



**CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY
CULTURAL STUDIES**

The University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT

Stencilled Occasional Paper

WOMAN BECOMES AN 'INDIVIDUAL' - FEMININITY AND
CONSUMPTION IN WOMEN'S MAGAZINES 1954-1969

by

Janice Winship

Womens Series: SP No. 65

Woman Becomes an 'Individual' - Femininity and Consumption in
Women's Magazines 1954-69

By

Janice Winship

Centre for Contemporary Cultural
Studies
University of Birmingham.
(1981 Feb.)

WOMAN BECOMES AN 'INDIVIDUAL' - FEMININITY AND CONSUMPTION IN WOMEN'S
MAGAZINES 1954-69

CONTENTS PAGE	PAGES
INTRODUCTION	1-2
I The 'Age of Affluence' - new work for women?	2-4
II Relations of consumption: economic, ideological and political	5-11
III Women's magazines for Consumption	11-13
IV <u>Women and Women's Own</u> - 1950's	
1. 'Homework'	14-18
2. 'Earning Compliments'	18-19
3. Tensions and contradictions - commodity as 'ogre' and 'saviour'	19-22
V <u>Honey</u> - 1960's	
1. 'A girl spends her own money, has fun - and problems'	23-26
2. 'Striding out and bouncing back'	26-28
3. 'The "individual" as "spectacle" '	28-31
4. 'Consumption at work - it works too well'	31-34
CONCLUSION	35-36
FOOT NOTES	37-41
REFERENCES	42-44

Every house in the street looks the same - but come inside and see the difference. All over the country couples are coming back from Honeymoon to a house that's one of a row. Edith Blair visits three clever brides who show how beautifully individual a room, same size, same shape as the neighbours can be.

(Woman 10/5/58 p.36)

Honey campaign clothes.

Whichever candidate you put in your wardrobe, the cult of the individual is sweeping the country. New young designers with constituencies from the Chelsea Bear to the Cheltenham Ladies Club have something to offer - the promise of fresh young clothes, free opportunities for all to dress on a budget, and the right of all honey readers to a democratic vote for the young, gay and getahead outfits that swing. Turn the pages and elect a candidate dedicated to a policy of raising standards and furthering prettiness.

(Honey Oct. 1963 p.60)

INTRODUCTION

Tracing the origins of the Women's Liberation Movement in the 1960s, Juliet Mitchell in Woman's Estate (1971) discusses the contradiction between the "active production" of sexuality and its "passive consumption". She maintains that in this contradiction lay the potential strength of the 'sexual revolution' whose "most visible symptom" was "dress and personal appearance" (ibid p.141).

She writes

For women...the 'sexual revolution' has meant a positive increase in the amount of sexual (and hence social) freedom; it has also meant an increase in their 'use' as sexual objects. The tension produced by the inevitable consequence of the one on the other has, in itself, been a motivating force behind the creation of a Women's Liberation Movement. Illusorily offered the free and glorious expression of ourselves; it turned out to be only a further alienation; turning ourselves into products which are then confiscated for use in a consumer society.

(ibid p.142)

What I want to do here is explore that contradiction between "active production" and "passive consumption" of sexuality. But I want to examine it primarily in its "most visible symptom" of "dress and personal appearance" as it is represented in the discourse of Honey magazine in the 1960s. The magazine offers through the consumption of personal commodities a contradictory 'individuality' which, manifestly provocatively sexual, strains towards the wider arenas of work and politics. The dress and appearance through which we are "offered the free and glorious expression of ourselves" become the metaphor and symbolization of that "freedom" but crucially its

"illusory" purchase. The ideological construction of 'individuality' for women through consumption and the work of femininity was, at one and the same time a move towards independence from men and, in its display in an ultimately feminine mould a repetition of traditional dependence on, and subordination to, men. Yet in raising the 'spectre' of 'individuality' and 'independence' it both increases expectations and potentially poses some of the contradictions of femininity as they newly manifest themselves - particularly for middle class women. This whole area, as Mitchell suggests, is central then, to an understanding of why the Women's Liberation Movement 'broke', in the late 60s; of why it was specifically a middle class movement; and of why it developed a feminist interpretation of 'the personal is political'.

(Cf. Brunsdon 1978)

However we must turn to the '50s, when 'women as consumer' begins to take on her considerable economic importance, for development in which femininity is articulated through an ideology of consumption. Here then, I want to focus first on that articulation as it is represented in Woman and Woman's Own from 1954-60, where 'woman' is interpellated or addressed as 'the consuming wife', and consider second the representations in Honey from 1960-69, where 'woman' is 'the "honey" who buys her own thing'.¹ My concentration on consumption in the '50s and '60s is not to suggest that the intimate association of femininity and consumption does not continue into the '70s and after the WLM has become a political force. (Cf Scott 1976) Rather I would argue that the limits of consumption's ideological resonance in relation to women were formed prior to then and have not since substantially shifted.

1. The 'Age of Affluence' - new work for women?

It is the '50s, the period of Conservative government (1951-64) - 'You've never had it so good' - which was termed the 'age of affluence', an 'affluence' which the left has since interrogated for its lack of redistribution across classes. Nevertheless there was a real increase in the average standard of living of the working class - according to Michael Pinto-Duschinsky there was a rise of over 30% between 1951-64, even allowing for inflated costs (1970 p56) - and the introduction of commodity 'needs' which remained permanent. In looking at women's position in this period we can see, as Stuart Hall describes, that

Economically and ideologically women were the clue, the door to

this selective penetration of the family and privatised consumption by the 'new' capitalism.

(1979)

Moreover, although it is a different group of women, it still continues to be women who are at the centre of new consumption in the '60s. (Cf Scott 1976)

First then, how did consumption change in the '50s and '60s? Between 1955-65 Mark Abrams (1966) reckoned that the proportion of car owning families doubled, and there were similar proportional increases in households owning TVs (40-88%), vacuum cleaners (45-82%), and washing machines (20-56%). Additionally there were increases in ownership of refrigerators (10-39%) and lawn-mowers (38-52%). Further, he maintained that a "good 10% of the decade's additional prosperity has been absorbed by expenditure on women's and infant's clothes (up by nearly 50%) and cosmetics (also up by 50%). There was no comparable advance in spending on men's clothes" (ibid p.9). The rise in real consumption of food, he comments, showed a shift to "frozen vegetables, processed meats and instant coffee" (ibid p.9). Rosemary Scott observes that between 1953-69 the increase in the real value of food purchased per head was 2½% and that "practically all this gain was in convenience foods" (Scott 1976 p.20).

Those commentators concerned with the 'greater movements' of capital (Cf Castells 1977, Hobsbawn 1968, Mandel 1975) select the appropriately 'bigger' items of consumption, for example, vacuum cleaners and cars, to indicate changing domestic consumption, but they fail to mention either the substantial and diversified consumption of clothes and cosmetics which has continued to increase right through the '60s when the 'boom' was over, or the massive expenditure on house contents from furniture to lavatory brushes, which in terms of 'consumer decisions', rather than value, are enormous.

(Cf Scott 1976) It is particularly within these two areas - clothes/make up and household goods that the activity of consumption entailed an increasing proliferation of choice. A cosmetics 'buy' does not just mean mascara, eyeshadow, powder, lipstick but for each item, say mascara, the selection of one kind: liquid, fibre, coloured, waterproof, anti-allergic or... Similarly the range of 'convenience' household items has magnified far beyond any '50s' hope. By the end of the '60s we have: tissues, polythene bags, jeye cloths, tin foil, plastic scourers, non-stick pans etc. plus a multiplication of 'aids' for baby-care. Yet all these new items represent a new work, even as they

relieve the arduousness of some chores. Which should one buy for what purpose, choosing the appropriate specialised cleaner for bath, oven, lavatory... not employing one 'old fashioned' abrasive Vim/Ajax.² Consequently there is a new work of beauty, domesticity and child care to follow the purchase.

As Scott suggests then,

In the woman's function as consumer... she is indomitable and it is indisputable that the phenomenon of female consumption... is marked by two overriding principles: first that **it is** massive and second that **it is** both frequent and extensive³.

(Scott 1976 p.ix)

Additionally the experience of consumption, from single status through to marriage and motherhood, whether or not women are in paid work, is continuous and cumulative - unlike their usual experience of paid work where child bearing marks a disruptive break. (However the relations of consumption and the objects which are consumed of course do markedly alter according to class, age, marital status and motherhood). For this reason alone an investigation of consumption work is important, central even, to an understanding of women's position, and, moreover, **Salient**, to afeminist politics.

II Relations of consumption: economic, ideological and political

In the post Second World War period women have continued performing their economic and ideological functions in the home as wives and mothers. But while as married women they have increasingly participated in paid work - primarily as part time workers, as young women they have entered very particular sectors of expanding employment - shop work and clerical work especially. (Ministry of Labour 1967, Mackie and Pattulo 1977, Bland et al. 1978). Moreover, 'being at home' and 'going out to work' have both been clearly associated with a consumption of commodities which has contributed to the reproduction of their femininity. Here then it is pertinent to examine the ideological relations of consumption for women in the work place and outside, at home and at leisure. That examination shifts us beyond sole attention to the relations of capital to the ways in which capital 'takes over' certain patriarchal relations between women and men; a process which involves as much change for the relations of capital as it does for the relations of femininity and masculinity.

However, such an interest, or posing of the problem, has not been the concern of those who have initiated discussion of consumption. Here I want briefly to consider some of these conceptualisations in order to begin to open up a theoretical space and argue for, the necessary attention to the ideological relations of consumption, and further their potential political effect for women. These concerns should, I suggest, be central to any study of post war developments in capitalist production of commodities and their consumption, not just those in which the focus is explicitly women.

The specific unfolding of capitalist production in post war period has generally been considered in its class aspects, at both production and consumption 'ends' of the economic circuit. Manuel Castells, for example, defines consumption as "the social process of appropriation of the product by people, ie. by social classes" (1977 p. 454). Further the particular relation between capitalist production and consumption which delivered the 'boom' of the '50s is examined as it affects the family, ie. the working class family, which benefitted from the increase in standard of living and, in appearance at least, aligned itself through these material appurtenances, more closely with the middle class. Such analyses (Castells 1977, Hobsbawm 1968, Mandel 1975, Pinto-Duschinsky 1970) tend to disregard the unique role within the family that women play - as consumers and as wage earners. But additionally they also tend to ignore the partly autonomous position of

single women outside the family, whose pattern of employment and consumption are specific to them. In particular there is an absence of the ways in which consumption is important in the work place itself, ie. that clothes and make-up are essential to some 'women's jobs'; that women integrate shopping into the working day etc. Where young women are discussed: they are often incorporated within the categories of 'youth' or 'teenagers', in effect young men, in relation to whom consumption is wholly a leisure pursuit, wholly outside of work.⁴

The emphases of 'class', 'family' and 'leisure' outside of work' in marxist analyses of consumption are partly attributable to Marx's own conceptualisations and assumptions about consumption. Firstly what he terms "individual consumption" is primarily defined by what it is not: in contrast to "productive consumption" of machinery, raw materials and labour power which takes place within the process of social production itself, individual consumption is privatised - outside of the production process in its narrow sense. But secondly Marx generally assumes a male wage labourer who is a family man, equating his individual wages with individual consumption which, as Marx points out, in fact provides subsistence for the whole family (cf. Bland et al 1978, Foreman 1977). Since his analysis is primarily concerned with individual consumption in so far as it reproduces labour power as an abstract commodity he does not consider either the distribution of the 'family wage' for spending, or the specificity of the commodities which each members of the family buys. Additionally this absence is an outcome of capitalism's under-developed commodity production for the private sphere at the time Marx was writing.

