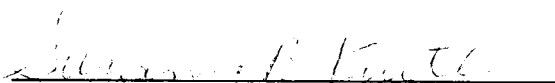
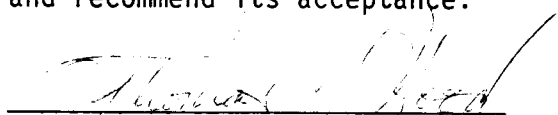


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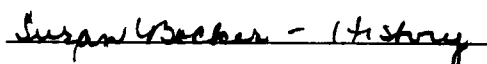
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Gretta Guyton Stanger entitled "The Representation of Family Change in Social Science Journals and Women's Magazines." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.


Suzanne B. Kurth, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:


Thomas A. Clelland


Donald A. Clelland


Susan Becker - History

Accepted for the Council:


Vice Provost
and Dean of the Graduate School

THE REPRESENTATION OF FAMILY CHANGE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNALS
AND WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Gretta Guyton Stanger

December 1986

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The provision of a Grant-In-Aid for one quarter by Tennessee Technological University is acknowledged with thanks to those who assisted in the approval process. The same institution provided for a one course reduction in my teaching load for two quarters.

I have been fortunate to have some colleagues who have been continuously supportive of my research. Consultations, loans of resource materials, and encouragement were provided.

The difficulty of obtaining research materials was made easier by Jean Kuftinec in the Boston area and Linda Mulden in interlibrary loan service at Tennessee Technological University.

Over the years I have had the support of a network of friends who have assisted in a variety of ways. I particularly want to acknowledge the assistance of Fusako and Ed Greenamyre; Cathy, Dennis, and Suzanne Moran; and Virginia Lovellette. I especially thank Seth Stanger for his contribution to many activities and for his understanding.

While many have assisted me during the last several years, one especially stands out as providing the correct combination of scholarly guidance and emotional support necessary for the completion of this work--Suzanne Kurth, the director of my dissertation committee. I am indebted to Professors Don Clelland, Tom Hood, and Susan Becker for their assistance and service on my dissertation committee.

ABSTRACT

The American family has changed during the twentieth century. Whether representations of the family in the print media have shaped, reflected, or controlled the family is unclear. The question which directed this research is: to what extent, when, and how are documentable changes in the family structure presented in nonfiction articles in women's magazines and professional social science journals?

Content analysis was used to examine the family related themes of nonfiction articles in three general interest women's magazines (Ladies' Home Journal, Redbook, Good Housekeeping) and two social science journals (American Sociological Review and Journal of Marriage and the Family). The research covered the period from 1935 through 1975. Demographic data were used as measures of change in family structure.

In all three magazines and one social science journal the largest concentration of articles was in the thematic category of parent-child relations perhaps reflecting the societal shift to a child centered family. Neither medium presented information which drew their audience's attention to changes in divorce rates, age at marriage, or female labor force participation when they began to occur. Both the magazines and journals appeared to serve roles as maintainers of widely shared views of the nature of the family, of a shared symbolic reality. They played limited reflective roles presenting information (which at times was inaccurate, out of date, or

inadequately documented) about a few well established demographic trends while ignoring others.

The selective treatment of family structure in the magazines and social science journals was explained by conceptualizing article writing as the "telling of a story."

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CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

This study investigates when, how, and to what extent changes in the American family structure are presented in two print media from the mid-thirties to the mid-seventies. One goal is comparison of the content of nonfiction articles on family structure in general interest women's magazines and the content of such articles in selected social science journals over this forty-year period. Another goal is investigation of the manner in which demographic changes in family structure are presented in the articles.

This chapter presents theoretical perspectives on the mass media and raises questions about the presentation of changes in the family in women's magazines and social science publications.

Theoretical Perspectives on the Mass Media

The structure of a mass medium is affected greatly by the social, political, and economic conditions prevailing during its development (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach 1975:177). External conditions along with internal shifts in technology and finances, direct and influence the content of the media. Ultimately the media are businesses and to survive they must secure audiences' attention. Often the widest possible net is spread to appeal to the largest number of people with the lowest common denominator being the basis for content decisions..

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1975) argued changes in content are also attributable to regulatory agencies and pressures from interest groups. While their assessment may be accurate for the media regulated by the Federal Communications Commission, the print media are not restrained by a comparable governmental regulatory agency. Special interest groups may promote coverage of issues they believe are ignored or subject to presentations, e.g., the level of violence on television (Steinfeld 1979), in musical lyrics, and in movies (Farber 1979).

The nature of the relationship between media content and society is a topic of debate. There are three basic positions--that it "reflects society and culture, that it serves as a means of social control, and that it influences attitudes and behavior of people" (Albrecht 1956:722).

