

(1995) studied two U.S. and two Canadian business magazines to identify source bias by

gender, occupation, and region of origin for information sources used in features articles. Source bias generally refers to the "extent that journalists systemically seek information from particular groups, resulting in a limited diversity of perspectives and opinions..." (McShane, 1995, p. 190). Danner and Walsh (1999) found instances of source bias when reviewing newspaper articles covering the FWCW. An article that addressed the lack of women's opportunities or empowerment fails to obtain source information from even one woman. The reporter instead decided to feature several men from different countries discussing women's situations. Other sources cited are Chinese government officials and the male head of Amnesty International.

Both Danner and Walsh (1999) and McShane (1995) base their studies on the fact that women in the media are "intentionally constructed by societal leaders to perpetuate the political, economic, and social order of the United States, and/or that they constitute a patterned form of patriarchy, a symbolic system that reinforces sexist ideology" (Kitch, 1997, p. 571).

McShane (1995) points out that although every demographic group is not used as news sources, source-bias occurs. One theory that explains source bias is that "elites" gain disproportionate access as information sources because of their social, political, and economic power and then subsequently shape public knowledge to their views. Hegemony, as discussed in Danner and Walsh (1999), would be the result of this.

These statistics show that female sources are distinctly under-represented.

1. Women represent less than 10% of sources identified by gender in front-pate stories of major U.S. newspapers.

2. They constitute only 3.6% of the guests on the NBC public affairs program "Meet the Press." This number has been consistent since the show's inception in 1947.

3. And, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission found that women represent only 15% of people interviewed on broadcast media. (McShane, 1999)

These results suggest that men continue to operate and control the institutions that govern society and, therefore, exert more influence as information sources.

McShane (1995) further explains that one cannot just look at the number of women who are information sources, but also what occupations are the most likely to be used as sources. Representatives from business and government are used as sources the most often. Women make up a smaller number of these groups, but not enough to justify the low percentage of female sources. The study also researches the location of the information sources, the results of which are not included in this research.

Two U.S. publications -- BusinessWeek and Fortune -- and two Canadian publications -- Canadian Business and Report on Business Magazine -- were reviewed. Each pair represent the largest magazines in their countries, which makes them important when imparting business news and information. The research includes 1,404 sources identified in 160 feature articles (40 from each magazine) published between July 1991 and June 1992. Each article was selected using a systematic random sampling procedure that ensured they appeared across all months in which each magazine is published. (Note: BusinessWeek is a weekly magazine; Fortune is biweekly; Canadian Business is monthly; and Report on Business is published 10 times per year.) Feature articles are distinguished from departments or regular columns or commentary sections. They also

exceed more than one full page. A source is any person from whom information was used in the article. In most cases, one author writes most feature articles; however, BusinessWeek articles had an average of 2.2 authors (McShane, 1995).

Nearly every source in the sampled article was clearly indicated, leaving very little room for coder interpretation. In addition, all of the final information was double-checked by an independent coder to ensure reliability. The second coder was able to match 155 out of 163 of the original sources (over 95% accuracy). Source group management level was broken down by senior executives, other managers, nonmanagement employees; politicians and nonelected government officials; consultants, analysts, and research firms; professors; and all other sources. The source's title (e.g., Ms.) and pronouns that described the source (e.g., he\she and his\her) identified the sources' genders.

The key finding in the source-by-occupation study was that business magazine journalists rarely used nonmanagement employee sources; only 1.6% of sources in Fortune and 1.3% of sources in BusinessWeek, compared to senior management 62.7% and 65.6% respectively. The only other group that was used with any significance was the analyst/consultant group (McShane, 1995).

Within the gender representation research, women's representation in each of the occupational categories was also provided so the number of female sources is compared to the percentage of females in a particular field. Women hold 27.5% of senior management (no definition of what senior management consists of, but the author of this thesis suggests vice president and above) roles, yet only represent 6.9% of informational sources in Fortune, and 4.2% of informational sources in BusinessWeek. Canadian Business averages 6.1% and Report on Business averages 6.9%; however, Canadian

women represent only 21.3% of senior management positions (McShane, 1995). In the employee/others category (some subcategories were combined if they did not make up a large enough group on their own), women hold 45.7% of all U.S. positions and made up 17.6% of information sources in Fortune and 75% in BusinessWeek. However, in the research by occupation, these groups made up the least percentage of sources used overall. Canadian Business used women in other management and government-official roles (34.1% of the female labor force) as sources more frequently than any other and Report on Business relied on women in the employee/others categories most frequently (they make up 45% of the female labor force) (McShane, 1995). As this study shows, women-executive information sources continue to be underrepresented in the business media when compared to their participation in the labor force.

This is a nicely done quantitative content analysis. It uses outside data to compare its findings, the information is varied and is very consistent across coders, and the results are reproducible. Also, manifest content was the only type of content viewed. The researchers did not make any assumptions about whether the source was a man or woman, a specific occupation, or from a particular region unless it was plainly spelled out (McShane, 1995). The study found that business magazines contribute to the notion that males in senior management positions are used more often as information sources and therefore set the agenda for the rest of the business media and perhaps the media in general.

The information in this next section does not originate from a peer-reviewed journal, but the information is important since it discusses how female technology executives are portrayed in magazines such as the ones studied in this thesis. One of the three female CEOs, Carly Fiorina, heads up HP, a technology company.

Women in the technology field are rare since the field continues to be dominated by men even though the companies are smaller and less traditional. One researcher (as cited in Orenstein, 2000) found that high-ranking women's departures from their jobs often had relatively little to do with the pull to be with or have children, although that's what the (technology) companies tend to believe and want to believe. "When you really talk to them (the women in the firms)," the researcher said, "though, that's not why they quit. They quit because the environment was punishing" (p. 217). The research subjects said they felt isolated, both from men, who built informal ties over drinks, golf, even chatting in the men's room, and from other women, who are scarce at their elite levels. Many women had been sexually harassed and a few had not been adequately mentored.

Many women in the technology field continue to fight the assumption that they do not know what they are talking about because they are women in a "man's" field. However, the biggest complaint executive women in Silicon Valley have is about the media. The media remains obsessive and single-minded on the looks and gender of these highly intelligent and ambitious women. In fact, Fortune titled an article about Marimba CEO Kim Polese, "Beauty of hype: A cautionary tale of Silicon Valley" (as cited in Brown, 1999). The article accused Ms. Polese of using a "glamour queen" image and intentionally becoming a "geek sex symbol" in order to attract more investors (Brown, 1999, ¶ 4). Members of a women-in-computing network felt outraged because had an attractive man used his looks to increase the valuation of his company (as some do), the man would not be under the same scrutiny as Ms. Polese. The article's author feels that the Fortune article's mistake was criticizing Ms. Polese for modeling for an Anne Klein ad and posing in other "sexy" photographs, when the magazine included a series of their own "glamour shots." "Apparently, Fortune wanted to criticize a woman for using her

sex appeal and capitalize on that sex appeal at the same time -- to have its cheesecake and knock it, too" (Brown, 1999, ¶ 6).

Because there are very few female CEOs in Silicon Valley, the media focuses their attention on a few good-looking female CEOs. The media also focuses the attention away from the women's work and on more personal aspects. The press feels that executive women in technology companies are an anomaly and cannot or will not get past that to really listen to what she is saying. This is especially true in the technology press, which is dominated by "geeky guys and complex technology" (Brown, 1999, ¶ 11).

> It's a bit of a double standard. As a female CEO, you need to be careful of
> that. It's not an equal playing ground, and you are going to be perceived
> as playing up your sexuality regardless of whether you are intending to do
> that or not. (Brown, 1999, ¶ 15)

Kim Polese is not the only woman CEO who acknowledges that the media devotes more space considering her appearance rather than her accomplishments. One woman says that whenever she (or other female CEOs) is interviewed, she is almost always physically described. While it is not necessarily the best way to get recognized, she feels that if the picture and article are in good taste, why not? But women are still described as what they used to do whether it was "former cheerleader," "former dancer," or "former girlfriend of Bill Gates" (Brown, 1999, ¶ 18) rather than what they have accomplished.