Nevertheless he not only argued for the economic importance of individual consumption to the circuit of capital (cf. Marx 1973 p.91, p. 676; Marx 1976 p. 718; Marx 1972 p. 77, p. 100) and deduced the mode of its future expansion and diversification (Cf Marx 1973 p. 408-9, p. 419) but also hinted at the ideological implications for the labourer whose "dependence instead of becoming more intensive with the growth of capital become more extensive" (Marx 1976, p. 769). Harry Braverman has detailed this penetration⁵ of commodities into the family describing it as the tendency towards a "universal market" (Braverman 1974). Sheila Rowbotham focussing specifically on women's oppression has more vehemently castigated the trend as "the imperialist onslaught into everyday life" which overwhelms even that

most intimate area of personal life - sexuality (Rowbotham 1973, Ch. 7). Yet although as Castells maintains "the process of consumption acquires a decisive place in the reproduction of the mode of production as a whole in its present phase" (Castells 1977 p. 457), there is a paucity of Marxist work in this area, while, for obvious reasons, there is a wealth of market research on the topic (Cf Scott 1976).

The more historically specific analyses of the post Second World War period, for example (Hobsbawm 1968), and the Bogdanor and Skideskiy edited collection of essays (1970), examine political and ideological as well as economic determinants which contribute to the patterns of consumption in Britain. Hobsbawm and Pinto-Duschinsky both stress the type of commodity expansion peculiar to Britain: for the home market rather than for export; for 'family consumption' ie. 'individual consumption' as opposed to an expanded 'productive consumption'. One central aspect of that was the emphasis the Conservative government placed on a house building programme, so that by 1964, when the Conservatives went out of office, 1 family in 4 was in accommodation built while they were in power, and half the population was in owner occupied housing, not rented accommodation, compared to one quarter in 1951.⁶ At the level of production such an investment curtailed investment in productive industry "more fundamental to the reconstruction of the economy" (Hobsbawm 1968 p. 62), but for families who moved into this housing it meant the 'need' to buy certain commodities - as anyone who has recently changed living quarters will well know and therefore further stimulated the consumption of domestic commodities. Hobsbawm argues that domestic purchases marked a move from the public enjoyment of leisure - the pub, the football match - to the privacy of home, a characteristic previously associated with the lower middle class. But perhaps more significantly he suggests

The truth was that a mass-consumption society is dominated by its biggest market which in Britain was that of the working class... Henceforth it was their demand which took over the task of filling the proletarian world.

(1968 p. 242-3)

Clearly he neglects to consider that the working class has two sexes. Firstly women's leisure showed no move from public to private. If anything the demand for married women workers in the face of male "full employment", meant less leisure for them. Secondly, and perhaps curiously, it was the

consuming housewife whose "demand dominated commercially" on the basis both of her husband's wage, but particularly of her own wage packet as wife and as single women. (Cf. Bland et al 1978, Seccombe 1975).

Mandel, though not specifically dealing with Britain (Mandel 1975), more adequately includes women in the analysis and grants them the centrality owing them as paid workers in the boom of the '50s' consumption. Moreover he also points to the tendency towards a displacement of the family as the unit of consumption, in favour of properly individual consumption - in particular the "teenage market" - but it is not sexually differentiated by him (ibid p. 391n). He argues that the "accumulation of non-invested surplus capitals" (ibid p. 387) generated, according to him, by the fall of the rate of profit leads to the "vast penetration of capital into the spheres of circulation, services and reproduction", one feature of which is to extend "the boundaries of commodity production" ie. individual consumption and hence create further surplus value (ibid p. 388). The constant contradiction between the need to stimulate new consumption in this area at an ever increasing rate, and the necessity to realize profits, limits the 'breadwinners' wages "below the level necessary to cover all the new needs of consumption generated by capitalist production itself" (ibid p. 392) without going into the economic niceties and theoretical differences around these arguments we can note that one recognizable outcome was the "increased employment of married women" (ibid p. 392). As Hall observes about Britain "women were being called upon to be both wives-and-mothers - spending homemakers - and (part-time) working women" (Hall 1979). The two are of course integrally related: women's wages often spent by them on precisely those new commodities for home and themselves which capital has to offer. (Cf. Seccombe 1975). It is this relation which Mandel overlooks when he considers women's employment as representing an undermining of the patriarchal relations of the family. On the one hand commodities may well replace services and use values for which women were responsible, but there is nevertheless still a work-of consumption required for the commodities to be useful; on the other hand at the ideological level it is not just labour power which is reproduced in the family, but people as women and men, and hence as gendered labourers.

It is consumption as a process, and a work which has ideological purchase, to which Castells, despite his scarce mentions of women, gives us some theoretical access. He conceptualises consumption as a process with different effects at different levels: at the economic level of the

the production process the practice of consumption reproduces labour power; at the political level consumption is an expression of class relations within distribution; and at the ideological level it reproduces social relations as far as the mode of production as a whole is concerned. Thus

'From the point of view of social classes, consumption is both an expression and a means, realised according to a certain (ideological) content and which concretizes at the level of the relations of distribution the oppositions and struggles determined by the relations of production.

(Castells 1976 p. 455)

While his differentiation of three specific but overdetermined levels is useful, I would argue against the kind of primacy he accords to the relations of production such that all other relations are mere expressions of those. However he writes also

The material realisation of the process of consumption involves the relating of products (or consumer goods) with agent-consumers, according to a relatively autonomous social determination.

(ibid p. 455)

Within that "relatively autonomous social determination" we have leeway to locate patriarchal relations: women are "agent-consumers" of particular products by virtue of being women; their class position is (perhaps) only secondarily relevant. The distribution of commodities expresses class relations then, only as they are further articulated through patriarchal relations and in a mode which is unpredictable by the relations of production themselves, and in turn works back on those productive relations. Consumption is therefore a means of transformation as well of reproduction: the penetration of capitalist consumption into the family mobilises already existing patriarchal relations at both economic and ideological levels, using both, but also transforming both so that although broadly, both patriarchal and capitalist relations are reproduced, yet as we shall see, there are significant changes. Particularly is that the case for women. It is in those transformations and the contradictions to which they give rise, which I shall examine through magazines, that a potential basis for a shift in political consciousness arises for women.⁷

From the representations in women's magazines I want to argue that the articulation of patriarchal and capitalist relations, through women's involvement in the process of consumption (and in paid work) has ideologically constructed them as 'individuals'. As Victor Molina describes in "Notes on Marx and the Problem of Individuality"

In capitalist society the individual appears as (independent' because 'detached from natural bonds' ... this detachment from natural bonds is simultaneously a complete attachment to objective social bonds.

(Molina 1977 p. 241)

For women the potential movement is detachment from patriarchal relations to those of capital. However the articulation of the process of consumption with an ideology of femininity renders it only a partial break: women is a 'feminine' individual whose 'individuality' and implied 'independence' are, in part, recuperated by patriarchal relations. Nevertheless as the Political Economy of Women Group entreat us in relation to the introduction of a political or social reform, so we should ask of a shift in ideology "what new contradictions it sets up for women, how these affect their consciousness and the ability to organize" not whether it has "improved the position of women". (PEWG 1975 p. 30).

To maintain that the sphere of circulation is the breeding ground of 'the individual' is not an original claim. In Capital Marx refers to that sphere as "a very Eden of the rights of man (sic)" (1976 p. 280), and in the Grundrisse he writes

Out of the act of exchange itself, the individual, each one of them is reflected in himself as its exclusive (determinant) subject. With that, then, the complete freedom of the individual is posited.

(1973 p. 244)

But he undoubtedly considers the exchange of labour power for a wage as the primary exchange which forms the basis for this 'individualism' although the further exchange of money for commodities is theoretically included. For men the one reinforces the other, but for women involvement in the process of consumption may precede, and historically has preceded, women's wholesale entry into employment.⁸ Even as a wife spending her husband's wage she begins to demarcate an arena of power for herself, but comparable

to his: he responsibly earns money; she responsibly allocates it.⁹ Furthermore consumption is firstly, so frequent that the repetition of 'individual' choices is endless (for men as well), and appears as 'choice' unlike work which more often seems like compulsion; but secondly its products are so visible, that for women who have always been judged by their looks (Cf John Berger "men act and women appear" 1972 p. 47) - even if it is the 'looks' of their house - consumption grants them a market access to the construction of an 'individual appearance', but indeed a feminine appearance which everybody can recognize. Consumption is therefore the superstructural terrain par excellence for the construction of an ideology of individuality in relation to women.¹⁰

III Women's Magazines for consumption

Women's magazines are particularly appropriate for the study of the ideological representation of consumption. Cynthia White maintains that

The boom in women's periodicals has in fact paralleled the boom in domestic consumption and the vast expansion in advertising which has accompanied it.

(White 1970 p. 201)

Continuing into the '60s we can see that the appearance of new magazines for young women closely followed the boom in the personal consumption for femininity, clothes, make up etc.

Women's magazines are themselves capitalistically produced commodities which must, necessarily, be consumed. But their economic viability relies on two economic exchanges: the sale of space to advertisers whose purpose is to further purvey the sale of commodities, and the sale of the completed magazine to readers - mainly women. From the mid-'50s the balance between these two shifted, with several consequences. Editorial departments were pressured by advertising departments to "co-operate in stimulating consumption" (White 1970 p. 157) so that there was a closer tie up between editorial and advertising material and hence a narrowing of editorial feature: "the muffling of intelligent writing" (ibid p. 203). We could say that the raison d'être of magazines became consumption. Further since revenue was derived increasingly from ads, rather than cover price and circulation numbers,

magazines were geared to readers in terms of their consumer demands.¹¹ Thus the general and mass women's market which Woman and Woman's Own together with Woman's Weekly, Woman's Realm and Woman's Mirror, represented in the second half of the '50s was fragmented into its different consumer groups.