Reflective Position

Advocates of the reflective position do not argue that cultural or societal reality are exactly reproduced in literature. Albrecht cautioned against expecting a mirror image to account for differences in the appearance frequency of particular values in literature (1954: 729). Griswold (1981) in an analysis of 130 U.S. novels noted that while reflection is a convenient label, there are various types of reflection. The most useful recent version of reflection emphasizes symbolic reality.

Both the dominant ideas and ideals in media sources are taken for granted by the public. Tuchman argued that these ideas and

ideals "are incorporated as symbolic representations of American society, not as literal portrayals" (1978b:8). The symbolic representations in the media may not be current, for temporal or cultural lag may occur. For instance, the family may not have conformed consistently to the married couple with two children (one boy and one girl), a homemaker mother, and an economically active father, but the ideal was very strong in the 1950's and this was the type of family frequently represented in literature and on television then and later.

Numerous studies explore ideals reflected in fiction. Few examine the representativeness of nonfictional portrayals of society in the twentieth century print media, although nonfiction can be analyzed. Studies examining the representation of the women's movement in newspapers and the magazines found they did not reflect movement activity as it occurred (Tuchman 1978b; Epstein 1978). A review of the New York Times Index revealed that the proportion of coverage accorded to women's rights fluctuated from a low of 0.01 percent from 1957-1966 to a high of 0.09 percent by the middle of the 1970's decade (Butler and Paisley 1978). Researchers such as Tuchman (1978b) do not reject the reflective position on the basis of such findings, but instead argue that symbolic reality in which women are "annihilated" is being reflected.

Whether reporting on other topics, such as age at marriage or the incidence of divorce reflects societal changes is unknown. Other perspectives in the mass media suggest that it will not.

Social Control Position

The basic tenet of Howitt's cultural ratification (social control) model of mass communication was that the media and other social institutions "act as agencies of political control of society" (1982:16). Alliance between the media and the power structure within a society makes it likely that the world view presented in the media facilitates continuation of the power structure. According to the cultural ratification model, the media prevent changes that would challenge the current dominant ideologies, but there is limited empirical support for this conclusion. Some content analyses indicate that "extreme" viewpoints may be rejected by the media (Golding and Middleton 1982; Hartmann and Husband 1974; Halloran, Elliott, and Murdock 1970). The social control perspective is more difficult to clearly support or refute than the reflective perspective or the third basic perspective.

Influencing Attitudes and Behavior Position

Advocates of the third position argue the media create shared ways of perceiving events by the usage of "uniform and relatively consensual versions of social reality" (McQuail 1983:43). The media are seen as the molders or shapers, rather than reflectors of society. In Berger and Luckman's (1967) terms the process involves the "construction of reality." Tuchman extended the constructionist position, arguing that news should be identified as "an artful accomplishment attuned to the specific understandings of social reality" (1978a:216). Journalists' understandings of social life derive from organizational and work activities which serve to legitimate the status quo.

Simon (1985) recently published a descriptive content analysis of hundreds of articles on immigration. She documented that the mass media do not simply mirror social reality but that they apparently attempt to mold popular thinking.

Analysts such as Tuchman (1978a) emphasize elements of both the reflective and constructionist positions. Whether one adopts the position that the media are reflectors of culture and social structure and/or that the media are molders or shapers of attitudes and public behavior, the media are assumed to influence public perceptions of social life.

One way to explore the role of the media is to identify when documentable changes occurred and then to examine media content before, during, and after the time changes were occurring.

Changes in Marriage and the Family

In American society marriage and family are important to many people's lives. Various segments of the population have strong views about acceptable marriage and family behavior (e.g., conservative politicians and religious groups). Media representations of marriage and family may reflect or shape public perceptions and/or serve a social control function. To examine the role of the media short term changes in marriage and the family, specifically demographic shifts, were selected.

Demographic

Demographic data related to the family during the twentieth century indicate that the divorce rate rose, that age at marriage decreased until the 1950's when it began steadily rising, and that after World War II wives and mothers increasingly entered the labor force (Cherlin 1981).

The meaning of these demographic changes, as well as less well quantified changes, e.g., in sexual behavior, for the family is debated by the general public and social scientists. Some interpreted them to mean that the family is in a state of decline and is no longer the stable, safe haven that it was in the "good old days" (Cooper 1970; Otto 1970; Young 1973; Hacker 1982). Others argued, the family is simply adapting to changing American values (Wolfenstein 1954; Bell 1976; Wolfe 1976; Yankelovich 1981). The most optimistic use various types of evidence to proclaim that the family is alive and well. Most optimists conclude the family is changing, rather than eroding (Levitan and Belous 1981) and assume the changes ultimately will make it more stable.