Besides looking at the sex and sexiness of the female executives, reporters write about women because they have "done something." This type of story enhances the fact that the story was written merely because the subject is a woman, not because of her abilities. Forbes ran a cover story that featured "The New Valley Girls" (as cited in

Brown, 1999) making reference to the 1980s nickname for young women living in California's San Fernando Valley. A <u>Vanity Fair</u> technology editor feels stories are written this way because:

> Now that all the general interest publications can't get enough of
>
> technology, there's a tremendous demand for technology stories. In
>
> general interest publications, you have to make it sexy; the technology is
>
> hard to describe and editors are afraid you'll lose part of the audience. So
>
> it will gravitate to the simplistic and exploitable. (Brown, 1999, ¶ 20)

Although the attention is flattering to the CEOs, and possibly inspires other female CEOs, women could get stereotyped in the role of "woman executive" because of these stories.

A woman executive says she would like to see a few articles written about a woman's business skills or technical knowledge instead of the fact that she's a woman. Another woman says that no matter what the subject, her roles at IBM, Apple, or National Semiconductor, the reporter wants to talk to her husband and take a picture of her home. She also argues that women can control their image and what is written about them in these magazines (Brown, 1999).

> One of the things you really notice is that when you're interviewed or
>
> profiled, you are almost always physically described. It's odd -- all of that
>
> kind of attention is irrelevant to my performance. But I admit that back in
>
> my day, I got a few magazine covers that probably my company size
>
> didn't merit. (Brown, 1999, ¶ 14)

Another woman executive says she would like to see a few stories that focus on a woman's business skills instead of the fact she's a woman as so many articles do (Brown, 1999).

Conclusion

The article "Feminist media criticism and feminist media practices" (Emerson & Watkins, 2000) was not used in this study because of its broad nature about women in the media and not in reference to a specific event or in reference to women in business in general. Also, its stridently feminist positions are not at the root of this thesis. "Still the missing feminist revolution? Inequalities of race, class, and gender in introductory sociology textbooks" (Manza, 1996) and "Images of Rosie: A content analysis of women workers in American magazine advertising, 1940-1946" (Lewis & Neville, 1995) were not used. They were not related to women in business or are about an incident that happened too long ago.

Advertisements, in major national and international newspapers and in business magazines, subject women to stereotypes, gender-biased language, and gender-biased images. Women are no longer singly portrayed as housewives or waitresses, but the media continues to use gender-biased language and stereotypes about women in professional situations that could affect how women are viewed by society as a whole. Unfortunately, the Salon.com article shows women portrayed as either "ice queens" or "pin-ups" was not a research study, but it does provide evidence that the research in this thesis is on the right track and more research is necessary.

Reporters and editors of news and business media continue to use stereotypes and generally exploit women in accepted ways, since it is easier than putting extra effort into writing stories, using images, and using information sources that might change and

enhance the way readers view women and their issues. An example of using stereotypes is the television show Ally McBeal, where despite being a successful lawyer, the main character is always looking for a boyfriend and acting immature in many situations. Murphy Brown, a popular mid-1990s television show, in contrast, showed a mature woman who was quite happy about not having a permanent mate. Shalit (as cited in Vavrus, 2000) notes that some television shows, particularly Ally McBeal, "have made male power and female powerlessness seem harmless, cuddly, sexy, safe, and sellable. They have merely raised conservatism's hem" (¶ 16).

Chapter IV

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

"Like the individuals who read them, every magazine has a distinct personality. Reading a magazine is an intimate, involving experience that fulfills the personal needs and reflects the values of the reader" ("The Magazine Handbook," 2000, p.5). At no other time in history have so many people relied on magazines for news, health and beauty instruction, and information to assist us in our daily lives, whether at home, at work, or at play. According to a publication from the Magazine Publishers of America (MPA), on average, every household purchases six different magazines annually ("The Magazine Handbook," 2000). The MPA is a nonprofit professional organization that supports and promotes the editorial and economic vitality of MPA publications. The author believes that it is important to discuss the significance of magazines since reading them is a large part of American life.

More than ever, business leaders shape public ideology; no longer is business confined to the boardroom. And, from their earliest days, business magazines reported on companies, their leaders, and the effects their leaders' decisions have on society. In fact, more people than ever want to find out what is happening in the business world and how it affects their lives.

These five business magazines are some of the most widely read magazines in this country, as well as being one of the most popular ways Americans learn business news that shapes how we think about people in business. A content analysis will reveal that business magazines recognize women in business; however, they are not portrayed as equally as men are. The survey will provide information about how women feel about how these magazines communicate to them.

The author believes that many women do not read these magazines because they do not feel the magazines communicate to them as people in business, even though they can help women gain a voice in the business community.

Magazines

The first magazines in the United States were started to provide information to English immigrants to the colonies who were used to reading magazines (Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991). These magazines ranged in subject from politics to general information. In these journals, women were discussed from every conceivable angle. They were both glorified and deplored (Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991). This continued well into the 19th century. At this time, there were few women who read or had time to read and almost no magazines targeted women. However, in the 1790s, a few journals dedicated to women started, and by 1830, there were approximately 45 magazines for women.

In the mid-1800s, the number of women's magazines grew significantly. The Ladies Home Journal, Godey's Ladies' Book, and other journals began springing up to help women run their homes better, dress better and even give women a chance to read popular fiction. Later magazines such as Better Homes and Gardens, McCall's, and others had some of the highest circulation numbers and number of advertisting pages making them some of the most popular magazines of all time (Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991).

The history of magazines is one that includes the history of advertising. Magazine advertising first appeared in the 1850s. By 1890 the amount spent on advertising in the U.S. was $190 million and was $682 million in 1914. Much of the advertising money during this period went into magazine advertising (Tebbel &

Zuckerman, 1991). The leading magazine in advertising revenues was The Saturday
Evening Post, which jumped from $6,933 in 1897 to $1,266,931 in 1907. Revenues had
topped $16 million by 1917 (Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991).

In 1905, however, advertisers and several advertising agencies wanted more
control over magazine publishing, making it more difficult to hide or falsify circulation
figures. The Audit Bureau of Circulations was established in 1914 to oversee magazine
publishers and circulation numbers. Even at that time it was a common occurrence for
periodicals to have circulation numbers in the millions (Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991).

The early part of the 20th century brought about even more changes in the
magazine publisher/advertiser relationship. Since revenues from advertising made up so
much of a magazine's revenue, magazine publishers found themselves marketing to two
different customers: readers and advertisers. Because of this close relationship,
advertisements were soon placed next to related editorial pages, particularly in women's
and farm journals; two major consumers. Advertisers became more aware of their power
over publishers and started demanding particular placements for their products (Tebbel &
Zuckerman, 1991).

Today, advertising and magazine publishing is alive and flourishing. Millions of
dollars are spent trying to ensure that advertisers spend their clients' money wisely by
placing their ads in the correct publication -- in the most appropriate location in the
magazine -- to get to the widest appropriate audience response. In some cases, and
especially in issues around the Christmas and Chanukah seasons, advertising pages may
seem to exceed editorial sections. There were 336 ad pages and 216 editorial pages in
Elle magazine's September 2000 issue and in the same month, Harper's Bazaar had 294
ads and 158 editorial pages (Brill's Content, 2000, p. 44).

Generally, magazine readers are among the most educated and highest paid citizens in the country. Most readers have attended some college and some have received baccalaureate degrees and some even have advanced degrees. Magazine readers also use the Internet more and watch less television ("The Magazine Handbook," 2000). Demographics are more important in the case of business magazines, especially those that target their editorial to women and men aspiring to become senior executives, CEOs, or those who wish to open their own businesses. According to The Magazines Handbook (2000), the "average" magazine reader's household income is over $75,000, their house is valued over $150,000, they are work in executive/managerial/administrative/professional careers, or they are top management decision-makers.