Honey was launched in 1960 as a specific response to research by Abrams on the potential power of young women,¹² and was to provide a colourful shop window for fashion and cosmetics. It would perhaps be apt to credit IPC & Honey with the creation of the 'young woman as consumer'. Indeed Honey went further than most in its links with consumption. While most magazines have offers: clothes, furniture etc. Honey established its own boutiques and hairdressing salons (1965), which carried the Honey sign and standards, and were reported on each month in the magazine. Then in October '68 began the Honey Club offering free gifts, special buys and the chance to be invited for a day out and beauty treatment in London.

On the domestic scene Family Circle (1964) and Living (1966) were clear examples of an attempt to capture a particular consuming audience, "the young housewife with a full time interest in home-making" (White 1970 p. 150). Uniquely distributed through supermarkets and originally containing no fiction Family Circle was, as White describes, "the most remarkable of the new magazines tailor-made to reach pre-researched markets" (ibid p. 189) and which showed a "meteoric rise" (ibid p. 193) in its circulation figures. In a slightly different field Annabel (1966) appeared designed for the young mum who "wants to read all about parenthood. And that involves everything from prams and pedal cars, to looking pretty while pregnant" (ibid p. 185).

My study here of ideological representations of consumption, specifically in Woman, Woman's Own and Honey is not arbitrary. Woman and Woman's Own were the magazines of the '50s selling at their peak around 3 million copies per week (1958), though they were not the magazines which were geared most closely to domestic consumption. (That accolade would perhaps be conferred on Good Housekeeping and Homes and Gardens with Woman and Home the third but lower middle/working class contender). Moreover they remain, I would maintain, the 'prototype' of women's magazines in terms of their

content. (Cf Winship 1978). On the other hand Honey was not the chief circulation puller of the '60s, nor was it the earliest magazine for young women. Apart from the pop orientated romance comics of the mid '50s She had blazed its outspoken trail from 1955, and Vanity Fair for the 'younger, smarter woman' had appeared in 1949. She, however, while its circulation has increased when that of other magazines, including Woman and Honey, has decreased, has been set apart from other magazines by its format - its concentration of material, black and white photos, and its newsy, jokey style more aligned with Titbits and Weekend than most women's magazines. Vanity Fair might have been for 'younger' women and was certainly a vehicle to sell clothes, but it aped a Vogue style of chic, middle class glamour typically for the 'wife of the young-up-and-coming-executive', whereas Honey of the '60s did indeed capture the mood of the period, if not always the reality - the scene of 'Swinging England'. In its presentation of fashion and beauty for the young, its emphasis on 'style' of presentation, its declaration of 'fun', it has shaped the appearance of many later magazines, and even Woman has not escaped its influence.

III WOMAN AND WOMAN'S OWN - 1950s

1. 'Home work'

I would argue generally about the 50s for women that it was a period of amazing optimism, when it was frequently considered, particularly by middle class women and men, that women had achieved equality, or at the most there remained only a few 'mopping up' operations (Cf 'The Feminists Mop UP' Douglas 1956). However women were represented as 'equal but different' to men. Their 'natural' difference organized through their potential position as mothers remained central but rather than being seen as a source of subordination was transformed, in its glorification, into an attribute of 'equality'. Ideologically there was a struggle to privilege this representation, which, fraught with the contradictions of women's dual role' was impossibly difficult for women themselves to live out. The only resistance to any dissatisfaction they may have felt could, in the face of such privilege bestowed on them, only be expressed in the terrain of the personal. (Cf. French 1978, Friedan 1968, Laing and Esterson 1964, Myrdal and Klein 1956). The problem pages of Woman and Woman's Own reveal the mere ripples of a serious pool of unhappiness and frustration.

However, it is not the ideology of 'equal but different' in its complexity that I intend to detail here.¹² Instead I want to examine the ideology of consumption, or more precisely the ideology of the work of consumption, as it most decisively consolidates the equality through difference, constructing women as individuals with their own specific arena of work operation - primarily in the home. Consumption justifies and augments women's domestic role.¹⁴ In 1951 Evelyn Home had written, in response to a reader's letter complaining about a fiance who had twice jilted here.

To almost every woman her work comes first too - the work of homemaking and husband tending. He is interfering with your career as a wife and I advise you to tell him so.

(Woman 13/1/51 p. 33)

As Mark Abrams, the market researcher, later put it

Since now home has become the centre of his activity and most of his earnings are spent on or in the home his wife becomes the chooser and spender and gains a new status and control - her taste forms his life.

(Abrams 1959b p. 914)

Or as a feature on "New Homemakers" in Woman describes one particular couple (Cf. epigraph).

... Margaret is loving the privacy of this first home of her own.... Though Derek wasn't a contemporary fan he had complete faith in Margaret's choice - happy now about the furniture they bought....

(Woman 1/1/57 p. 27)

This power of consumption decision making for women which establishes them as 'individuals' through the individuality of their homes, does not reside in their having money of their own as wage workers. The evidence that increasing numbers of married women are earning is generally displaced from view and moreover frowned upon. This is Monica Dickens, herself a 'working mother', advising a mother on whether she should return to paid work.

I hope Mrs. X does not go rushing out to look for a job. She is not cheating her children by staying at home. She is giving them the supreme gift - herself.

(Woman's Own 8/3/56 p. 28 Quoted in White 1970 p. 150)

It is an argument she is still rehearsing in 1961 (Cf Woman's Own 28/1/61). Woman's 'power' lies in the skill - the knowledge and practice of shopping successfully. Consumption, as work, has its own procedures, rules, planning and measurements of efficiency in the same way, it is represented, as the work of production. If men fight their battles and gain their excitement on the shop floor of industry women do so on the shop floor of the local store at sales time.

This is the time of year when even the most timid shopper feels her fighting spirit come to the fore ... So before we plunge into the fray...

(Woman 7/1/56 p. 7)

The whole process of consumption has three stages at each of which there is a certain work to be performed, a work which the magazines aid (15). First there is the prior knowledge required of particular commodities on the market: on carpets - "Here's a sample of the wonderful colours available in the new tufted carpets...Tufted carpets are made by a new process which/ gives them a luxury pile at reasonable cost...They don't have quite the dirt resistance that wool has...(Woman's Own 25/9/57 p.30). (This is also knowledge gleaned from ads - (Formica... there's a place for Formica in every room, a colour or pattern to suit every scheme...won't chip, crack or stain. Resists heat up to 310 °F, stays like new for years..." (Woman 18/8/56 p.60)). But a housewife also needs to understand how to arrange a room - which colours it is thought are complementary, which colours clash; which curtains she should buy to tone with a highly patterned carpet etc. Throughout the '50s Edith Blair persuasively educates housewives - "a strong all-over patterned wall paper needs plain quiet colours to make a restfull room" (Woman 10/5/58 p.36). Or she guides through example - Margaret and Derek's home - "colour and clever furniture choosing have brought this pleasant old house very much alive without losing any part of its quiet charm" (Woman 6/1/57 p.27). Additionally a wife must know how to set about her shopping. In preparation for the "sales fray", for example "this chart gives you the essential statistics you'll need on your list when sales shopping" (ibid p.24 a list of curtain/bed/kitchen measurements), "Before you go out take a careful look around the house... you'll avoid mistakes" (Woman's Own 3/1/57 p.14). Thus "Bargain hunting is a dangerous sport for innocents but a rewarding one for those who go armed with real knowledge" (Woman 7/1/56 p.24).

For the second stage of 'shopping' a cool temperament is required. "First and foremost get you ideas straight...keep your head firmly on your shoulders" (ibid p.12), and "don't let your heart run away with your head" (Woman 28/4/56 p.24). Nevertheless you do need a lively mind - "Keep your ideas versatile" (Woman 7/1/56 p.12). There are too, aids to shopping which only the initiated know about - "Lots of young wives have told us that they find it a bewildering job to search out the best value from a wide range of goods...they ask, how can we be sure that a good-looking article will be hard wearing, too?...The secret is look for the sign of the kite" (Woman 21/6/58 p.19). ie. The British standards sign. But there are also practical skills to acquire - "...you can spot the skilled sales shopper by her critical eye, by the list in her hand, her booklet of snippets of furnishing... and her inquiring finger and thumb appraising fabric textures...The critical eye and thumb-and-finger technique are not difficult to acquire if you go about it in this way.." (Woman

7/1/56 p.24), and which are bound to deliver results - "Joan's practical eye was quick to spot the zip-fasteners on the cushion covers which means it can be taken off for cleaning" (Woman 7/4/56 p.19).

Finally having made an appropriate purchase which is typically 'practical, pretty and versatile', there is likely to be a further work. On the one hand commodities are seen to do 'work by themselves', particularly in ads which conceal all trace of the real labour of domesticity performed by women - "Tide's in - dirt's out" (Woman's Own 13/12/56 p76), "Batchelor's soups make a good meal wonderful" (ibid p.66). This 'commodity work' often appears as adulation of products - "...take a tube for ease and economy...light weight, easy to pack..." (Woman 2/8/58 p.37). On the other hand the purpose of most purchases is to aid further work, eg polishing, or it must be transformed by labour to be of any use. Especially is the latter the case with sales' buys - "It's amazing what a spot of paint can do..." on a chipped chair (Woman 7/1/56 p.23), and of course with food purchases (16). New commodities also mean a hitherto unheard of work - "Give an ugly fireplace a lovely new look with these easy-to-lay tiles says Edith Blair" (Woman 7/4/56 p.22).

Although 'outside' the magazines, as Scott suggests, women view shopping "ambiguously as a skill and a chore, a pleasure and a duty" (Scott 1976 p.105), in the magazines we have scarcely a glimpse of these tensions. Perhaps in the reference to sales as an "adventure...lacking in a routine day's shopping" (Woman's Own 3/1/57 p.14), there is at least the hint of a hidden tedium. While assuming "duty" the magazines contrive to construct a pleasureable "skill" which, once achieved, transforms the "Chore" through the rewards it brings. (Cf Derek's pleasure at Margaret's choice; Joan's satisfaction of a 'good' buy). Women's "duty" is, of course, centrally constructed in relation to men - their husbands. The process of consumption places women in a complementary position to their husbands, but it is a 'balance of power' which, for the sake of marital harmony must not be abused. The role of husband should always be tactfully considered: women are addressed as the 'ones who know', but the choice also appears to be his - a woman schemes to gain his co-operation - "It is a wise wife who starts off carrying the shopping basket when it's empty...he will be happier to hump it when it is full if he has not had it all afternoon...If she is wise then she will always let him make the final choice. There is pleasure and interest in this for him because the final choice is a blending of taste - his and hers, the way it should be..." (Woman 10/5/58 p.11). The construction of a complementary relationship reappears in the final stage of consumption work, the work

performed on or with the commodity itself - "Tackle it together" - a regular Woman column generally featuring house improvements.