Popular Culture

Questions about the stability of the family have been very visible in magazines and newspapers in recent years as well as in some previous periods.

By the end of the nineteenth century American newspapers and magazines were full of speculation about the crisis of marriage and the family. From the 1890s down to the 1930s, discussions of the family became increasingly

intense. Four developments gave rise to a steadily growing alarm: the rising divorce rate, the falling birth rate among "the better sort of people," the changing position of women, and the so-called revolution in the morals (Lasch 1986:536).

Increased awareness of negative behaviors in the family, such as wife abuse, child abuse, and incest, has contributed to the perception of the family as "falling apart." Although the incidence of these activities may not have risen, public awareness has risen due to increased media coverage and new legislation and programs.

Implicit in arguments about the decline of the family is the belief that the family was better before. The media play a role in the idealization of the "good old days" image of family life. In the 1950's authors, commentators, politicians, and women's magazine writers were praising the values of the traditional family (Friedan 1963). "Women's magazines published a steady stream of articles praising the homemaker and warning women of the perils of trying to combine marriage and childrearing with work outside the home" (Cherlin 1981:35).

While the popular media may idealize the past, they also may carry few articles addressing contemporary "problems" of interest to their readers. In 1971 sociologist Suzanne Keller criticized social scientists for not focusing more on the changing family. "It is curious to note how much more quickly the popular press, including the so-called women's magazines, have caught onto changing marital, sexual, and parental styles" (Keller 1986:521).

Social Scientific Analyses

In the mid-twentieth century research on the family accepted popular assumptions about the forms and functions of the family in earlier, especially pre-industrial times. Historical research on the family has disproven many myths, e.g., about the three generation family (Hareven 1982).

Various social scientists accepted the "popular" belief in family decline due to the dearth of longitudinal studies. The findings from a restudy of Middletown revealed the opposite was happening between 1920 and 1970 (Caplow et al. 1982:323). The family of the seventies had more solidarity, less of a generation gap, and closer marital communication than did the family of the twenties. The noncommunicative couple was not as common in the more recent study and the division of the sexes was not as great either. Parents and children were reported spending more time together than parents did in the twenties.

Some revisionists have demonstrated that using the fifties as a point of reference for discussing change was misleading since the fifties were an anomaly and not representative of pre-war trends (Cherlin 1981). Many of the trends in the sixties and seventies (e.g., the rising divorce rate) were continuations of pre-war ones interrupted in the fifties.

Social scientists are never free of cultural values so changes in social science research may reflect the values of their cultural and historical time.

The media may generate, reflect, or help control change. Media with different target audiences (e.g., women in general or social

scientists) may treat the same changes differently. And, at different times (years, decades) a medium may treat changes differently. Comparison of identifiable changes in family life (e.g., frequency of divorce, female employment) with mass media representations of the family before, during, and after those changes provides one means to specify the roles of specific media during certain time periods.

CHAPTER II

WOMEN'S MAGAZINES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNALS

Two forms of print media which provide readers with information about patterns of social life are general interest women's magazines and social science journals. These two types of periodicals are the focus of this research. This chapter examines the history and characteristics of each.

Magazines are one of the oldest mass media and continue to flourish even as their individual lifespans decrease (Stanley and Steinberg 1976). Both the prevalence and acceptance of magazines in the United States increased manifold after 1921 (Wood 1971). World War I had allowed magazines to serve much as national newspapers. Magazines were frequently the only reading material available to those in the armed forces.

Magazines are expected to be contemporary but generally are kept longer than newspapers.

Usually the magazine is read by more than one person before it is discarded (Wood 1971).

The History and Role of Women's Magazines

Women's magazines form a distinctive medium. They have evolved over time but have consistently dealt with women's family and marital roles.

History of Women's Magazines

Periodicals for women first appeared in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Transmission of values was an early goal. Numerous examples are cited of how early eighteenth century editors sought to impose their personal values on readers (White 1970). To many editors promulgation of values was their magazines' reason for existing and they openly taught or preached their messages (and criticisms).

White claimed that The Lady's Magazine, which began in 1770 and lasted for 77 years, was the first "objective and professional effort to create a magazine acceptable to women" (1970:31). Its goal was to provide entertainment and instruction. It included subjects beyond the usual "feminine" fare and dealt with topics that were decidedly intellectual. Not only were articles written by men, but also they were read by men. White indicates the intellectual focus was possible as long as men and women were considered equal mentally and women's roles allowed participation outside the home.

By 1825 major changes had occurred in the larger society regarding women's proper role and status and significant changes were apparent in the content and tone of women's magazines. Sarah Hale in starting the Ladies' Magazine in 1828 assured the husbands and fathers of her potential readers that her "periodical would make for more loving . . . wives and daughters" (Douglas 1977:71). The beautiful heroines of stories may have helped create a desire for finery, reinforced the expectation of special treatment, and further

exalted the cult of motherhood. Gradually, circulations of magazines encouraging a pride in home and family, such as Hale's exceeded those periodicals which treated the female intellect as worthy of cultivation.