The Periodicals

The reasons for using these five magazines are twofold. First, these magazines appeal to a wide-range of business professionals, not just those in a specific field or industry. Second, these magazines are among the most widely read magazines in any magazine category. Their circulation rates and advertising revenues are among the top in the country. In 1997, according to the Wall Street Journal Almanac (1998), BusinessWeek ranked 8th; Forbes ranked 9th, Fortune ranked 12th and Inc. ranked 34th on the Leading U.S. Magazines Ranked by Advertising Revenue list. Not a small achievement when compared to magazines like People Weekly, Sports Illustrated, Time and TV Guide (ranked 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th respectively). Also, from 1988 to 1998 the business and industry magazine category grew by 48% ("The Magazine Handbook," 1999). These magazines compete not only with general interest consumer magazines; they also compete with trade and other types of business publications as well. While these magazines are not perhaps true business publications -- according to the ABP they

border on the consumer publication category -- the information provided in these magazines helps businesspeople make decisions for their personal success and the success of their organizations.

Three of the periodicals -- <u>BusinessWeek</u>, <u>Forbes</u>, and <u>Fortune</u> -- in this study have been in circulation since 1929 or before. Of the three, <u>Forbes</u>, is the oldest one. A Scotsman, B.C. Forbes, started the magazine in 1917. He had started as a printer's assistant, but also possessed a keen and penetrating business mind (Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991). He started the <u>Forbes</u> magazine.

Malcolm Forbes became the publisher/editor of the magazine when his father, B.C., died. Under Malcolm Forbes, the publication became highly regarded for its excruciating honesty about the corporate world. "Our function in the magazine is to deal with and evaluate management" (Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991, p. 357). By being so honest enemies were made and friendships were destroyed. It did not hurt the magazine's success that its owner became as widely known for his personal exploits and relations as for his publishing a highly successful periodical. The magazine was so successful that <u>Forbes</u> inspired both <u>Fortune</u> and <u>BusinessWeek</u> to change their formats and writing styles to emulate its success. According to Tebbel and Zuckerman (1991) "Chairman Malcolm's rivals have become his imitators" (p. 357).

<u>Forbes</u> even capitalized on its rival's (<u>Fortune</u>) 500 and 1000 lists by creating its own "<u>Forbes</u> 500," which lists the nation's 400 richest individuals, attracting an audience of nonbusiness readers (Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991). Its role as a "capitalist tool" has never been disputed. The magazine is still privately run with Steve Forbes, one of Malcolm Forbes's sons, as President and Editor-in-Chief, and Timothy C. Forbes as Chief

Operating Officer, Christopher Forbes as Vice Chairman, and Robert L. Forbes as

President of <u>Forbes</u> Global and <u>Forbes FYI</u>, a spin-off of the magazine.

    <u>Forbes</u>' editorial profile as reported by Mediastart (www.mediastart.com) is:

Edited for top management and for those aspiring to positions of corporate

leadership, <u>Forbes</u> covers companies and the people who run them,

industries, finance, marketing, law, taxes, technology, management

performance, and global business trends. Editorial supplements cover

executive, leisure, and lifestyle pursuits as well as the digital economy.

(MediaStart.com, 2001)

    Special editions include the <u>Forbes</u> 500 -- America's Leading Companies, The

Best Places for Business and Careers in America's New Economy, Mutual Fund Survey,

and The <u>Forbes</u> 400: The Richest People in America. The advertising rate for a four-

color, four-page advertisement placed on the second cover is $128,300. A four-color,

one-page advertisement placed on the second cover is $171,070 (Mediastart.com, 2001).

    <u>Fortune</u>'s founding publisher, Henry Luce, had less flair than the Forbes family,

but founded a media empire that just recently became part of the largest media empire in

the world, AOL Time Warner. Luce grew up in China and came to America to attend

prep school. He went on to graduate from Yale University. After Yale, he and another

classmate wanted to start a magazine. Their first success was <u>Time</u> magazine.

    Since the stock market was booming and business was hot, they decided to start a

business magazine, <u>Fortune</u>, named by Claire Booth Luce, Henry's wife. Unfortunately,

their timing was a little off; the magazine first appeared in February 1930 (Tebbel &

Zuckerman, 1991) just in time for the Great Depression. In spite of the Depression,

advertisers recognized the editorial quality and placed 779 pages of advertising in the first issue (Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991).

Before the magazine could become a success, it had two obstacles to overcome. The first was the Depression, which immediately grew worse in 1930, and the other was the attitude big business and big businessmen had toward a magazine that explained to the public and to the business community itself the problems such companies face. When the magazine started, editorial copy was shown to companies for factual correction before stories were printed, but some large corporations were not cooperative and wanted to rewrite the stories in a more favorable light. No one wanted their names revealed to the public as being the company behind the probing stories (Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991).

According to Tebbel and Zuckerman (1991), the Depression actually helped Luce and Fortune. While entertainment had been the key word in magazine publishing during the Jazz Age, sober Depression times had generated a demand for facts, particularly about what was happening to the country. This especially benefited both Fortune and Time.

Fortune is "edited for corporate management, Fortune provides coverage of trends investments, and technology and features stories about current business leaders" (Mediastart.com, 2001). Special editions include the 100 Best Companies to Work For, Fortune 500, Cool Companies, Best Companies for Minorities, and the 50 Most Powerful Women. Fortune's advertising rates are not as expensive as Forbes' are.

McGraw-Hill founded BusinessWeek in 1929. The magazine flourished in much of the same manner as Fortune, because of the public's growing interest in business. Its profile says that it is "written for business executives, BusinessWeek provides analysis and commentary on the latest developments in

economics, international business, the industries, legal affairs, information

technology, and the government"

(http://www.mediastart.com/infoinfo.cfm?Type=Print&getMagCode=BUSINE07

). The advertising rate for a four-color, second-cover advertisement is $212,000.

Special editions include Best Executives, BW 50, Executive Pay, Global 1000,

Investment Guide for Women, Work and Family, Lifestyle, and 2001 Investment

Outlook (Mediastart.com, 2001).

Fast Company is different from the previous three magazines. Besides being the

youngest of the magazines, its focus is different. Its articles detail the New Economy, as

well as focusing "on the new world of business, profiling the people, teams, and

companies who are making it happen. Emphasis is on quality of life and innovative

work" (Mediastart.com, 2001). Articles are often not about "business" issues, but about

the people whose ideas make their companies and other companies run smoothly.

Previously privately owned, but financially supported by Mort Zuckerman, the noted

editor of the weekly U.S. News and World Report, it is now fully owned by Gruner &

Jahr, a German publishing conglomerate.

The magazine is a monthly that has four special issues: the Anniversary Issue,

Spring Issue, Fall Issue, and Winter Issue. Each issue usually has a theme to which most

of the articles relate. A special feature, unique to Fast Company, is an Internet

Community where subscribers can chat with others in their region to exchange business

ideas and personal (such as finding apartments and jobs) issues. Fast Company, the

magazine, charges $54,805 for a four-color, three-page advertisement (Mediastart.com,

2001).

Inc. magazine is the only publication in this study that targets entrepreneurs. Inc. is "edited exclusively for CEOs of small to midsize, fast-growing companies, Inc. offers solutions and perspectives on managing people, finances, sales, marketing, and technology. Emphasis is placed on peer-to-peer experience and sharing of ideas" (Mediastart.com, 2001). Bernard Goldhirsh, a Boston-based publisher founded the magazines in 1979. Other publishers had largely ignored the small business owner and entrepreneur, and this magazine was an instant success.

Gail Pool (it is unclear which year the quotation is from based on information in the book's Bibliography, as cited in Tebbel & Zuckerman, 1991) commented on Inc. because it recognized:

> That the interests and concerns of small business differ from those of large corporations, Inc. provides information directly relevant to the smaller enterprise. National and international trends are not ignored, but they are viewed from a more localized perspective...Inc. has found its place as both reporter and interpreter of news and issues for owners of small businesses. (pp. 349-350)

Tebbel and Zuckerman (1991) also stated that "by its selection of articles and by its sophisticated presentation, it clarifies the broader implications of issues without sacrificing practical elements".

Goldhirsh bought a publication called Dun's Business Month in 1986. He changed the name to Business Month and sharpened the magazine's editorial focus to compete with Fortune, Forbes, and BusinessWeek. He tried to minimize the similarities to its rivals, but did not succeed with its new focus.