2. 'Earning Compliments'

It might be thought that there is a world of difference between the fairly obvious work of home making and the other major area of feminine work - beauty ¹⁷.

While commodities are used here with the most finesse; husband/boy-friend relations are at their most fragile; consumption and its work more clearly 'fun' - "This summer your shoes will be your most glamorous accessories. Have fun choosing them" (Woman 28/4/56 p.24); more personal - "Colour in fashion offers you the most personal way of using colour in your life. The colour of clothes expresses your personality and influences your mood..." (Woman 12/1/57 p. 16); and creative - "Get friendly with colour, mingle it with an artist's skill to create a brilliant seaside picture...to make you the centre of seaside attraction" (Woman 1/6/57 p.36), yet the work of beauty closely parallels the work of the home. It confirms your 'individuality', which in home making can only be expressed through the appearance of your home, in your personal appearance, but it is similarly a fairly serious business which demands the astuteness needed in any other work. Moreover women are encouraged to look "pretty" and "glamorous" not to please themselves in a hedonistic way but to conform to the regulations of fashion, to the parameters of femininity in that period ¹⁸, and hence to gain compliments from men. It is your 'duty' as a woman to dress appropriately for the occasion at hand, but by whatever means: men pay attention to your finished appearance, yet know little of the 'deceit' that lies behind it. The aim is to appear 'natural' - "Choose the fashion and make up that enhance your natural colouring" (Woman 12/1/57 p.36), and to tread the precarious line between discrete and glamorous femininity.

First then you must search out the knowledge - 'It's a fascinating business, beauty - the more we know about it the more there is to learn... Sharpen your wits by scanning this page...Beauty know-how - make sure you've got it right" (Woman 2/8/58 p.13). You need to plan - "The girl who is wise about clothes doesn't add - she builds...that means patience. Careful, look ahead planning in fact" (Woman 5/1/57 p.32). You must choose discriminatingly - "To find the perfect accessories means only picking the right shade for the basic colour" (Woman 7/1/56 p.6), knowing the rules - "With a plain outfit you can wear a fancy show or a plain one...But with a print dress you'll choose a plain coloured shoe, picking

up one of the colours of the season..." (Woman 28/4/56 p.24), while at the same time following 'nature's' contours - 'The rules are simple. Stress a good point, bypass a bad one.' (Woman 21/6/58 p.14), "Every girl has at least one good beauty point...resolve to devote a great deal of your cosmetic budget to enhancing it" (Woman 5/1/57 p.21). However the product will not enhance you alone - you must work at it. "Glamour is added. Something we can achieve - if we work for it. These cover girls we so much admire have acquired their loveliness the hard way" (Woman 3/10/59 p.38). Nor is there any let up in the work - "Glamour begins with impeccable grooming. Earmark one evening each month for clothes' maintenance.." (ibid p.38). And what do you receive in return for your work? "They have earned their glamour. And so can you" (ibid p.38), "an allout effort...will repay you everyday in compliments (Woman 5/1/57 p.21).

3. Tensions and contradictions - commodity as 'ogre' and 'saviour'

While consumption is necessary to femininity, women must never abandon themselves to the pursuit of merely material possessions. It is always a finely balanced procedure which clearly poses limits and tensions for women. As the commodity form invades family relations motherhood slides dangerously into domesticity. Child care features are few compared to the pages devoted to the home. In ads 'good mothering' becomes servicing children with the appropriate commodities. An editorial holding on to the magazines' disappearing 'core' of the motherchild relation therefore has to warn women of this seduction to the value of monetary possessions for their children: "Children - and adults, if they are wise - don't judge by the price tag...often the simplest things give the greatest pleasure" (Woman 2/10/54 p.3). There is also a danger within marriage itself. "All that you are" a short story (Woman's Own 3/1/57 p.9) tells of a wife's attraction to the "glitter of material things", and her attempts to push her husband into a better paid job so that she could have "new clothes and a house filled with space, light and air, a house with a garden". Finally she recognizes the folly of her thoughts - "The glitter of outward things had begun to obsess her, but she realised now that outward things would never be enough. She still in her heart wanted that true person who was Tony" and she resolves to love and support him as he is. In the work of 'glamour' too it is not just the commodity that counts but also personal charm - "...Ina. Besides her good grooming, she has a lot of that other elusive quality: charm. I'd define that charm as a mixture of generosity and awareness..." (Woman 3/10/59 p.38). **Yet** while we are advised to be restrained in our spending there are times

when a frivolous spree is encouraged. If you are "jaded" for example - "It's no frivolous extravagance to treat yourself to a little fashion present...wear it with confidence..." (Woman 5/1/57 p.29).

But if there are boundaries within particular areas of consumption beyond which women must not pass, there are also contradictions within femininity which, not in themselves created by the process of consumption, are nevertheless, articulated through certain aspects of consumption and often shaped by them. The three major contradictions represented in the magazines are between motherhood and domesticity; between the femininity of single status, in paid work, and available for marriage, and that of marital status; at home, and sexually possessed; and between the 'wifeness' of motherhood-domesticity and that of a-sexually-attractive-woman-to-husband. In the ads motherhood and domesticity do not conflict; in editorial feature and fiction they often do.

My 18 month old son will have nothing to do with his toys but adores 'helping' in the house. I find this a trial as I like to get down to my work uninterrupted. Can you suggest any method of keeping Bobby anchored in his pen at least for a few hours a day?

REPLY:

It is natural to want your house to be clean and shining but I'm sure your son's well beings is even more important to you. Try to be patient with him over his passion for housework - it is for his own good.

(Woman 30/10/54 p.39)

Single status is seen as the time when women have money to spend on commodities. In fiction the contrast is made between the 'smart', 'glamorous' clothes of such women, and therefore their attraction to men, and the slightly old fashioned, down-at-heel, functional clothes of the wife and mother who fears she has lost her attraction to men. The central contradiction is thus between beauty (which hides beneath it sexuality) the necessary attribute of being a wife, and the combination of motherhood and domesticity which constantly renders the task of personal self care a feat for the outstanding only. Yet that personal, individual care remains the salve of individuality in the face of marriage and motherhood.

In a story by Rebecca Shallit "A day in town with the girls" (Woman 2/10/54) the 'symbolic' place of consumption is well illustrated: it is certain commodities and consumption itself which feature as central moments in the story. It recounts how a young married woman, mother of twin boys, goes to London for the day with "the girls" - her married women friends, in order to get away from her "unbearably humdrum" life at home. She first appears in the story, having performed her beauty

feature by John Deane Potter "Girl with the dressing gown mind" (Woman 26/11/60 p.25)¹⁹, illustrates both the likely 'fall' from husbands grace and the disintegration of 'individuality' and 'independence', that the struggle to hold together the contradictory strands - the problem of dressing attractively and of maintaining an active mind, while keeping up the standards of motherhood and domesticity - is likely to incur. Here her appearance, whether "neatly dressed" when single, or in the "ill-fitting skirt" and "grey dressing gown" when a wife and mother, is seen to reflect her mind - "intelligent" in her "bright" secretary days, now succumbing to its "grey dressing gown" character. Typical of the period she, personally is to blame for her 'failure' and her husband's retreat from her.

...She was 32...She wore an ill-fitting, somewhat creased, pleated skirt which seemed to broaden her hips...Yet I remember her as one of the brightest secretaries I have encountered...She was always neatly dresses, without beribboned fussiness, and was witty and opinionated....Now here she was after seven years with her two nicely behaved children....As she babbled on about domestic details ranging from the children to her kitchen layout, I realized suddenly what she had become - girl in a grey dressing gown. I could visualise her wandering about the house in the early morning with her hair flopping into her eyes, and that warm, serviceable garment roped around her...

My wife did not agree when I said that the corny ending might be in sight - that he would look for something a little more glamorous and amusing to compensate for her mental lowliness. No...She is a good natured girl and a fine mother and he is not the loving kind. They will live together but drift further and further apart....He will spend more time under the car...she will be absorbed in the house, her children and her neighbours. It is the pattern of many marriages. And it will be mostly the wife's fault as she is generally the one who supplies the stimulus.

But the mystery still remained. Why did a girl so intelligent, so eager, suddenly jump off life's bus?

Within the terms of the magazines there really is no answer. Deane Potter falls back on "magic" - "not even Black Magic - it was just rather dull, dreary grey". The magazines have constructed the possibility and success of 'you' the wife and mother managing the various aspects of femininity, so long as you work hard enough at it - and anyway hadn't all those commodities the '50s' boom brought made the task that much easier?

We must shift to the terrain of femininity 'outside' of marriage and motherhood for the developments which make any kind of break at all conceivable. Attention to that terrain was pointed to in the '50s by, among others, Abrams in 'The Teenage Consumer'. He wrote of the teenager as "newly enfranchised in an economic sense" which "has given him (sic) the chance to be himself and show himself" (1959a p.3). While Woman and Woman's Own were extensively read by young women in the '50s it did not purport to address itself solely to them. It was however, precisely for this group that Honey was brought out.

work - "hair shining...fresh lipstick" - in "the pink housecoat he had given for her birthday". This most feminine of garments, which parts "to reveal a glimpse of her legs", is the personal commodity through which her husband asserts marital rights to her sexuality, a sexuality other men may only admire from a distance. "She could still deserve a wolf whistle anywhere Jim thought with great pride". Yet Julie herself recognizes that marriage and family have lessened the attention she and "the girls" pay to the cultivation of their sexuality - "We don't fuss over our hairdoes or manicures any more". Consequently the anticipated day out, when "the idea is to give ourselves one completely carefree, unplanned day when we can forget about being wives and mothers and just be - women", necessitates just such personal solicitude. She buys a new hat, that item of '50s clothing which most neatly summed up women's mode of femininity: frivolous, sober, sensible...? In this instance she asks her husband "Does it do anything for me? You know, make me seem young and gay, not like a wife but somebody a man might look twice at?" "The silly hat perched on her head" transforms her "blue suit", so that as she sets off one Saturday morning, Jim notices that she "looked pretty and young and carefree". When she's not yet back late that evening he worries, contemplating on what a "desirable woman she was", that she has gone off with another man. But of course she arrives at last, only having missed her lift and then the train. She takes off her symbol of 'care-free femininity' - the hat, and immediately asks after the children, recounting her day out. She confesses "I'm afraid I really went on a spending spree darling". However it turns out that the shopping extravaganza has not been for herself but for her husband and children. Even on her day out as a "woman" she could not forget that she was a "wife and mother". Noticing her reluctance to "let go of the day" and change her clothes - "the far away look was still in her eyes", Jim casually suggests that she put on her "pretty housecoat". She agrees. She disappears upstairs to where Jim also adjourns. He knocks at their bedroom door, in acknowledgement of her 'separateness' from him, recognizing her as an 'individual' and 'independent', not merely an adjunct to him. However as he enters to find her 'dabbing perfume behind her ears', he reasserts his 'control' and 'dominance'. She is indeed wearing his present once more, and he pulls "her down on the bed beside him" - "the faraway look left Julie's eye and was replaced after a while, by a look of utter contentment".