Not all women's magazines were directed at the same audiences. In 1852 Samuel Beeton introduced a less expensive one, The English-woman's Domestic Magazine, designed for middle class women. Domestic management was the focus, but there was serial fiction, literary criticism, advice on courtship, articles on pets and gardening, and advice on hygiene and care of the sick.

Douglas, in The Feminization of American Culture (1977), detailed the birth of mass culture from the writings of ministers and female writers. Sentimentalism infused their writings with emotionalism and anti-intellectualism, and provided a simplistic, and often trivialized, view of life. Pointing to the hostility expressed and the "fundamental and complicated obsession with mediocrity" (1977:201), Douglas saw the split of elite and mass culture occurring.

Early mass culture writing provided the justification for focusing on consumer rather than production values. Concurrently women's productive work was becoming less visible. Women may not have had more leisure, but that leisure "was increasingly treated as the most interesting and significant thing" about them (Douglas 1977:63).

The publishing industry grew and became more differentiated in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. By 1910 after various experiments with magazine content, formulas emerged for types of magazines (Chafe 1972). Upper class women's magazines had more on

etiquette and less fiction and middle class ones had the opposite. Basically, both types dealt with the woman's domestic role and ignored the public sphere. The early woman's movement was overlooked, for instance.

The messages the women's magazines have communicated have varied over time (Chafe 1972). Whatever the messages, they often have been prescriptive.

The Role of Women's Magazines

Wolseley maintained that women's magazines have had "long-range effects in creating stereotypes in their readers' minds" (1973:109). From a young age, magazines suggest to girls that they are to be taken care of, preferably by a husband; that they must work to be as attractive as possible; and that if they are too intellectual they will not be able to attract a man.

The very existence of women's magazines makes a statement "about the position of women in society as one which requires separate consideration and distinctive treatment" (Ferguson 1983:1). Ferguson demonstrates that teaching women "femininity" is a major goal of the women's magazines.

Men's magazines exhibit more fragmentation of ideology and do not deal with the totality of "masculinity" or the position of the male in society, i.e., they focus primarily on sports (Sports Illustrated) or fashion (Gentleman's Quarterly). Weibel (1977) argued that women's interests have been more homogeneous than men's because women have had responsibility for home life regardless of

their employment status or social class. Women's magazines may serve as one agent of socialization for women, by expressing common values and norms.

Periodical publications which target women as their primary audience are conceptualized in a number of ways. To some, they are representative of specialty magazines and are thus a subtopic of magazine publishing in general or an even larger institution, the mass media. For Ferguson (1983), women's magazines form a legitimate, if relatively understudied, institution. They are significant in defining the position of women, developing a woman's self-image, and shaping the public's overall view of women, individually and collectively.

Richardson (1981) and others (e.g., Douglas 1977) proposed that there is a pervasive ideology which is shared by all institutions during the socialization process. If this is true, the values reinforced by women's magazines should not be at odds with those emphasized by other institutions (e.g., educational, legal, political).

Some researchers assume that the media are a significant influence in the socialization of females (Richardson 1981). Both traditional working class and middle class women's magazines define women by their relationships to men (Flora 1971; Franzwa 1974). The fundamental messages women are sent may be similar no matter which women's magazine is read. Richardson (1981) argued that less traditional magazines like Ms., Working Woman, and New Women have simply imposed new roles on top of traditional ones. Employment is not denigrated; in fact, it is "okay" to work and have children and be a great cook

and be responsible for the household and child care. A number of researchers have analyzed the content of women's magazines to identify the messages being sent.

Content Analyses of Women's Magazines and of Family Representations

Older analyses of general and women's magazines (Johns-Heine and Gerth 1949) as well as more recent analyses of women's magazines, reveal fiction emphasizing "hearth and home" and denigrating working women. The ideal woman is passive and dependent upon a man for her happiness (Tuchman et al. 1978:18). Idealization of "traditional" family roles might be anticipated in the nonfiction articles in women's magazines. While the general portrayal of women in magazine fiction is well documented (Middleton 1960; Martel 1968; Bailey 1969; Franzwa 1974; Flora 1979), information on nonfiction is sparse.