Gruner & Jahr, the same German publisher that owns <u>Fast Company</u>, also owns <u>Inc.</u> A four-color, second-page advertisement running three times costs $93,320. Each issue in 2001 has a special focus, including an <u>Inc.</u> 500, Technology Issue, Best Hometown Businesses, and Innercity 100 Issue (Mediastart.com, 2001).

Circulation, the number of magazines that are subscribed to or bought at a retail outlet, is the basis for the large advertising rates charged by these companies. The more people subscribe to and buy the periodical the more it can charge for advertising. The demographics of these four magazines are similar. <u>Forbes</u> has the highest median age of 47.3 (all adults), with the median men's age being 44.9 and the median women's age being 44.3. <u>Inc.</u>'s readers/subscribers, however, have the highest median income -- $95,276.00. However, the number of advertising pages in <u>Inc.</u> dropped 2% from 1998 to 1999 (Foliomag.com, 1999). <u>Fast Company</u> has the lowest readership, probably due the fact that it is a newer magazine than its competitors and has a different focus, although it had the highest increase of readers from 1998 to 1999 (Foliomag.com, 1999).

Content Analysis Method

According to Fico et al. (1994), it is extremely important to know the precise information a researcher is studying prior to the actual content analysis. This keeps most of the subjectivity out of the analysis to provide valid and reliable results. This content analysis is concerned with finding out how five current issues of five business magazines described above communicate to women and portray women in business. The analysis was semi-quantitative, meaning that while statistical information is used, most of the research findings were not analyzed through detailed mathematical equations. For the most part only manifest content was used. The only place latent analysis was possibly used was in analyzing pictures and images in a few stories and in reviewing

advertisements. Pattern content, rather than projective content, was used for latent content analysis.

Five issues of each magazine were reviewed (See Appendix A for content analysis chart used for each magazine). The issues were selected at random. A friend of the author's located several issues of Forbes, Fortune, and BusinessWeek from his collection, while the author had Fast Company and Inc. issues in her house since she subscribed to those magazines.

Table 1

Magazine Issues Used In Content Analysis.

BusinessWeek	Fast Company	Forbes	Fortune	Inc.
April 3, 2000	May 2000	March 20, 2000	May 29, 2000	June 2000
May 22, 2000	June 2000	July 3, 2000	September 4, 2000	July 2000

(table continues on next page)

September 4, 2000	September 2000	July 24, 2000	September 24, 2000	October 2000
September 18. 2000	October 2000	October 2, 2000	October 2, 2000	November 2000
September 25, 2000	December 2000	October 9, 2000	December 18, 2000	December 2000

BusinessWeek is a weekly magazine, Forbes and Fortune are biweekly, and Fast Company and Inc. are published monthly.

Advertisements located just after the cover and the back cover page were reviewed for images, language and women's roles. Back cover ads are the most expensive ads to place in magazines but these ads are viewed the most often. The inside front cover of the magazine is the second best advertisement placement (Alyson Rice, personal communication, April 5, 2001). If the advertisement did not have any text in addition to the product name and a web site address, the advertising language was

considered gender-neutral. This text provided clarification of price or other product information.

The senior editorial team was reviewed to find out how many women and men are on the board. Editors suggest and select stories that have the greatest potential to attract advertisers; this is the commercial imperative of their business (Vavrus, 2000). Good editors also know their audiences and target commentary and editorial toward those people.

The titles of the team may change from magazine to magazine. Inc. titles were Editor-in-Chief, Deputy Editor, Executive Editor, Managing Editor, Senior Editors, Senior Feature Writer, and Senior Writers. Forbes has Editor, Executive Editor, Assistant Managing Editor, Art and Design Director, Editorial Business Director, National Editor, and Senior Editors, Senior Reporters. Fast Company has Founding Editors, Design Director, Managing Editor, Deputy Art Director, Senior Editors, Senior Designers, Senior Writers, Web-Design Associate, Photograph Coordinator, Senior Design Director/Special Projects, Production Manager and Production Manager. Fortune has Editor-In-Chief, Editorial Director, Corporate Editor, Chairman/CEO, Executive Vice President, Managing Editor, Deputy Managing Editor, Executive Editor, Assistant Managing Editors, Art Director, Picture Editor, Editors at Large, Senior Editors, Board of Editors, Chief of Reporters, Editors, and Senior Writers. BusinessWeek has Editor-in-Chief, Managing Editor, Chief Economist, Assistant Manager Editors, Art Director, Chief of Correspondents, Editorial Page Editor, and Senior Writers.

The content analysis also looked at the types of articles found in each of the magazines. The subsections were Industry, Lifestyle, Finance, Personality, Feature

Article(s), and Regular Articles/Columnists/Editorial. No further analysis was done on this section.

The genders of cover and feature storywriters were also analyzed. In each magazine the author looked at whether more women than men wrote the stories. In most of the magazines, it was possible to gather this information from the table of contents. However, BusinessWeek did not list the writers' names in the table of contents and the author had to look at the byline of each story. Also, the author did not see who wrote sidebar articles.

Similar to McShane's (1995) content analysis, sources used in a cover or feature stories in each magazine were examined in this thesis. If the cover story was not long enough (less than two pages) or was a special story with little or no text, the next feature story was used. Sources were broken into three categories: women, men, and "Cannot Tell Just by Name/Not Specified," which meant the name could be associated with a male or female or a name was not specified only a title was given. Next, those groups were broken down further by whether the person was an executive, manager or other. An executive, in most cases, was any person identified by the term "executive," or vice-president, CEO, COO, president, and so forth. In one case, the article reviewed was about CNBC, the financial news station. If a person hosted his or her own show, that person was considered an executive since they usually have responsibility for producing the show rather than just appearing on it. If the person was an anchorperson or reporter, that person was considered a manager. Directors and below were considered managers for this thesis. "Other" includes any job that could not be classified as a manager or executive. In one story, Avon saleswomen are others, in another story, politicians. If a source could not be identified, they were not classified.

The last section in the content analysis was to find out how many of the stories in each issue specifically reported about one executive from a company. To be considered, an executive's name had to be mentioned in the table of contents. Then, what the story emphasized was considered. Selections were Skills, Company, Personal, and Business trends/Commentary. Skills are specific skills that an executive brings to a company. Company refers to the specific company the executive worked for. This means the story focused on the relationship between the executive and the company. Personal refers to talking about the executive's personality and how it relates to their abilities or company, but stresses more personal aspects of their lives. Business trends/Commentary is when an executive is asked her or his opinion or explains something that is pertinent to the way business is done rather than about the executive or the company.

The author reviewed each issue to ensure consistency across magazines.

Survey Method

As part of the research process, a survey (see Appendix B) was developed to find out women's attitudes toward nongender specific business periodicals. General information about the respondent (name, occupation, age, title, and company) was asked. Section A asked the respondents which magazines they read; Section B followed up by asking why they read these magazines. If a respondent did not read any of the magazines, they selected a reason in Section C. A few people said they occasionally read the magazines, and that was considered when the results were compiled. Section D asked respondents to rate 10 statements on a scale from one to five, with one being "strongly disagree" and five being "strongly agree." Section E asked respondents what they considered the most significant barrier to women achieving equal work status with men.

The survey was not distributed in a truly random sampling. It was sent to women friends, family members, and former work associates of the author. In several cases the first women the author sent the survey to forwarded it to their women friends and co-workers. A total of 86 women received the survey and 43 completed surveys were returned by the time the analysis was made. One was returned without being completed and was not counted in the final analysis. This method is similar to the "snowball" method used in feminist research to find women who are willing to share their voices so others can learn about their experiences. The survey was sent to most women via e-mail and most were returned via e-mail. A few were mailed back.

The author attempted to distribute the surveys at local train stations during morning commuting times. Four were handed out on one day at the New Providence train station, and three were returned since the surveys were pre-addressed and stamped. One more attempt was made another day at an earlier time. This day was very rainy and the only person who looked like she would read these magazines had already received a survey. Two attempts were made to distribute the survey at the Chatham, NJ train station. The author felt very uncomfortable approaching women at the train station because of its implied "alone time" aspect. Also, many people would not get to the train station or leave their cars until the train was coming.