The woman here has held onto vestiges of herself outside of her role in the family, even if it is only for one day, and in that way retains her sexuality and her attractiveness to her husband. But a

IV HONEY - 1960s

1. 'A girl spends her own money, has fun - and problems'

The relations of consumption represented in Honey are manifestly different from those of Woman and Woman's Own in the '50s. While there is a disarticulation of femininity from childcare, and primarily a concern with the 'run-up' to marriage itself, consumption is, on the other hand inseparable both from paid work and sexuality (20). It is explicitly the wholehearted individual and mainly personal consumption of one's own wage. Sexuality provides the reason for the kind of consumption that is indulged in and is constructed by that consumption. The contradiction which Mitchell refers to between the "active production" and "passive consumption" of sexuality is built into the consumption process itself. At one and the same time the act of consumption as it is realized in women's appearance, expresses their 'individuality' and 'independence' while providing the means by which patriarchal relations are potentially reaffirmed both by women themselves and by men. Women construct themselves as the unique woman attractive beyond all female rivals to men. Men construe the 'image' as a 'sexual independence' which can be 'exploited' and abused, or 'recycle' the image to sell the drabber commodities to themselves. Ads directed at women entrench the contradiction by collapsing both sides into one visual/verbal representation. (eg. "Come join the freedom lovers" Berlei girdle ad-cf p.31)

With the same editor - Audrey Slaughter - for most of the '60s this magazine for the "young, gay and get ahead" has, despite its appearance of making "each issue different from the last" (White 1970 p.173) a coherence which begins to break at the end of the decade. It disintegrates, I would argue, as the contradiction between the "active production" and "passive consumption" of sexuality becomes more acute, and because fashion and its discourse no longer has the ideological power to carry with it and, to speak for, the developments in those 'outside' areas of sexuality, work and politics. (21). These contradictory elements are already there at the outset in Honey but we need to explore their burgeoning growth to understand their ideological and eventual political impact.

The magazine sets itself up in 1960 with the intimacy between editorial staff and readers which is its hallmark for that period. The people who work on the magazine are not mere photos at the head of a column like they are in Woman and Woman's Own: they deal with readers' requests and anxieties in what is sometimes a motherly/big sisterly style, but they also become friends whose lives, and especially working lives on the magazine, we learn about. They too, often act as the 'guinea pigs' and

models for beauty and fashion features, so that we see them 'guilty' of the same bad fashion habits as us. In one sense then, at the level of representation, the division between producer and consumer is dissolved, although the magazine itself, as commodity, is witness to that separation. Such a dissolution is possible because it is assumed that most readers are women in paid work - "Helen Kayes 20. She works in the fashion department of a famous store...", "Personal assistant in a busy press office, Felicity Wigs is 21..." (Jan '61 p.12). Honey therefore enters women's lives in a different mode from Woman and Woman's Own. The latter provide entertainment but in the space of women's work of femininity in the home, a work which must be constructed as work, to 'cover up' women's subordination. The terrain of Honey's entertainment is similarly a work of femininity, though a different work - 'catching a man', which precisely because there is that other arena of paid work (to which the magazine is not wholly aligned) need not be constructed as work. The upshot of this difference is that the magazine can be more outrageously fun, and at the level of representation there is an apparent blurring of 'fantasy' and 'reality' that does not occur in Woman's Own and Woman of the '50s where each is clearly demarcated. (22).

'Fun' eminently takes place outside of the family home. As a 'honey' you are assumed to live away from your parents, in flat or bedsit, possibly in a different town, or at the very least to have your own room at home that you've transformed from bedroom to bedsit status. Thus you have established an 'independence' which you mark with your individuality - your room: "It was a room in search of a true individuality but our friend Betsy took it. She had ambitions...you see the clever results of her colourful outlook" (Jan '61 p.8), and in your appearance: "stand out in a crowd" (May '61 p.17) "hit an original note" (April '60, p.84), "turn a head" (May '61 p.16).

This individuality of appearance is in part made possible by the breakdown of fashion convention and its construction as 'fun'. The seeds of this shift in fashion's seriousness had already been sown in 1957 when, as Christopher Booker describes, the sack shocked fashion protocol and "the waistless Twenties-style Sack dress and the new kneelength 'short skirt' were able to sweep away the last remnants of the New Look" (1970 p.38). Veronica Scott in Woman had simply proclaimed - "It's fun...we've been stuck in a fashion rut for years" (Woman 19/10/57 p.13). But now in Honey gone too were those other marks of '50s' fashion: the model hat, the little gloves even for summer, the classic bag to tone and the red lipstick. Clothes were 'forward looking' in a way they had not been since the '20s

(and have not been since), ie. they were not revamped versions of what had already gone before, but were original to the '60s. In particular the rapid appearance of the mini skirt in 1965, then trouser suits, the convenience of tights and the later outrage of hotpants, summed up that move. But even before those were introduced we had: low heeled and round toed shoes, as opposed to the pointed stilletos of the late '50s, the design of PVC clothes in 'op-art' patterns, and brightly coloured stockings. 'Individuality', possible through the plurality of choice is both available and indeed acceptable.

But the rigorous effort at individuality is, at least in the early years of Honey, still governed by attention to the likes of men, whose opinions in this area are much sought after: "Bachelor" - "I don't like seeing a badly dressed firl either in the office or out of it - it annoys me....My job is very exacting, and the girl who looks really wonderful makes me want to be in the office - she doesn't distract me, but helps me to work..." (April '60 p.58). Such arrogant sexism in these early days is fatalistically considered 'natural': honeys accomodate to it - here we have the clothes which meet with that male approval. The blatant 'active pursuit' of men, the attempt at provocation through appearance - "a dress designed to clinch any budding romance" (May '61 p.18), "Danger, woman at work capturing hearts... 'cos a young man's fancy can't help turning in the direction of this brilliant crimson pique dress" (ibid p.20), brings with it the problem of sex, which is exacerbated by living away from the parental home. "How to say NO. Any girl on her own has to learn to master a delicate art...the know-how of NO-how" (Jan '61 p.16-17). In Honey there is a lag between the 'freedom' that is offered through consumption and the quite conservative pronouncements on virginity which are later, fairly reluctantly dropped by the magazine. Yet the two are integrally related. Booker points out "Mary Quant's constantly quoted reiteration that she wanted clothes she designed above all to be 'sexy'" (Booker 1970 p.21). But while Honey saw fit to illustrate and talk about 'sexy' fashion in the early '60s it was not able to relax taboos on sex. It was a tension which had continually to be discussed - how far could a girl go

Your most repeated no..will be the ever-present problem of necking. You do want to say no to more than affectionate kisses. You do want to say no to parking, lovers' lanes, to bear hugs. You don't want to say no to your beau's place in your life, if he's basically nice and only occasionally crosses the border of good dating sense.

(Jan '61 p.16)

And how did you actually cope with it? (23)

Your words should be something on these lines "I like you Bob. You're nice, you're fun, you're attractive. But we're both adult enough to know that living for the moment doesn't make sense. Let's keep this evening the kind we'll remember as a good happy one".

(ibid p.16)

2. 'Striding out and bouncing back'

The momentum of 'self-confidence' and 'individuality' gains ground as the '60s progress and "the cult of the individual" through fashion proceeds (Cf epigraph). In Jan '65 the theme of the issue was "How far will you go?" "What we're really after", wrote Audrey Slaughter in her editorial, "is the girl who goes far to be an individual". There were two main aspects to this 'individuality': 'work' and 'fashion', but it is primarily the discourse of fashion that sets the parameters within which 'individuality' is constructed. "The 1965 girl is the one who realizes the tremendous rewards there are in working at an absorbing job", but also "She's the girl who thinks fashion is fun, not a dictator. She'll mess about experimenting but she'll carve her own way through the maze of what's new so that she makes everybody wish they'd thought of the precise way of wearing that". In May 1966 the magazine proclaimed "Next month we're stepping out of line."

We're tired of being told what not to do....Who says you can't do anything about the face you were born with....Beauty for the individualist... and fashion too. Who says you've got to look like the girl at the next desk?...What law ever said you must stick to work that bores you - when the world is full of out-of-line jobs if you've got the guts to find time?.

(May '66 p.3)

If honeys stride out to take adventurous holidays and jobs in unusual places (if not unusual jobs) it is in their appearance that the "derring" is most obvious. It is the discourse of fashion which seems to 'speak' on behalf of these movements in other arenas - it encapsulates them. Thus in 1967 Audrey Slaughter asks "What is fashion?" and can answer

It's an expression of mood, of our age, of political climate, of economic pressures...we're hanging onto the shreds of our individuality... We've discovered a new confidence, a kind of derring-do...the current dolly strides in, supremely unconcerned that her outfit is a combination of attic finds, boutique gimmick, Sellotape creation and tin-foil glitter. She'll take on a big job now that previously she would have had to wait years to get...and find a job in a faraway place with little to go on except a terrific optimism and faith in her own ability to make out...Fashion isn't frivolous, though it's fun (or should be); it's a creative expression of our age...

(Jan '67 p.3)

However this optimism belies the contradictory relations which construct 'individuality'. Even the "dolly" herself as modelled in the magazine, with

her childlike Twiggy waifness, and wide eyed innocence, is uncertainly bold. Then there is the 'man problem'. The acceptance of men - as they are, with all their faults - in the early '60s, is quickly challenged, but contradictorily. In the August '62 issue, "all about men", there is idolisation of men and still the obsessive concern to attract them with one's looks, but also acute discontent. This fictional letter from a 'mother' captures these contradictions.

Daughter dear, take a long, cool look at the men you're going to meet in your life. They're wonderful and deserve a great deal of us. For example you'll need a high standard of grooming, dressing and beauty, seasoned well with wit and personality, if you're going to be lucky enough to attract one of the creatures for all time. This may mean putting up with giant rollers in your hair each night...screwing and scraping to buy clothes and cosmetics...keeping abreast with new thought, new books, new talk. Eschew all ideas of 'splurging cash on cars, good luncheons, nights on the town. Only men can enjoy that sort of thing. In return - what do you get? Darling, men, of course! Isn't that enough!...Aren't you a lucky girl?