Women's Magazines

Various studies of women's magazines in the mid-twentieth century conclude homemaking is stressed and/or employment is denigrated. Clark and Esposito (1966) examined how occupations were presented in three popular women's magazines in 1963 and 1964 and found little resemblance between their themes and college educated women's career goals. They argued that the unusual occupations stressed by the magazines were unobtainable and the satisfactions stressed (achievement) were not the ones females would want. Franzwa (1974) concluded that the image of mother as housewife and unemployed is resistant to

change based on her studies of fiction in women's magazines from 1940 to 1970. Lefkowitz's study (Bailey 1969) of magazine short stories from 1957 to 1967 reported essentially the same pattern as Franzwa. Morelock's study (1971) of the portrayal of the employment of women in magazines between 1956 and 1970 found twice as many articles unfavorable as were favorable.

Content Analysis and Family Structure

Fictional representations of women and family life in various print media have been analyzed. Kenkel (1969) used modern science fiction and Sommerville (1964) used the short story to study marriage and the family. Khatri (1980) analyzed family systems in fiction both cross-culturally and within a culture. Perkins (1986) investigated continuity and general social values change in the magazines of Western countries from 1937 to 1979 and found value stability as well as homogeneous values in the different magazines.

Brown (1981) analyzed magazine advertisements and found several changes over time, but he concluded that the traditional family was presented in an unchanging fashion. Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) investigated the portrayal of women in magazine advertisements and found they supported traditional gender stereotypes (e.g., women do not do important things).

Martel (1968) concentrated on age-sex roles in American magazine fiction, while Middleton (1960) used content analysis to examine fertility values in magazine fiction. Flora (1979) focused on changes in women's status in women's magazine fiction. British women's

magazines were examined by Fowler (1979) and Ferguson (1983) in Forever Feminine primarily considered the portrayal of women in the fiction of British magazines. Barcus (1961) did a content analysis of trends in family life in the United States Sunday comics.

While Lantz and associates (1968; 1973; 1975; 1977) did benchmark studies of pre-industrial patterns in the colonial family in America through content analyses of colonial magazines, nonfiction images of family life in twentieth century American women's magazines have been inadequately studied.

The Role and History of Selected Social Science Journals

The fictional and nonfictional representations of family structure in twentieth century women's magazines have not been scrutinized, much less related, to changes in demographic indicators or representations of family structure in social science research.

Professional journals are expected to play a major role in the dissemination of disciplinary knowledge. Often a journal is an official organ of a professional association, which uses it to reinforce its legitimacy in the field.

The American Sociological Review replaced the American Journal of Sociology as the official journal of the American Sociological Society in 1936. (Previously the American Sociological Journal, published by the University of Chicago since the turn of the century, had been the official journal.) Wanderer argued that the American Sociological Review can be viewed as more than an important

legimating agency by stating that "papers and articles printed in ASR not only reflect 'good' sociology, but in good part modern sociology itself" (1966:241). Research by Lin and Nelson (1969:48) as well as by Brown and Gilmartin (1969:286) indicated that the American Sociological Review is among the most often cited and prestigious journals in American sociology.

Journal editors may have considerable impact on what is published in "official" publications and thus on the discipline. While Yoels (1971) in the early seventies identified patterns regarding doctorate of origin of authors of the American Sociological Review articles and the doctorate of origin of editors of the American Sociological Review, the dominance of certain schools apparently has decreased in recent years (Oromaner 1980:173). However, the University of Chicago had more publications by its recent graduates and by its faculty than any other institution in its publication, the American Journal of Sociology (Oromaner 1980). From a sociology of knowledge viewpoint such findings suggest the existence of a sociological "power elite" who regulate the information presented as representative of the discipline. Yet, the proportion of authors sharing the same origin of doctorate as that of the editor was not large for Social Forces, the official journal of the Southern Sociological Society, published at the University of North Carolina (Knudsen and Vaughn 1969).

Professional journals provide outlets for the publication of research findings, making those findings more widely available to

researchers and facilitating the accumulation of empirical findings. Additionally, they provide a forum for professionals to respond to the methodology and theoretical frameworks used in a specific research project. Some professional publications also have provided information about professional meetings, deaths, and changes in departmental personnel. Today such information is often presented in separate newsletters rather than journals.

Social scientists gain recognition within their disciplines when they publish in professional journals. They are ambivalent about the desirability of research findings first appearing in the popular press. The social norms associated with the role that the professional journals serve are noted by Walum (1975). She detailed the situation in which the paper presented at a professional meeting is publicized in the mass media and the "normal" process of scientific feedback is disrupted. Popular media dissemination rapidly informs a larger audience, but the response of the general public may not be as relevant to the professional as the response of those in the discipline. Etzkowitz and Mack (1975) had a favorable response from the public (even leading to the revelation of additional data for them) when their research was detailed in the newspaper. As a result, they advocated use of "the media" for a number of functions related to research. Popular dissemination of results may serve some useful functions, but publication in a professional journal is essential if research is to receive support from the scientific community.