As a train rider, the author understands how valuable people's time on the train is. It is one of the few times people have a chance to relax. Also, the fact that the author was passing out the survey on New Jersey Transit property did not make the task easier. The New Providence train station does not have a ticket booth and the author felt more comfortable there. The Chatham train station has a ticket booth, which is staffed during rush hour.

Chapter V

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Only recently have business magazines begun to cover women executives and women's issues. Through content analysis and surveys, the author has discovered that business magazines now cover women executives and issues regarding work/life balance, but do not necessarily communicate effectively to women. More of the editorial staff and more of the writers are women, but it does not necessarily mean that women receive increased or better coverage.

Content Analysis

Advertising

Print advertising is a billion-dollar industry that uses words and images to sell products. As noted in Artz et al. (1999), the use of gender-specific, gender-neutral, and gender-biased language can be damaging to a company's image, turning away key consumer segments. Kilbourne (1990) found that when women are presented in nontraditional roles, increasing the perception that women are fully capable as managers. The advertisements selected for review are located in the front of the magazine and on the back cover, where readers are more likely to pay attention to the ads and are the most expensive advertisements to place. The majority of advertisements on both the front-inside cover and back cover of the magazines featured vehicles.

Front-page and back-page advertisements were reviewed in each issue used for the study. Of the 25 front-page advertisements, 36% did not have a woman or a man in them. If a child was in the picture, it was not counted (e.g., in a Macintosh ad for its video capabilities, a child was shown on the screen). Of the eight ads featuring men, seven show one man and one ad showed more than one man. Five ads featured one

woman, and only one ad featured more than one woman. One advertisement featured a woman and a man.

The advertisements that featured one or more women featured three in traditional roles. One of these ads featured an upscale couple dining out and showed the woman angrily pointing an electronic communication device at her husband. A gatefold, when opened, revealed their teen-age babysitter (a girl) contacting the parents for help. The couple's children have tied her up. The way the wife angrily thrusts the electronic device at her husband indicated that she expected him to take charge of the situation. This advertisement perpetuates the often-promoted myth that the man is the rescuer and the woman is the helpless bystander.

Another woman shown in a traditional role is in a Ralph Lauren ad. The picture on the right inside page shows a man and a woman dressed, presumably, in upscale Ralph Lauren clothing. The man is clearly in charge and she is his girlfriend or date for the evening. The fact that the picture of the man and woman is on the right-hand side of the two-page ad indicates its importance and perpetuates the idea that women are objects. This ad is in two issues of Inc.

The only woman represented in a nontraditional way is in an advertisement for Ford Motor Company (in an issue of Fortune featuring three women on the cover). The ad shows a youngish woman out in the field with some construction men. Trees are being planted in the aftermath of a forest fire, and while the ad does not show the woman actually planting trees it acknowledges her position within Ford Motor Company as part of the public affairs team in a nontraditional public affairs role. While not a distinct business role, it does indicate that she is in charge of the situation.

Gender-biased language is found in only two of the 25 advertisements. One is for Windows 2000 Professional software that has the tagline, "When you run your own business, you don't have time to waste nagging your computer guy." While the "you" does not specifically say woman or man owning your own business, the implication is that men are the only ones who are knowledgeable about computers and are computer technicians. The iMac ad in Fast Company shows an iMac computer with a toddler on the screen with the title "A Proud Dad Production." The rest of the text in the advertisement is gender-neutral, "giving you (emphasis added) a whole new way to gush about your young ones." The author understands that Apple uses a friendlier, more personal way to sell its computers, but in an advertisement for the Power Mac G4 in BusinessWeek, the tagline is "two brains are better than one," which is more gender-neutral than the iMac advertisement.

Back-cover ads faired similarly to the inside-cover page. Ten of the 25 ads did not have a person in them (one showed a boy), while 6 had one man and 1 had one woman. Eight advertisements featured more than one woman. Curiously, Fast Company, which is much more likely to focus on work issues rather than strictly business issues, has one ad that features a woman in a very sexist role. Otherwise, their ads did not have any people in them. One interesting finding is that except for one ad, all of the ads that feature women also feature men. The one that shows only a woman is for a Chevy Tahoe Sport-Utility Vehicle. She is dressed for hiking outdoors and has nothing to do with business. The other ads that feature women also show at least one man. Quite frequently there are other women in the ad, too.

The ad on the back cover of the December 2000 issue of Fast Company features a young woman in a wedding gown showing a lot of cleavage feeding cake to a very old

man in a tuxedo, presumably her new husband. The tagline says, "What if the delivery of goods was negotiated before making a formal commitment?" The ad uses traditional gender-biased images of women even though the company advertising is an electronic technology outsourcing company. The text is very gender-biased, relating to the trophy wife status and perhaps negotiating a pre-nuputial agreement.

Three back-cover ads fare better. One advertisement on the back cover of an issue of Inc. shows two men and two women. The four people started a company and the Bank of America is helping them reach their dream. The Goldman Sachs' ad on the back cover of a BusinessWeek magazine features three men and two women. They are the technology research team. One of Fast Company's back covers portray a woman in a suit with her hair pulled back surrounded by three men who are clearly "the bad guys." These ads, although none of them have an individual woman featured, at least show women in a professional manner.

One advertisement -- for Gucci Business (clothes, leather products, the author cannot tell) -- is very odd. It features what looks like a man, but only his hands (from which one can tell the model is a man). A little bit of the face is shown, but not enough to distinguish it from a man or woman. A leather briefcase is the focal point of the ad. There is another person standing next to him, but the author cannot tell if it is a woman or man. The tagline simply says, "Gucci Business."

None of Fortune's back-cover ads feature women. Four show men and one has an ad for a Cadillac DeVille. Inc. had the most women in their back-cover advertisements, a total of three. Fortune and BusinessWeek had advertisements in each category. Most of the advertisements used gender-neutral language and nonperson images.

A friend of the author took a class on marketing and a woman who is in charge of advertising at BusinessWeek spoke during a class. The woman related a story about a company trying to sell an ad to run in the magazine, placement not known. She did not accept the ad for her magazine, but it has run in Forbes. The ad shows a naked woman with her private parts blacked out. The advertisement is for some kind of computer hardware to make running the Internet easier; and the clear implication is that this new technology will make it easier to see the entire woman's naked body. There is no need to use a blacked-out woman's body to sell technology when business magazines already do not take women seriously.

Editorial Board

The Editorial Board of a magazine determines the stories to be covered and the direction the entire magazine takes when covering events and people. Inc. was the only magazine that had an equal number of men and women on its board; six men and six women. But, most of the stories are about men. Fast Company was also more balanced, but was heavy on males in the editorial direction and heavy on females in art and design direction. More men were on the editorial boards of BusinessWeek, Forbes, and Fortune, although women are strong in the writing category.

Fast Company's top three positions (Founding Editors and Design Director) are men, whereas women hold two of the top four positions at Inc. The highest position a woman holds at Forbes is as one of the four Assistant Managing Directors. There is also one woman Assistant Managing Editor at BusinessWeek. At Fortune magazine a woman holds the position of Corporate Editor -- one of the top three positions on the editorial board.

Cover/Feature Story Writers

The number of male and female writers was counted to find out if women were give the opportunity to contribute to story development. Three of the five magazines have twice as many men writers than women writers. In BusinessWeek, women actually outnumber the men, but there may be a reason for this. BusinessWeek usually has at least two writers per story and sometimes more. The magazine also has shorter deadlines and needs to have reporters throughout the country to quickly put stories together.

The September 18, 2000, issue (featuring Andrea Jung, the CEO of Avon) has a section about work and family issues that is covered exclusively by women. A woman wrote the Andrea Jung cover story and a man and two female correspondents wrote the article about Compaq computer's CEO Michael Capellas. Most articles in BusinessWeek are written by two or three writers and usually men and women are spread fairly equally among the stories.