(August '62 p.15)

Yet in the same issue a fashion feature on frilly underwear complacently declares "I'm a girl and by me that's only great" (ibid p.33)

In 1963 the inequality between women and men is explicitly voiced

...all this talk about equality is sheer illusion...the dice is heavily loaded...Just think about it a girl cannot be an airline pilot or... A girl cannot really have a night out with the girls...It is the girls who stay at home with the kids...

(Oct '63 p.94 - note that it is the same issue as epigraph)

But further the mode of operation of femininity which copes with this is also challenged

Making herself maddeningly, deliciously feminine as possible, she takes her revenge in all the subtle ways open to her. Realizing she doesn't hold the trump cards, she plays her inferior hand with superlative skill - and if she's really smart she may even take the last trick. This isn't a real solution, of course, because I, for one, don't want to go around being maddeningly feminine all the time, but so far I haven't thought of a better answer. Have you?

(ibid p.74)

The work of beauty which has always been deceitful achieves the ultimate with a battery of commodity 'fakes' behind which 'you' in your 'individuality' are hidden. If clothes declare themselves a mock up in their outrageousness, body beauty apes 'the natural'. Thus this worried honey:

Help me, Honey! I'm a fake; I wear a false hair piece, false eye lashes, falsies to give me a bigger bust, a pantie girdle to give me smaller hips and false nails. Now I'm terrified of being exposed because my

boyfriend, who's been fooled so far (and keeps saying how nice and 'natural' I am) wants me to go swimming with him.

The reply displays perhaps surprising insight

You aren't a fake - you just know how to make the best of yourself and should continue to do so. You can either - keep up your present image with well cut bikinis that have built in tops...waterproof eyeliner...or you can show him the 'natural' you. But of course the natural state has been carefully tended with sun tan preparations, de-fuzzing equipment, deoderants...It's all a question of hard work once again, but our only other suggestion is to find a short sighted boyfriend.

(Jun '66 p.40)

Ads endeavour to enshrine women within the commodity, well typified by a Coty ad in which a woman's face is framed by "Hot lips" lipstick (May '69 p.49), though they also offer 'freedom' through the commodity - "Come join the freedom lovers", the caption of a series of ads for Berlei foundation garments, in which women wearing this 'controlling' attire hold the banner which proclaims "freedom" (ibid p.72).

3. 'The "individual" as "spectacle"':

Honey presents to the reader a series of 'spectacles' right through from the colourful ads to editorial feature. This visuality, in relation to the verbal material that is its support (24), manifestly reveals 'the individual' as only mere 'spectacle'. Guy Debord in the Society of the Spectacle has argued for the centrality of the 'spectacle' in a consumer society.

...lived reality is materially invaded by the contemplation of the spectacle...reality emerges into the spectacle, and the spectacle is real (Paragraph 8).

...the world at once and absent which the spectacle lets us see is the world of the commodity dominating everything that is lived. (Para 37) The spectacle is the moment when the commodity has achieved the total occupation of social life. Not only is the relation to the commodity visible but it is all one sees: the world one sees is its world (Paragraph 42).

(Debord 1967 No page numbers)

In the context of the magazine it is fashion photography which most clearly 'spectacularises'. The foreign countries which provide the backcloth are emptied of their own reality which is replaced by the fashion models and their clothes. In a similar vein there is the "Gypsy Caravan...a look that conjures up flamboyant men and women from hot-blooded lands... a defiant look worth chasing on fiery July days. And who better to follow than the gypsies?...Your gypsy scene is now...The Romany look (July '68 p.62-71, My emphases). The 'look' is indeed all we have of the gypsies whose history and hardships are displaced from view. Their 'look' is transformed

by the commodity form and transferred to young English women who create their 'individuality' through that 'look'. It refers to a reality it attempts to take over in a process comparable to that explained by Judith Williamson in relation to ads. She suggests that they employ "hollowed out referent systems" which are "filled" by the commodity (Williamson 1978 p.168).

Likewise the fashion item "Jail break" (May '66 p.64) relies on an original meaning with its connotations of excitement and daring initiative but 'plays' on it.

Prisoners take heart! And if you've ever heaved yourself out of your underclothes with a sigh of relief at the end of the day, that means you! So cast off your fetters - tough plastic, bones, pins and other feminine tortures - liberation day is here, underwear is light and mobile as your skin, and coloured that way. Make a run for it.

(Cf Berlei girdle ad p.31)

The meaning of "Jail-break" is limited to the use of a particular commodity in a mode which Herbert Marcuse has termed the "language of operationism" (Marcuse 1969 p.78) "in which opposites are reconciled" (ibid p.79), and which impose themselves with an overwhelming and petrified concreteness" (ibid p.82). For Marcuse it is such ways of thinking that contribute to a "one dimensional society".

...the products indoctrinate and manipulate; they promote a false consciousness which is immune against falsehood. And as these beneficial products become more available to more individuals, in more social classes, the indoctrination they carry ceases to be publicity; it becomes a way of life. It is a good way of life - much better than before - as a good way of life it militates against qualitative change. Thus emerges a pattern of one dimensional thought and behaviour.

(ibid p.26)

It is what John O'Neill has termed a "goods society" (O'Neill 1972 p.27). But if it is pernicious it is so in the contradictory manner that Marcuse poses of being in fact "better than before". This is important for women in a particular way. While commodities have 'invaded' the personal arena, they have also made that arena public (Cf. Rowbotham 1973 p.110) so that in a limited way, through commodities, the masculine construction of femininity can be turned back into men's faces by women themselves: showing that it is indeed a masculine construction. Thus what Marcuse says here does not quite fit in relation to women.

The idea of "inner freedom"...it designates the private space in which man may become and remain "himself". Today this private space has been invaded and whittled down by technological reality. Mass production and mass distribution claim the entire individual...

(Marcuse 1969 p.25)

Women have never had an "inner freedom", a "self", but have been the 'hidden mystery of the female sex', the 'natural' for men. (Cf Brunsdon 1978) In the '60s women now flaunt to men the visible sexuality hitherto confined to privacy, but it is a sexuality in part constructed by the commodity, ambiguously 'available' to all men, but partially controlled by women themselves. O'Neill seems not to understand this point when he remarks

...what is even more shocking to critical reason is that this irrational economic order is able to appear quite beneficent through a technique of splitting behaviour and fantasy in the packaging of goods. To consider a trivial example (sic), the girl who is not free to resist the mini-skirt fashion can be sold her sexual or feminine liberation with it in a vicarious fantasy of admiration and conquest which is split off from the everyday mini-scenes in which nothing happens to her or to the men around her.

(O'Neill 1972 p.51)

While her life may well be a series of "mini-scenes" yet he does not grasp what Marcuse holds on to, that the mini-skirt is liberation for those who wear it - even if it is only the 'look' of liberation. Not to wear a mini-skirt may well 'look' better if you're legs are podgy, your bottom large, but it is not only to cover up your legs but also to forego the attempt at, and the idea of, an active 'sexuality' and 'freedom'. As young women in that period we all had to wear mini-skirts - or be categorised as a failure and a 'frump': old fashioned and a - sexual.

In granting the 'reality' of the 'freedom' offered by such developments Marcuse refers to the "absorption of ideology into reality" (Marcuse 1969 p.26), in which

the tension between appearance and reality, fact and factor, substance and attribute tend to disappear. The elements of autonomy, discovery, demonstration and critique recede before designation, assertion and imitation. Magical, authoritarian and ritual elements permeate speech and language...

(ibid p.78)

This assignation is partially true of Honey, but there is also a way in which the "absorption of ideology into reality" is also a means of questioning the 'real'. The mini-skirt, through the contradictions it throws up, begins to challenge the status of female sexuality for men. If we consider the October '63 issue from which the epigraph is taken this process becomes more defined. Honey takes over the vocabulary and procedure associated with election campaigns, but transfers it to a site not usually considered political - clothes (25). "Here's Honey girl in action again. This month she's been trailing up and down the country fixing for you to see the Campaign clothes" (Oct '63 p.35). The 'candidates' are the various fashion designers. But having exhausted that 'election' the

magazine then turns to a further extrapolation.

Won any good elections lately? I'm not joking. Most of us are being 'elected' for things all our lives - or being beaten in 'elections' we don't even know about. Take jobs for instance... Even marriage is a sort of election. Well - it is, isn't it?

(ibid p.111)

Moreover sandwiched between these 'elections' discussions the three leaders of Britain's major political parties are given a platform to talk about young people. The issue is serious despite its 'fantasy' air: the 'politics' that General Elections are about seem to be completely cut off from the lives which Honey readers lead where, indeed, the more personal elections over work, marriage and fashion are the problems and issues of the day. As the introduction comments "...we don't feel inspired to join in" (ibid p.50)

4. Consumption at work - it works too well!

If consumption in Honey is dependent on having a job, it most frequently also has a place within that job. There is little paid work in which it is not expected that a woman should look feminine, and in Honey the most often discussed jobs are those in which the reproduction of labour power necessitates the reproduction of a feminine labourer: shop assistants, models, actresses, secretaries, Honey's own editorial staff, must all conserve their appearance through the purchase of commodities and the work of beauty. For these women work and consumption mesh neatly together. In Dec '66 Honey there is a primarily visual feature "Once Upon a Time" (p.44) which concisely represents in a highly fictionalised form, the relations between paid work, consumption/commodities and love. Ostensibly about a girl who moves from a village shop, to London where she works "behind the cosmetic counter in a city department store", it describes and illustrates the work she does and her conceptions of it - "the customers were pleasant", "it was a novelty to be able to offer a customer choice of no fewer than eight Revlon hair sprays", but it also details these commodities and displays them, as well as some of the clothes she wears. Further it is through the process of selling a young man "just what he wanted" for his mother that she also succeeds in love. In the July '68 issue Honey announced that it would hold "career checkpoints" in various towns where Honey readers could talk to experts about careers from Advertising to Zoology" (p.76). But additionally and necessarily - "that's not all...a Honey team will be advising on fashion and experts from Helena Rubenstein will be giving advice on how to make up for the office" (p.76)

Marcuse extensively discusses the libidinization of the work place (Marcuse 1969, 1972), yet he fails to differentiate on the basis of gender.

It has often been noted that advanced industrial civilization operates with a greater degree of sexual freedom - 'operates' in the sense that the latter becomes a market value and a factor of social mores. Without ceasing to be an instrument of labour, the body is allowed to exhibit its sexual features in the everyday work world and in work relations. This is one of the unique achievements of industrial society - rendered possible by the availability of cheap, attractive clothing, beauty culture and physical hygiene; by the requirements of the advertising industry, etc. The sexy office and sales girls, the handsome, virile junior executive and floor walkers are highly marketable conditions.