Journal articles "tell a story" and thus structure webs of fact building which are treated as "science." The organizational frames

as well as professional expectancies provide boundaries to the content of written articles (Gusfield 1976). Such limiting structures also exist for other media (Tuchman 1978a).

The relationship among social scientists, the professional journals, and the mass media is complex. Sociologists are seeking to gain wider recognition for the discipline, trying to gain government funds, and to legitimize or revise the status quo. Professional social scientists appear as experts in popular magazines, at times with regular columns (e.g., Margaret Mead, Benjamin Spock).

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES AND METHODS

The family has changed during the twentieth century but whether the print media addressed these changes as they occurred is unknown. The economic dependence of magazines on attracting readers might lead women's magazines to quickly address family related changes. On the other hand, magazines may be reluctant to change their content because they might lose readers who expect consistency in what they cover.

Professional journals are not influenced by the same publication factors as magazines. The pattern of reflection or leading of change will probably not be the same for the two sources.

Research Questions

The research question is: to what extent, when, and how are documentable changes in the family structure presented to women in general and to professional social scientists. The relationship between changes in the family structure as measured by demographic data and the content of nonfiction articles of women's magazines and social science journals is the specific focus. If change occurs in one structural aspect (as measured by demographic data) does the content of women's magazines and journals reflect the current trends or will there be a lag with older, often idealized, patterns portrayed for some time? Specifically, if the age at first marriage increases, do the articles in women's magazines and journals address the shift?

Is there evidence of print media anticipating changes or of attempting to direct change?

Also the relationship between representations of family structure in the popular culture and treatment of family structure in social science journals is explored. Societal changes presumably are of interest to the reading public and social scientists. Yet, factors enter into the decision processes regarding research topic selection and journal article publication (Crane 1967), which do not affect magazines. If a situation is defined as a social problem by a specific group (e.g., middle class women) or the larger society, the likelihood may increase both that related scientific research will be conducted and that it will be a topic in women's magazines.

Content Analysis

The most appropriate method for studying nonfiction magazine and journal content is content analysis. Various researchers have demonstrated its utility for studying women's magazines (Clark and Esposito 1966; Franzwa 1974; Morelock 1971).

Nonfiction is expected to present facts. Unrealistic fictional portrayals of women and their roles may be justified or dismissed on the basis that they are neither required nor expected to be representative. Nonfiction presumably will be representative, although it may be representative of the situation or beliefs of only a limited segment of the population. The reflective model of mass communication suggests there eventually will be correspondence

between media content and social reality, although that reality may be symbolic rather than empirical.

Goal

Content analysis can be used for many purposes (Berelson 1952). This content analysis study primarily (1) describes changes in content of women's magazines and social science professional journals over a forty-year span, (2) reveals the relative focus of societal attention to family structure, and overall, (3) ascertains what family patterns are presented at different times.

Advantages

Compared with other research techniques, such as interviewing, content analysis yields unobtrusive measures so that neither the sender nor receiver is aware of the analysis. One of its primary advantages is that data are not confounded by changes generated from the measurement process (Webb et al. 1966).

Content analysis has numerous advantages. Long periods of time can be the focus of study with both economies of research time and money. When the data to be examined exceed the range of data manageable by one researcher and sampling is necessary, content analysis is especially useful (Holsti 1969:17). Generally, no special equipment is necessary when utilizing this unobtrusive approach. The ease of replication allows assessment of reliability. Texts can be analyzed and reanalyzed, and one may return later to copied text for further analysis (Stone 1966).

Techniques

Content analysis can be performed a number of different ways (Weber 1985), so each researcher must decide which techniques are appropriate for a specific research project. Word frequency lists are used to reflect gross differences. The assumption underlying this technique is that the frequency of usage corresponds to interest or concern with an item. One limitation of this procedure is that usage of pronouns or synonyms leads to underestimation of the extent to which reference is made to the same item. Another limitation of the word frequency technique is that it does not address the relationships between words. Weber (1985) argued that the stylistic writing required for professional journal articles makes them an especially inappropriate unit for the use of word frequency lists.

Other options besides word counts include analysis by sentences, by a series of three sentences or by paragraphs. Such divisions do not lend themselves to nonfiction analysis as well as they do to fiction analysis where one may be examining the relationship between characters.

Another alternative is to classify articles by themes or values (Greise 1979). Krippendorf (1980) argued the larger context of the written material provides some clues to the meaning of the symbols, as it has been illustrated that the number of neutral judgments decreases with the larger unit as opposed to analysis done by single sentences or series of sentences. Berelson (1952) cited several studies which indicate that using larger units of analysis such as

the entire article give as accurate a view of the subject matter as using smaller units of analysis.