Inc. has an average of 1.8 female writers to two male writers. An average of 4.4 women write stories and an average of 9.8 men write stories in Fortune. Both men and women write more than one article for an issue, but individuals were only counted once even if they had two or more stories in the same issue. Women wrote more than one story less often than men in most issues.

Throughout the magazines, women didn't just write about women's issues or women executives. If they had, there would hardly have been very few stories since work/life issues were not discussed at all in Forbes, Fortune and rarely in Inc., although women were not limited to writing stories about work/life issues in general. In Fast Company, where there were more stories about the "softer" side of business, men wrote more stories than women write.

Genders of Sources

McShane (1995) studies two American and two Canadian business magazines for the gender, occupation, and regional location of sources used in feature stories, and Danner and Walsh (1999) studied two major U.S. newspapers for source bias. For the purpose of this study, the author looked at the gender only and whether the subject is an executive, manager, or other profession. Clearly, men continue to be used more often as sources than women.

One article was reviewed from each issue of the five magazines was reviewed. In Fast Company, 16 women and 39 men were used as sources, in Forbes only 5 women were sources and 53 men were sources. BusinessWeek used women as sources 15 times and men 56 times. Inc. had 10 women and 28 men as sources. The only magazine that could not be accurately counted was Fortune due to a story about Jac Nassar, the CEO of Ford Motor Company. No source was identified by name, only title, so no gender distinction could be made. However, without that article, 12 women were used as sources and 50 men were used as sources. A significant disparity was found between men and women in all cases.

When breaking down the results of the study between the levels of management -- executives and managers -- the disparity becomes clearer. Of all the sources identified as men or women, only 16% were women executives. Only 26 out of the 158 executives used as sources in cover or feature stories were women. Women managers made up only 25% of all managers used as sources. This is much lower than expected, since most women in corporations are managers. Women in other careers only make up 21% of all sources used in these stories.

Since women make up approximately 46% of all workers, there should be more women being used as sources for stories, except that a lot of the women counted in the

46% are in other fields. One article in the April 3, 2000, <u>BusinessWeek</u> actually sources two female and two male executives: J. Peter Ricketts, Senior Vice President at Ameritrade, Susanne Lyons, Chief Marketing Officer at Charles Schwab, William Bolster, President of CNBC, and Mary Meeker, Morgan Stanley's Chief Internet and E-commerce Analyst. The September 18, 2000, <u>BusinessWeek</u> cover story about Andrea Jung, the CEO of Avon, sources five women and four men, but the most of the women were not executives, or even managers. Some stories do not even have any executive women as sources. Even if men read the story about Ms. Jung, the rest of the magazine does not seem to be communicating to them that women's voices are important except when discussing women's issues.

<u>Stories About Executives</u>

This category is unique to this study. The author wanted to find out how many individual stories about top executives were in the magazine issues reviewed. The thought behind this is that an individual story provides more exposure to readers than a general business story about several executives. <u>Fast Company</u> is more about ideas than "business" and only wrote about 2 female executives and 2 male "executives" (vice president or above) individually. Other people profiled in this magazine are teachers, coaches, and others who brought a unique perspective about life to the business world. <u>BusinessWeek</u> wrote about 4 women, including Andrea Jung's cover story, and 6 men. <u>Forbes</u>, besides the <u>Forbes</u> 400 Richest list, profiled 4 women executives and 25 male executives. There were over 40 women on the 400 Richest People list; however, most of them had received their money through the death of their husband or by divorcing him. These women were in the "Wives Club" category.

Inc. only wrote about 2 women executives, but 7 male executives. Fortune profiled 1 woman individually and 14 men. Despite this low number in each magazine, stories about women executives comprise 19% of the stories in all the magazines reviewed, higher than the average number of CEOs in Fortune 500 companies, but less than the percentage of women in business overall. However, it must be remembered that there are over 9 million women-owned businesses in the United States.

Other Findings

While trying to take a neutral look at the information above, the author feels that there is also a need to report about the other, more subjective findings from the business publication review. For the most part, the language used in all of the magazine articles reviewed was gender-neutral, but there was a case where a woman's nickname was used and comparisons made.

Fast Company uses CNBC reporter Maria Bartiromo's nickname "Money Honey," given to her by the New York Post, three times in a cover article about CNBC. Was it necessary to use "Money Honey" three times? It was probably used to give the story some humor and personality, but the only person who knows the reason for this is the story's writer. No other nicknames were used in the story, though.

BusinessWeek compares Compaq CEO Michael Capellas to Carly Fiorina, CEO of Hewlett Packard:

> His appointment was even more startling in contrast with the CEO search
> at HP, which landed Carly Fiorina, the well-known former exec at Lucent
> Technologies. She's always carefully coiffed and coutured and starred in a
> series of HP ads on TV. Capellas dresses down, has a five-o'clock shadow
> before noon, and mingles with employees like a politician working a

volunteer fire department picnic. (BusinessWeek, September 4, 2000, p.

90.)

In the article about Capellas, only one woman was used as a source -- his wife. No

female technology executives or Carly Fiorina herself were sourced. The lead writer was

a man, and two women were contributors.

> BusinessWeek's (2000) coverage of Andrea Jung includes the following passage:
>
> "She has an opportunity to really demonstrate her abilities, and if she does
>
> well, others will undoubtedly reach for her." But if she fails, the business
>
> world will witness the collapse of one of the most-watched careers in
>
> American business. Another Jill Barad (former CEO of Mattel)? It's
>
> possible. Even her (Jung's) supporters acknowledge that Jung has no easy
>
> task ahead. (p. 139)

This passage points out that when women succeed it is an anomaly; when they fail it is

expected or at least not news.

A quick review of the September 18, 2000, BusinessWeek magazine reveals that

women are shown in a lot of advertisements, even a few professionals. But when images

are added to articles, there are few professional women shown. The article about

working moms featured only a couple of pictures of women. In one, a mother with her

baby, in another, a woman who owns a consulting business that helps parents organize

their life. However, without reading the caption, one would not know what the picture

represented. One woman is dressed casually holding a baby and standing next to a

daycare provider. Again, it is not until one reads the caption that it is found out that she

is a technology professional. While it is nice to see an article about work/life issues in a

mainstream business magazine, it seemed so targeted to women that the author doubts if

a single man read it. This defeats the purpose of the article as far as the author is concerned.

It is interesting to note that while the work/life special report in BusinessWeek (2000) is featured in a business magazine, the first page is about a woman who had had a successful sales' career and decided to stay home with her child. The woman profiled extols the virtues of staying home and fixing her husband his lunch before he leaves for work. She says, "it has made me believe that this is the way it's supposed to be" (BusinessWeek, 2000, p. 102). For a business magazine that is also covering a successful woman CEO, the irony of that statement on the first page of the article is amazing. The title of the article is "The New Debate Over Working Moms," as if the old debates have been resolved.

Fast Company often provides stories about work/life balance issues for both men and women. That is why the biased advertisements were so disturbing. The author feels that if they are using editorial pages to listen to what women have to say about business, why are they not using more unbiased advertisements or more advertisements featuring businesswomen. One advertisement for cinnamon Altoids is placed on the back inside cover of a Fast Company magazine shows a sexy woman wearing a tight-fitting devil costume. The tagline is, "I've got the hots for you." Cinnamon Altoids are "curiously strong," but the double entrendre cannot be missed. It is interesting to note that an updated Rosie the Riveter illustration is featured on the cover page of the same issue. Another back inside cover ad features another sexy woman. This ad is for the new Volkswagen Beetle.

The author does not know if BusinessWeek's special coverage of women's work/life balance issues went into detail about the role men take in their families besides

being the "breadwinner," at least the magazine took the chance of bringing up the subject. Of the three largest magazines, <u>BusinessWeek</u> and <u>Fast Company</u> are the only ones that tackled the subject (based on the issues reviewed).

Magazine covers that featured were fairly gender-neutral or specific. One <u>Forbes'</u> cover featured the tennis player Anna Kournikova in a sexy pose. Andrea Jung was featured on the cover of one <u>BusinessWeek</u> issue. Three women were featured on the cover of one issue of <u>Fortune</u>, and <u>Fast Company</u> featured an illustration of the new Rosie the Riveter. <u>Inc.</u> is the only publication that where not one magazine cover featured a woman.