(Marcuse 1969 p.70-1)

To understand this shift we have to consider the development at the consumption 'end' of capitalist production of a "privatised hedonism" (26) or "libidinization of consumption" (Hall 1979), as it initially takes place through women's sexuality. As Mitchell describes, women became the "subject of the most advanced ideological utilization" (1971 p.143) to sell such hedonism. But they do so because they too are sold commodities for their personal consumption - for use on their person precisely because they are already confined to their 'sex' (Cf Mitchell 1975 p.405). Only later has a similar male market been explored - deodorants for men, sexy underwear etc. This commodity production therefore mobilises but transforms already existing patriarchal relations, in a mode which potentially contradicts the social relations of the capitalist work place. What Mitchell calls the shift from a "production-and-work ethos to a consumption-and-fun ethos" (ibid p.147) has an articulation in the work place as well as outside. It is women taking their sexuality, in its commodity form, into the work place itself, which allows men a relaxation on this front too. "Repressive desublimation" (Marcuse 1969 p.69) in which the "body is allowed to exhibit its sexual features in the everyday work world and in work relations" is therefore primarily articulated through women's sexuality, but via the commodity form.

However the libidinization of consumption and the work place could not have taken place so easily without the contraceptive pill. Honey's earnest entreaties to say "No" finally proved to be of no avail. Between the Scylla of hedonistic consumption with its sexual appeal, and the Charybdis of access to the pill (27), women were caught in sexual activity. May '69 Honey is a paradise of female nudity and sensuality. It boasts eroticism at visual and verbal levels, with such ads as "Eros" (swimwear/underwear), "The 'Softlons' inspiration...a stroke of genius caressing you in a tender embrace..." (tights), "Hot lips" (lipstick), "So now you can feel a new sensation" (tights). It is an ambiguous sexuality - often obviously for male consumption,

but sometimes a more self-involved narcissism that excludes men (28). There is too a 'sideways' double spread featuring a sexy shirt - "Sexeez - stretchies, see throughs, skin tights" (p.120), a fashion feature on shoes - "Stop pussyfooting around - this cat's shoes are the cream" (p.104), and "plunge into the deep end for the new slinky swimsuits" (p.98).

It is in this 'sexual environment' that Honey carries one of its most serious articles - "Birth Control and the Single Girl" (p.122) (In 1966 Honey had issued a booklet - Birth Control & the Single Girl). Honey accedes to contraception not in a proclamation of sexual enjoyment but at the level of prevention of that "unlucky, unloved third" (p.123). On the basis of statistical probability - "67,000 illegitimate children are born each year, and there are roughly 100,000 abortions a year" - that you and your boyfriend are asked to face your responsibility and "be sure that this sort of tragedy doesn't happen to you" (p.5). Sex is represented as that 'natural' sometimes uncontrollable animal urge of "sexual desire" - "It is undoubtedly true that, once a girl has started indulging in petting, she is in danger of becoming pregnant, simply because of the difficulty of stopping when sexual desire is aroused" (p.5). The magazine attempts to hold firmly to the respectability of virginity until marriage, showing a puritanism out of keeping with the 'fun' ethic of its fashion features. Nevertheless the following feature - a personal view - "Anyone can marry", seems not to advocate such restraint. Rebecca Greer more openly discusses the options in "the mating game" - "on behalf of the single girl" - in terms of what 'you' will gain from a relationship with a man who need not become your husband. With men as "friends" and "lovers" a woman does not lose her 'independence', but "the price you pay for marriage" is "relinquishing your freedom to do whatever you want with anyone you please" (p.136).

Besides the 'break' represented here in sexual relations outside of marriage, there is also a shift signalled in the field of politics. In Oct '63 politics entered only at the level of clothes. In March '66 "the soap boxes" were again "pulled out on Honey" (p.3) and this time the representation straddles the 'masculine' and 'feminine' versions of politics. Alongside the serious airing of political views by Honey's editorial team Gillian Cooke, then fashion editor, describes the kind of people they are and chooses the most suitable 'clothes policy' for them; this we see implemented on the fashion pages. We were also greeted with - "Would you make a good politician's wife?", a flippant quiz and "Our vote for the big time - James Fox". By 1969 votes for eighteen year olds are seriously being discussed, but the greater interest the magazine now shows in politics is probably more attributable to the visibility of women's

issues at the political level: as well as abortion and contraception, equal pay and divorce reform in particular, which had been struggled for outside the terrain Honey was primarily concerned with. The "Honey Club Opinion Poll" (May '69 p.152) was no longer a fashion poll, but a survey of what honeys would do with a 'real' vote now that 'you' have "a growing interest in politics especially when they are concerned with social affairs which affect your life" (p.152). Seemingly anomalously it was Enoch Powell who overwhelmingly headed the people honeys would vote for as prime minister, but to 'balance' him in the top ten are Barbara Castle - "who we've a sneaky feeling collected extra votes just because she's one of us" (p.152), Jeremy Thorpe, Joe Grimond, Harold Wilson, and Jimmy Saville. Yet the Conservatives still easily won the poll. Was Enoch Powell a 'flash-in-the-pan' or the most 'out-of-the-ordinary' and 'individual' politician, if strikingly the most racist (29). In this same issue there is a fashion feature in which black models are used - "The temperature of yellow fevered fashion - cooled by black and white" (p 82) - which is an obvious but curious play on race (30). The Conservatism of honeys which the "poll" feature revealed is partly outweighed by a critical but 'liberally' positive evaluation of the underground press: it, Oz, Black Dwarf etc. (p.138), but finally there is an item entitled "The revolutionary Mr. Sharif" (p.92), which refutes its contents. Mr Sharif who is playing Ghe Guevara in a film speaks of his own apoliticism but more particularly displays his lack of a sexual politics by the sexism of his remarks - "I wouldn't object to marrying a woman who has a career, as long as that career was being my wife and that was all..." (p.93). In more appropriate 'Sharif territory' the cover on which we finally close the magazine declares "Undies to be sold in" - a women in bra and pants parades her body in front of a gathering of Arab males. (An ad for Triumph International underwear!)

CONCLUSION

The 'progress' represented by the address to 'you' as the 'individual' woman who actively and responsibly votes, works and has sex is undermined by the address to a 'you' who passively consumes the masculine fantasies of 'your' sexual representations. The 'real', actual individual - you who in 1969 read this magazine - would appear to stand confused or irate at the dislocation of the two. Yet the rebellion of the Women's Liberation Movement does not appear from within Honey's covers although the seeds of the contradictions which feed it are in evidence. Indeed it cannot, for Honey is firstly too firmly 'inside' consumption, most particularly in the area of paid work for women. In the May '69 issue, for example, "not just a pretty face... more of a hard slog" details the work of models for whom a continual appraisal of their feminine appearance is integral to their work. However it is all women who are measured by this gender criterion. Thus George Newnes in the Times felt justified in asking of women bank managers "Could you ever be sure that inside every bank manager there was not a sex symbol trying to get out?" ('Unfair Comment?' Times 31/10/66). This is not Honey's area of concern. Moreover, secondly, the magazine addresses you as young women without children. Woman's structural subordination on the site of the family where 'motherhood' throws you back into the 'natural' and economic dependence on men is displaced from view. Even the work of domestic consumption that Woman and Woman's Own ideologically construct to make sense of that place for women need not be discussed.

Yet all women bring to Honey or the similar ideological representations of femininity on ad hoardings, TV and popular newspapers, "images" that they "already have of themselves, their mothers and women generally" (Cowie 1977 p.23). Thus for some - primarily middle class and educated - women in the late '60s the discourse of the magazine as a whole contradictorily placed them in relation to the economic and social position they thought they knew and experienced 'outside' - as participators in higher education with men, and as co-workers: 'equal individuals' no less, not 'sexual objects'. Nevertheless as Mitchell perceptively notes it was in part through the 'benefits' of an ideology of consumption which offered them 'individuality', that women gained this insight.

Expanding the consciousness of many (for the sake of expanding consumerism) does mean expanding their consciousness... The ideologies cultivated in order to achieve ultimate control of the market (the free choice of the individual of whatever brand of car suits his individuality) are ones which can rebel in their own terms.

(Mitchell 1971 p.31)

The WLM with its commitment to 'the personal is political' bears witness to that rebellion. Yet as pre-condition to that it is the possibility of "free

choice", implemented within femininity, that is pertinent. As Marcuse comments "slaves must be free for their liberation before they can become free" (Marcuse 1969 p.47). The ideological construction of women as 'individuals' begins to mark out that pre-requisite of "free for", although there is by no means any automaticity in its transformation beyond femininity to feminism. Indeed precisely because it speaks of 'freedom' 'equality', 'choice', 'individuality', it has the power of all ideology: as Althusser describes "the individual is interpellated as a (free) subject...in order that he shall (freely) accept his subjection (Althusser 1971 p.169). For women her individuality is, then, subjected to femininity and patriarchal relations - and importantly that ideological construction is still pervasively at work to-day. And yet I hope I have demonstrated how, paradoxically, even such an oppressive construction - as it was articulated through an ideology of consumption in the 50's and 60's - potentially contributed to foundations for a political move forwards for women, and didn't just constitute a mere shift in ideological gear.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to give my thanks to Charlotte Brunson for seeing me through the last few days of producing this - 'servicing me', typing, reading drafts, suggesting amendments and generally keeping me sane.

FOOTNOTES

1. I have chosen 1954 to begin the period, as the first year of 'unrestrained' spending after the ending of rationing in 1953. I have ended in 1969 because that was the year when the 'women's Liberation Movement, which I see as partly arising out of these contradictory developments around consumption, began.
2. Weinbaum and Bridges (1976) would appear to have been the first to coin the term 'consumption work'. They interestingly argue how that work has increased for women with the appearance of self-service shops: the shopper now has to do the choosing and sometimes the weighing of food which would previously have been performed by an assistant.
3. Scott recounts that it has been estimated that in the '70s women in Britain and America decide 75-90% of the number of total sales. Faulder (1977) suggests that women spend £80 out of every £100.
4. See Clarke et al (1975) who discuss 'youth consumption' for this period without mention of women, and see McRobbie and Garber in the same volume for a criticism of this absence. Abrams (1959a) variously differentiates women from men but at certain points discusses them as one grouping.
5. The term 'penetration', with all its sexual connotations, I use advisedly here: it indicates the argument I am making that there is a reinforcement of capitalist and patriarchal relations by this extension of the market.
6. Abrams (1966) gives slightly different figures, but the trend is the same.
7. Along somewhat similar lines Weinbaum and Bridges (1976) argue that - "the work of consumption, while subject to and structured by capital, embodies those needs - material and non-material - most antagonistic to capitalist production; and the contradiction between private production and socially determined needs is embodied in the activities of the housewife".