Regardless of the technique selected, a major activity in content analysis is the interpretation of the data in relationship to theoretical explanations. According to Weber (Weber and Mohler 1985), this difficult activity functions to keep the number of content analyses low, even though the increased ease of conducting content analysis with computers might otherwise increase their frequency.

Sampling Procedures

Two forms of print media are examined: women's magazines and professional social science journals. The selection of a sample was based on review of information about the history and roles of both forms of print media and review of selected issues.

Women's magazines. A limited number of general women's magazines have been published throughout the twentieth century. Taft (1982) referred to the magazines that have consistently had high circulation among the women's magazines as "sisters." Of the "seven sisters" he described, five began publication in the nineteenth century or shortly after the beginning of the twentieth. Family Circle and Woman's Day, which were distributed free of charge when they began in the 1930's were excluded due to problems of locating early issues. For some time periods, issues of those magazines were very inaccessible to the researcher.

Ladies' Home Journal, Redbook, and Good Housekeeping are the women's magazines that were chosen.

The frequency of appearance of articles that dealt with the family or with women's work roles in the larger society was a first consideration. Each of the other five women's magazines had a sufficient number of articles on family structure (two or more per year) to warrant further consideration.

Ladies' Home Journal began as a spinoff from Tribune and Farmer in 1883. By 1903 it had reached a circulation of one million under editor Bok who believed women belonged in the home and men in the business world. McCall's had an earlier start, in 1873 under the name Queen, but did not reach a circulation of one million until 1908. It adopted the present name in 1897. Good Housekeeping began two years after Ladies' Home Journal and from the beginning emphasized housekeeping even though its Institute was not established until later. By 1908 its circulation stood at 200,000. It always has been noted for its fiction and was one of a few magazines that remained profitable during the Great Depression (Taft 1982).

Because McCall's had long been popular, it was initially selected for inclusion in this research. However, few libraries consistently kept issues of McCall's over the years. The inter-library loan department at Tennessee Technological University was able to locate issues only as early as 1955 in the state. Additionally, personal phone calls were made to a number of libraries that routinely do not charge for limited amounts of copying, but none of them had all the materials.

The availability of Redbook, begun in 1903, was even more limited, with only the Library of Congress (slow and expensive through interlibrary loan), Dartmouth, and the Boston Public Library having the necessary issues from the thirties, forties, and fifties. Travel to the Boston area was necessary to evaluate the appropriateness of Redbook for the research.

The target population of the magazines in the sample is white, middle class women. Redbook has a younger audience as its target than the other two magazines.

Cosmopolitan began in 1886 as a family publication, but became a general literary monthly and an active muckraker in the late 1890's. After Hearst International took it over, its content became more sensational, but Mott, as quoted in Taft (1982:106), considered it a "striking and entertaining magazine, various and plentiful in its content." Another change came in the magazine after Helen Gurley Brown assumed the editorship in 1965. She was able to rescue the magazine from death by infusing it with sex and by recognizing that a woman may want to be successful with her job as well as with "her man." Most of the readers of Cosmopolitan, like those of Redbook, are in the 18-34 year old group. Cosmopolitan is unusual in that almost all (96 percent) of its copies are sold on the newsstands. The circulation figures for Cosmopolitan were some of the highest among women's magazines in the earliest decades of publication, but the library holdings of it were few and far between. Travel to at least four different libraries, all out of state, would have been necessary in order to get the complete data set, so it was not used.

Professional journals. Two social science journals published throughout the research period were selected, one with general sociological content, the American Sociological Review, and one with more specialized focus on the family, the Journal of Marriage and the Family.

The American Journal of Sociology is the oldest sociology journal published in the United States. It was the official publication of the American Sociological Association (initially the American Sociological Society) until 1936 when the American Sociological Review began publication. The American Journal of Sociology has been published continuously over the research period, so the initial plan was to use it. However, a preliminary review of its articles indicated that for some decades there were few, if any, articles which focused on family structure. A preliminary review of the American Sociological Review indicated it had a larger number of relevant articles.

The Journal of Marriage and the Family is a long-standing publication on the study of the family and serves as the journal of the National Council on Family Relations. More specialized journals on the family were not considered.

Demographic indicators. For this study, family structure refers to aspects of family life for which precise measures are available. Such variables are age at first marriage, the marriage rate, duration of marriage, fertility rates, child spacing, incidence of divorce, and female employment rates.

All of these have demographic indicators presented in an appendix. Changes in these demographic indicators document the timing and extensiveness of family changes. Demographic data are included related to any family structure theme in the magazines or journals for which appropriate data existed. The demographic data sources are the U.S. Census Bureau publications, such as the decennial reports, the Current Population Reports and reports from the Bureau of Vital Statistics.

Temporal framework. Studies of women's magazine content have used various time frames (e.g., Hatch and Hatch 1958, simply use one year).