This thesis did not go into the race of the women covered in the articles, but a quick review shows that except for Andrea Jung, very few women of color or different backgrounds were shown in editorial coverage. If a woman of a different background is shown, she is usually found in advertising images.

Survey Analysis

With a response rate of 50%, 21, or 49% of the women who responded to the survey read or have read one of the magazines reviewed in this thesis. Twenty-two women did not read any of the magazines at anytime (51%). One woman said she had subscribed to a few of the magazines at one time, but no longer receives them since story subjects were hard to relate to and the writing style was difficult to understand. Even though she no longer subscribes to the magazine, her responses are included in the reader category. A couple of other women occasionally read one of these magazines, but didn't feel they read them often enough to select a specific magazine. Since these women had some exposure to the magazines they were included in the readers table.

Both <u>Fortune</u> and <u>BusinessWeek</u> are the most widely read (12 people selected these magazines); only one woman, who is not self-employed, reads <u>Inc.</u> Seven women read <u>Forbes</u> and only three people read <u>Fast Company</u>. Women read the business magazines because "They help me with my career" and "I want more than one perspective on business issues." Eight women selected "They supplement the other magazines I read." Two women chose "I identify with the people in these magazines," meaning both the men and women written about. One person selected "They are an important part of keeping informed about what men are reading." One other person selected the same item, but crossed out the "what men are reading" and substituted "financial/business matters." Only 4 women selected "They portray women in nontraditional ways" as a reason for reading these magazines. Although many women who returned the survey did not read the business magazines or any business periodicals of any kind, quite a few completed Section D. Several women who read the magazines had no opinion about a couple of the questions.

The women who read business magazines come from a variety of backgrounds: Director of Inventory Management in the publishing industry, Development Associate for a consulting firm, telecom Operations Manager, Advertising Executive, Business Analyst for a brokerage house, Senior Account Manager at the New York Fixed Income Exchange, a Legal Assistant, Advertising Manager, Medical Transcriptionist, Marketing Analyst, Registered Dental Hygienist, Director of Personnel at the New York State Criminal Court, an Administrative Assistant, Editorial Director, and a PR Consultant at Prudential. These women are not necessarily executives, but they want to know what is occurring in the world of business.

Only 2 out of all 43 of the respondents strongly disagree that these business magazines do not have a responsibility to communicate to women and men equally, and neither read any of the magazines. Nine out of the 43 respondents either did not respond to the statement or neither agreed or disagreed with the statement. (See chart on next page.)

As noted in the Need for the Study section of Chapter I, women account for nearly 50% of the workforce. If these magazines do not feel they have a responsibility to communicate to women, they are missing a very large audience as well as not acknowledging the importance of women's contributions to the business world.

Table 2

These Magazines Have a Responsibility to Communicate to Women and Men Equally.

	No Answer	Strongly Agree (5)	Somewhat Agree (4)	Neither Agree or Disagree (3)	Somewhat Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)
Readers	2	12	6	1	0	0
Nonreaders	5	10	4	1	0	2

The most likely reason these magazines do not communicate to women more effectively is that most publishing companies continue to be owned and run by men. Women are becoming more active in developing the editorial pages and advertising content of magazines so hopefully they will attempt to change the way women are portrayed. Senior management at publishing companies know that more and more women are attaining top corporate positions, but they do not seem to see the urgent need to change the way their magazines communicate to women.

Although the majority of women responded to question one, only 54% (out of women who responded to the question) neither agreed nor disagreed with the question. However, 19% of all respondents did not answer the question. Women who read the business magazines mostly agree that these magazines do target women and communicate to them despite the low number of women who are covered. The nonreaders mostly disagree that these magazines adequately target and communicate to women. The author thinks these magazines give the impression that they do not

Table 3

These Magazines Adequately Target and Communicate to Women.

	No Answer	Strongly Agree (5)	Somewhat Agree (4)	Neither Agree or Disagree (3)	Somewhat Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)
Readers	1	1	4	12	3	0
Nonreaders	7	0	1	7	2	5

communicate to women because the publications' covers may no appeal to some women. It is rare that these magazines have women on their covers. Of the 25 magazines in the content analysis, only 5 had women on the cover. Andrea Jung and Carly Fiorina were on two of the covers.

It is interesting to note that most women (65%) who both read and do not read these magazines feel there is a need for gender-specific magazines such as Working Woman and Working Mother. The author concludes that since there is still a long way to go before the magazines in this study communicate equally to men and women, and there is a need to supplement traditional business magazines with women-only magazines that

focus specifically on information that is focused on women. These gender-specific magazines provide a different perspective, which could also be the reason they are needed.

The Internet is not a leading source of information. All of the magazines have an online presence and it is probably just a matter of time until the Internet becomes a larger source of information.

Table 4

Women Do Not Need Magazines That Are Targeted to Them Only.

	No Answer	Strongly Agree (5)	Somewhat Agree (4)	Neither Agree or Disagree (3)	Somewhat Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)
Readers	1	1	1	2	7	9
Nonreaders	5	1	4	0	3	9

The majority of women feel that men continue to think of women in stereotypical ways, but feel these magazines can help men change their opinions about women in the workplace. However, until reporters use more female executives as sources in stories not exclusively about women and show women in different fields more often, men's opinions will not change in the near future.

Most women agree that men continue to think of women in the workplace in stereotypical ways; and most of those women read these periodicals. Yet, most women think that these magazines help change the way men think about women at work. One woman said, "in a positive way," to help clarify how.

The author feels the only subsidiary question not fully answered is number four:

When women read these magazines, what are their reactions? The author did speak with

Table 5

These Magazines Make Men Think Differently About Women in the Workplace.

	No Answer	Strongly Agree (5)	Somewhat Agree (4)	Neither Agree or Disagree (3)	Somewhat Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)
Readers	2	2	1	8	5	3
Nonreaders	8	0	2	4	4	4

Table 6

Men Continue to Think of Women at Work in Stereotypical Ways.

	No Answer	Strongly Agree (5)	Somewhat Agree (4)	Neither Agree or Disagree (3)	Somewhat Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)
Readers	1	2	7	6	2	4
Nonreaders	5	0	7	7	1	2

one respondent who, although she reads BusinessWeek, feels that it doesn't cover women

in the work place, as it should.

The interesting part of the survey is the answers provided in Section E. In Section

E, women provided their thoughts about what is the most significant barrier to women

achieving equal work status with men. The answers ranged from equal pay, the Old

Boys' Club, continued social and cultural bias, work/life balance, and the need for a stronger presence of women in the workplace; basically, the same factors that are presented in Chapter II. One woman who occasionally reads BusinessWeek and is self-employed as an office assistant to her husband prefers the traditional family roles so she can "work" at home. As she reminds the author, taking care of a home is work. She says she no longer has time to enjoy being at home and doing the things she likes to do around the house because of reduced wages for men (including her husband) and increased wages for women (other office workers, herself included). She also feels that women are not actually competing against men, they are competing against other women who "think" their competition is with men. Another woman writes: "The women think they need to be thought of as women instead of just working hard to get what they want. I believe that if any one is discriminated toward it would be the white man." The author does not disagree with the first part of this statement. However, women work very hard and despite their best work and longest hours, they continue receive lower pay, lower respect, and fewer resources to do their job.

One woman, a retired teacher who working toward ordination for the ministry as a second career, feels the questions asked in this survey are appropriate to ask women in the ministry. She says, "Many publications related to that field are more male-oriented, male-dominated. Sometimes, I count the number of women's pictures, quotes or articles by women, and so forth, just to confirm my suspicions."

One woman feels that women have created some of their own problems, citing how women who use sexual harassment as a way of undermining the men they work with creates a barrier between men and women working on a level playing field. Women also

need to be more aware of the way they treat other women; some female executives do not like to hire women because they feel they are making exceptions for them.

Finally: "Women need to make themselves heard and demand more. Men make certain assumptions that women do not make. Women need to begin assuming and demanding more money, status, and responsibility without thinking that they do not deserve it."