8. Working class women have, of course, always been engaged in paid employment in greater or smaller numbers; in the Second World War too large numbers of all women were employed, and I do not want to underestimate the importance of that. I want merely to emphasise another significant feature of the post war period: the economic and ideological construction of all women - across classes - as consumers. Alongside that married women have increasingly entered paid work, but ideologically that has been unevenly and contradictorily acceptable, according to class and marital (ie childcare) responsibilities.
9. Cf a cartoon in Women's World where a middle aged, rather large woman stands aggressively by an armchair in which cowers her small husband, and declares: "You may make the money clever Dick, but I have to decide how you're going to spend it!" (Sept 1978 p.89).
10. Lefebvre (1971) who discusses both 'femininity' and 'consumption' quite extensively nevertheless does not make the association of 'individuality' through consumption for women. However he does say on the one hand about an ideology of consumption that it creates "an image of the 'I' consumer fulfilled as such, realizing himself in actions" (p.90); on the other hand that "the ideology of femininity is only another form of the ideology of consumption" (p.96).
11. 1963 weeklies offset 67% and monthlies 82% of their costs from ads (White 1970 p.207).
12. See Abrams "The Teenage Consumer" (1959). The 'teenager' was defined for consumption purposes as a young person between 15 and 25 years old. Curiously Abrams collates consumption figures for women and men together, although it is clear that the largest section of commodity purchase - women's clothes - must be gender specific. Overall however it is young men who in fact spend the most - 67% of all teenage spending. A curious paradox here? Where were the advertising and magazines addressed to them?
13. For further discussion of the ideology of 'equal but different' see Birmingham Feminist History Group (1979) and Elizabeth Wilson (1980).

14. Long time editor of Woman Mary Grieve observes in her autobiography which is primarily about her life with the magazine that - "A very great part of a woman's life is spent choosing, buying and preparing goods for her own and her family's consumption An immense amount of her personality is engaged in her function as the selector of goods, and in this she endures many anxieties, many fears. Success in this function is as cheering and vitalising to her as it is to a man in his chosen career, failure as stimulating" (1964 p.137. Also quoted in White 1970 p.146).
15. Scott (1976) delimits two stages within consumption: 'shopping' and 'buying', but fails to consider the final stage of what is done with the commodity after it is bought.
16. 'Cooking' is another area of 'home making' that I do not consider here. It is however as important and subject to the same rationalisation and ambiguities of being both 'work' and 'fun'. I have briefly discussed it elsewhere (Winship 1978 p.146).
17. For other discussion of the work of beauty see McRobbie 1977 Winship 1978. There is a third area of work for women - the work of personal life, of relationships with children and especially with husband - which, not performed with the aid of commodities, I do not examine here. (See Brunson 1978, Zaretsky 1976).
18. The priority of fashion's usual codes is reflected in a comment on Audrey Hepburn's breaking of the rules. "Would you have the nerve to wear this outfit without any jewellery but a simple wedding ring?" (Woman 10/5/58 p.6).
19. In 1957 a film, scripted by Ted Willis, directed by J. Lee Thompson was released with the title (A Woman in a dressing gown). It concerns precisely such a woman as is discussed here and it would seem that the film which was a great success is probably implicitly being referred to here.
20. In a wider study than this one would have to examine these factors 'outside' Honey. Specifically in relation to the eventual appearance of the WIM. Rowbotham (1973) and Mitchell (1971) both discuss these developments.

21. As a sign of this disintegration Honey's circulation dropped between 1969-72 from 201,223 to 178,120 copies per month although⁴ began to rise again in 1973. (Audit Bureau of Circulation).
22. It's 'fun' character must also be associated simply with the fact that it is a magazine for young women.
23. Sheila Rowbotham recounts her personal experience of this problem- "I could never think quickly enough somehow to translate the gametes and zygotes we learned about in biology into information about what Honey called "How far to go?" So I would quickly abdicate my theoretical position and say 'no' on the rare occasions when physical circumstances made 'yes' possible" (1973 p.13).
24. In comparison the visual aspect of Woman and Woman's Own, which I did not discuss, seems of marginal importance. However 'visuality' was, in relation to other magazines of the period, their big selling point.
25. October '63 was the month Macmillan resigned as prime minister through ill health and after the trials of the 'Profumo affair'. A general election was being discussed although it did not take place until the following October.
26. See Altmann who discusses "the present requirements of capitalism for privatised hedonism to maintain extensive consumerism", as they relate to being gay. He argues that in such a situation "homosexuals represent an attractive market rather than a social threat" (1978 p5). It would appear that 'women who express their sexuality' are in a similar position.
27. The Family Planning Association opened their clinics to unmarried women in June 1967.
28. See Brooks 1977, Millum 1975 and Williamson 1978 for 'narcissism' in ads.
29. Powell had delivered his 'Rivers of Blood' speech in April '68.
30. It must be said that the black models are 'discretely' black, ie; they are 'light' skinned, do not have Afro hair and are possibly of Asian origin. Their fleeting appearance here has never since 1969,

burgeoned into any serious attempt to deal with the problems of black or Asian women: British women's magazines cultivate a white interest with only the 'token' article either featuring black models or discussing the experience of being black.

REFERENCES

- Abrams, Mark 1959a The Teenage Consumer London Press Exchange
- Abrams, Mark 1959b 'The Home-centred Society' The Listener Nov. 26.
- Abrams, Mark 1966 'What's changed in 10 years?' The Observer
Colour Supplement, New Year issue.
- Althusser, Louis 1971 'Ideological State Apparatuses' in Lenin and
Philosophy New Left Books
- Altman, Dennis 1978 "The State, Repression and Sexuality" in
Gay Left no.6 Summer 1978
- Berger, John 1972 Ways of Seeing BBC/Penguin
- Birmingham Feminist & History Group (1979) 'Feminism as Femininity?'
Feminist & Reviews No. 3
- Bland, Lucy; Brunson Charlotte; Hobson, Dorothy; Winship, Janice 1978
'Women "inside and outside" the relations of production' in
Women Take Issue CCCS/Hutchinson
- Bogdanor, Vernon and Skidelsky, Robert 1970 (ed) The Age of Affluence
1951 - 1964 Macmillan
- Booker, Christopher 1970 The Neophiliacs - A study of the revolution
in English life in the Fifties and Sixties Fontana/Collins
- Braverman, Harry 1974 Labour and Monopoly Capital Monthly Review Press
New York
- Brooks, Rosetta 1977 'Woman visible : Women invisible' Studio
International Vol 193 no 987
- Brunson, Charlotte 1978 'It is well known...' in Women Take Issue
CCCS/Hutchinson
- Butcher, Helen; Coward, Ros; et al. 1974 'Images of Women in the Media'
Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Occasional Paper.
- Castells, Manuel 1977 The Urban Question: a marxist approach.
Edward Arnold
- Clarke, John; Hall, Stuart; Jefferson, Tony; Roberts, Brian 1975
'Subcultures, cultures and class ; a theoretical overview'
Working Papers in Cultural Studies 7/8 Resistance through Rituals
Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.
- Cowie, Elizabeth 1977 'Women, Representation and the Image'
Screen Education 23 Summer 1977
- DEbord, Guy 1967 The Society of the Spectacle Translated for
Practical Paradise Publications 1977
- Douglas, J.W.B. 1956 'The Feminists Mop up' The Economist Vol 179 no 5879
- Foreman, Ann 1977 Femininity as Alienation Pluto Press
- French, Marion 1978 The Women's Room Jonathan Cape

- Friedan, Betty 1968 The Feminine Mystique Penguin
- Grieve, Mary 1964 Millions Made-my Story Victor Gollancz
- Hall, Stuart 1979 'Legislation of Consent' in Consenting Legislation in the 1960s, (ed) Macmillan
- Hobsbawm E.J 1968 Industry and Empire Wiedenfield and Nicholson
- Laing R.D and Esterson A. 1964 Sanity, Madness and the Family Tavistock
- Lefebvre, Henri 1971 Everyday Life in the Modern World Allen Lane
- Mackie, Lindsay and Petullo, Polly 1977 Women at work Tavistock
- Mandel, Ernest 1975 Late Capitalism New Left Books
- Marcuse, Herbert 1969 One Dimensional Man Sphere
- Marcuse, Herbert 1972 Eros and Civilisation Abacus
- Marx, Karl 1973 Grundrisse Penguin
- Marx, Karl 1976 Capital Vol.1. Penguin
- Marx, Karl 1972 Capital Vol.2. Lawrence and Wishart
- McRobbie, Angela 1977 Working Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity MA Thesis Birmingham University.
- McRobbie, Angela and Garber, Jenny 1975 'Girls and Subcultures: an exploration' Resistance through Rituals Working Papers in Cultural Studies 7/8. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.
- Millum, Trevor 1975 Images of Women Chatto and Windus
- Ministry of Labour. Manpower Studies No. 6. 1967
Occupational Changes 1951-61 HMSO
- Mitchell, Juliet 1971 Women's Estate Penguin
- Mitchell, Juliet 1975 Psychoanalysis and Feminism Penguin
- Molina, Victor 1977 'Notes on Marx and the Problem of Individuality' Working Papers in Cultural Studies 10. CCCS.
- Myrdal, Alva and Klein, Viola 1956 Women's Two Roles: Home and Work Routledge and Kegan Paul
- O'Neill John 1972 Sociology as a Skin trade Heinemann
- Pinto-Duschinsky, Michael 1970 'Bread and circuses? The Conservatives in Office 1951-64' The Age of Affluence 1951-61 ed. Bogdanor and Skidelsky Macmillan.
- Political Economy of Women Group 1975 'On the Political Economy of Women' Conference of Socialist Economists pamphlet 2. Stage One.
- Rowbothan, Sheila 1973 Woman's Consciousness, Man's World Penguin

- Scott, Rosemary 1976 The Female Consumer Associated Business Programmes
- Secombe, Wally 1975 'Domestic Labour - a reply' New Left Review 94
- Weinbaum, Batya and Bridges, Amy 'The Other Side of the Paycheck:
Monopoly Capital and the Structure of Consumption.'
Monthly Review Vol.28 no.3
- White, Cynthia 1970 Women's Magazines 1693-1968: A sociological Study
- White, Cynthia 1977 Royal Commission on the Press, The Women's
periodical press in Britain 1946-76. Working Paper no 4. HMSO
- Williamson, Judith 1978 Decoding Advertisements Marion Boyars
- Wilson, Elizabeth 1980 Only Half way to Paradise, Tavistock
- Winship, Janice 1978a 'A Woman's World : Woman - an ideology of
femininity' Women Take Issue CCCS/Hutchinson
- Zaretsky, Eli, 1976 Capitalism, the Family & Personal Life Pluto