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

For Rosie the Riveter, her time has come. Recently in Richmond, California, at the site of one of the largest wartime production plants, a memorial to the millions of women who worked during World War II is finally being erected. To the millions of women who went back to work in the 1970s, progress has been just as slow, but there is hope that they will not have to wait long to receive their due.

Will the press realize that the time has come to change their approach? In order to reach today's women, business writers should avoid the usual over-emphasis on personalizing and stereotyping and concentrate on the truly business aspects of the story. Women today want to know the same information men want to know.

Business magazines such as the ones in this study still have a long way to go before they communicate to women the same way they do to men. Most of the magazines, when covering women or issues that affect women continue to focus more personal, less professional aspects of business life. It also seems that Carly Fiorina and Andrea Jung are covered (or mentioned) much more than other women who may be on Fortune's 50 Most Powerful Women list or CEOs of other Fortune 500 or 1000 companies. More women in more varied positions need to be reported upon and used as sources. Having women on editorial boards and storywriters are steps in getting a wider perspective on women in the workplace, but not necessarily "women's issues".

One item the author found interesting is that one BusinessWeek ("Work at home? First, get real, 2000) article includes several web sites for stay-at-home parents, including dads -- www.slowlane.com. Too bad the website's name promotes such a negative image. But, the reality is that more and more fathers are staying home with their

children, either by choice or because of their work situation. Hopefully, more changes in business magazines will occur, making gender-specific business periodicals -- for women and for men -- obsolete.

Future Study

The hardest part about a study like this is that it needs backing from an organization such as Catalyst to make the findings more credible to the business and publishing community. Hoon and Lee (1993) and Danner and Walsh (1999) both determine that despite the knowledge that women fully participate in business, the media has no motivation to change the way women and women's issues are being reported about even with conclusive proof that supports the need for change.

The Journal of Applied Communication Research continues its struggle to put important research, such as the information found in this thesis, into practice. However, applied communication research has been condemned as "narrow, theoretically vacuous, without a research base, and, just as an aside, morally degenerate and politically naïve" (Ellis, 1991, as cited in Frey, 1998, p. 155). The article does say that some of its harshest critics have admitted that applied communication research is vital to the professional and intellectual development of communication (Frey, 1998). It might be interesting to try to submit this thesis work to the Journal of Applied Communications Research or to Catalyst to see if they are able to promote changes in business magazines regarding their coverage of women and women's issues.

The next research would have to be something that could be taken to the business media to be shown as proof positive that changes to the way they are reporting about women and women's issues need to occur. This new study could investigate how the business media covers women-owned businesses versus businesses owned by men. This

would include reviewing CNBC, MSNBC, CNN, and major TV networks as well as Public Broadcasting Service shows such as Wall Street Week. Despite having a few women on their staff as reporters and anchors do these shows cover women in business besides Carly Fiorina and Andrea Jung?

With the dramatic changes in the number of people investing, CNBC and other financial news shows have become some of the most popular shows on television. Some of these stations are on 24 hours a day in offices, providing up-to-the-minute information for investors and noninvestors alike.

Many women own their own businesses and are CEOs of technology companies, yet the general public knows only knows about a select few such as Ms. Fiorina and Ms. Jung. The way network television covers women in business versus how cable covers women in business could be a component of this research.

Perhaps another study could focus on how women of different backgrounds are portrayed in business periodicals. Since this thesis did not distinguish between backgrounds, this may be an excellent future study. Many magazines target Latinos/Hispanics and African Americans, but the author does not know how many business magazines communicate to these groups. And what about groups that do not have separate publications? As mentioned in the results, almost no Hispanics are covered in these magazines. This is almost worse than barely covering women in business. These groups are marginalized as much as or more than White women and they are making gains in the workplace just as quickly.

Conclusion

The face of business is changing, and business magazines must change with it. Women comprise almost 50% of the workforce today. Business magazines must

recognize this. If the business press wants to reach this important segment
of their audience, they must acknowledge that businesswomen, like businessmen,
are professionals. And professionals are interested in job performance, skills, strategies,
and ideas.

The goal of business magazines must be to communicate the information
necessary to help both women and men succeed in their chosen careers.

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Appendix A

Content Analysis Tally Sheet

Magazine Title: _____

Issue Date						
1.Advertising campaigns in these magazines						
1a. Front -- just after cover page:	if there is not a person is in the ad					
	if a man is in the ad					
	if a woman is in the ad					
	if there is a woman and a man					
	if there are two or more women					
	if there are two or more men					
If there is a woman or women in the ad:	woman in "traditional" role					
	woman in "nontraditional" role					
	not clear					
Does the advertisement use:	gender-specific language					
	gender-neutral language					
	gender-biased language					
1b. Last page ad -- just before outside back	if there is not a person is in the ad.					
	if a man is in the ad					
	if a woman is in the ad					
	if there is a woman and a man					
	if there are two or more women					
	if there are two or more men					
If there is a woman or women in the ad:	for woman in "traditional" role					
	for woman in "nontraditional" role					
	not clear					

Does the advertisement use:	gender-specific language						
	gender-neutral language						
	gender-biased language						
Issue Date							
2. How many women are on the editorial board of the magazine? Check the masthead to see who makes up the editorial board.	Men						
	Women						
	Cannot tell by name alone						
3. What kinds of stories are in the magazines? General overview of articles	___ Industry ___ Lifestyle ___ Finance ___ Personality ___ Feature Article(s) ___ Regular articles/columnists/editorial ___ Special issue						
4. Writers of feature/cover stories:	Women						
	Men						
	Cannot tell just by name						
5. Does one of the feature articles use women as sources, and what occupation/level are they?	Women						
	Men						
	Cannot tell just by name/Not specified						

5. What levels are they?	Executive	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
	Manager	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
	Other	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Issue Date											
6. How many stories are strictly about a male executive and the types of story it is versus how many stories are strictly about a female executive and the types of story it is?	Women										
	Men										
What does the story emphasize?	Skills										
	Company										
	Personal										
	Business trends/commentary										

Appendix B

Survey

Women and Nongender-specific Business Periodicals Survey

Note: All information and responses will be kept in strictest confidence.

Name (optional): _____

Occupation: _____

Title: _____

Company (optional): _____

Age: _____

A. Which of the following magazines do you read on a regular basis (buy or subscribe to)? (Highlight all that apply) *BusinessWeek* *Fast Company* *Forbes* *Fortune* *Inc.* None *(see question C)*

B. Why do you read these magazines on a regular basis? (Highlight all that apply)
   a. They help me in my career.
   b. They portray women in nontraditional ways.
   c. They are an important part of keeping informed about what men are reading.
   d. They supplement the other magazines I read.
   e. I want more than one perspective on business issues.
   f. I identify with the people in these magazines.

C. If you do not read one of these magazines, please select one or more reasons.
   a. I do not work in a field where these magazines would help me.
   b. They do not help me with my career.
   c. They do not portray women in nontraditional ways.
   d. I do not identify with the people in these magazines.

D. The following 10 statements are looking for your attitude toward nongender-specific business magazines (i.e., ones that do not specifically target women). Assign a rating to each statement using a five point scale, with "5" being **strongly agree** and "1" being **strongly disagree**.

	SA				SD
1. These magazines adequately target and communicate to women.	5	4	3	2	1
2. These magazines should not consciously target and communicate to women.	5	4	3	2	1
3. These magazines portray women in stereotypical ways (in advertisements and editorial).	5	4	3	2	1
4. These magazines provide information that is helpful to a woman's career.	5	4	3	2	1

5. These magazines have a responsibility to communicate to women and men equally.　　　　5 4 3 2 1

6. These magazines reflect the number of women in today's workplace.　　5 4 3 2 1

7. Women do not need magazines that are targeted to them only (*Working Woman*, and so forth).　　　　5 4 3 2 1

8. The Internet provides most of the information that I need to do my work effectively.　　　　5 4 3 2 1

9. These magazines make men think differently about women in the workplace.　　　　5 4 3 2 1

10. Men continue to think of women at work in stereotypical ways.　　5 4 3 2 1

E. What do you think is the most significant barrier to women achieving equal work status with men?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.