The research goal necessitated attention to selected articles for a time period in which journals and magazines were readily available and sufficiently long to include changes in family structure. The "roaring twenties" are often cited as a decade of change in sexual and dating behavior, so the twenties were chosen to be the first decade for analysis. However, appropriate professional journals were not available. Thus the analysis begins with the decade of the thirties.

Women's magazines. Due to the extensive number of magazine articles all issues could not be included. The mid-decade year of 1935 is used to represent the thirties, 1945 for the forties, 1955 for the fifties, 1965 for the sixties and 1975 for the seventies. Usage of a year in the middle of a decade has the advantages of

avoiding the onset of the depression and the major war activity, when articles possibly would be quite different due to those major events. If more than one year from each decade had been used, the cost of obtaining materials for analysis would have increased prohibitively.

The decision to use an entire year was based on the recognition that there is seasonal variation in women's magazines in the types of articles reflecting holidays (Christmas and Thanksgiving) and events such as children returning to school. By using every issue for each sample year, the topical imbalance that might result from sampling months was avoided.

It was useful to limit the sample to one year to make comparisons with the demographic indicators. If there were randomization over the decade it would have been more difficult to make accurate demographic comparisons.

Professional journals. It was necessary to include every issue of the American Sociological Review from its initial publication in 1936 through the 1979 issues as preliminary review revealed that a number of issues had no applicable articles. A review of the Journal of Marriage and the Family in the 1970's indicated that each issue had, on the average, four usable articles per issue. However, the earlier issues had few relevant articles as the Journal of Marriage and the Family served initially as a newsletter for the organization. Each issue is used from the initial publication in 1939 through the 1967 issues. In the seventies the years used are 1974, 1975, and 1976 as these cluster around the mid-decade year used for the

magazine issues. The American Sociological Review is bimonthly and the Journal of Marriage and the Family is quarterly.

Units of analysis. One of the goals of this research is to ascertain major themes in two types of periodicals, so entire articles are the units of analysis. The specific unit of analysis is the nonfiction article on family structure in the twentieth century.

Women's magazines. Such articles generally are listed in the table of contents under the headings of special features, special articles, features, or articles. In all three women's magazines, approximately 1,500 articles appeared in the twelve issues for the five sample years in the aforementioned sections. (In 1935 Ladies' Home Journal had fiction and special articles in the same section, but the fiction is excluded from this total.)

Omitted from consideration are regular (appearing seven or more times per year) articles by the same author on medical or health topics; items on cooking, decorating and household hints; articles on personal grooming and fashions; articles using question and answer format; letters to the editor; and autobiographical, biographical or testimonial reminiscences of celebrities. These articles are not likely to discuss family structure. Also excluded are articles which focus on "special" problems of the family such as those involving individuals with physical or psychological impairments. This research analyzes representations of the family in the more visible and customary nonfiction features presumably designed to attract the reader.

For the articles that met the selection criteria, the entire article was analyzed. Most articles ranged from less than a page to a few pages in length. Using any smaller unit for analysis would have destroyed coherence and made interpretation difficult. The goal was to identify major themes which necessitated looking at the whole unit, the entire article. Major themes were designated based upon the reading of the article with attention given to the first and the concluding paragraphs, as well as the title.

Professional journals. Book reviews, letters to the editor, comments and replies, items, rejoinders, communications, and opinions were excluded. Articles on such special problems as physically or psychologically impaired individuals as well as articles which reported scale development were omitted. Articles with international comparisons were omitted even if they otherwise would have been included due to their focus on family structure. The research notes and research reports were essentially the only things besides those listed as "Articles" included.

Titles were used to decide which articles would be analyzed. When there was a question, the abstract was read. For the issues published before the use of abstracts, it was necessary to scan articles if there was a question about inclusion. The identity of the dependent and independent variables was used as support for the major theme decision.

There are potentially more usable articles per issue in the quarterly Journal of Marriage and the Family but this was to some

extent balanced by the larger number of issues per year of the bimonthly American Sociological Review.

The articles in the journals generally were longer than those in the magazines. The shortest pieces were the research notes which were often less than one page. Articles in these two journals were usually from 6 to 15 pages long.

Topical categories. Initial categories were developed from preliminary review of the magazines. The tables of contents of each of the five widely circulated women's magazines that were for sale to the public in 1935 were reviewed. Articles in the more accessible issues (1965 or 1975) were scanned to determine if articles with seemingly nonrelevant titles included content germane to family structure or women's roles in the work world. Lists of topics in relevant articles in the features sections were generated from this scanning, and articles from each decade of Redbook and Good Housekeeping were read to aid initial category development.

Review of the journals indicated the categories developed from Redbook, Ladies' Home Journal, and Good Housekeeping did not incorporate all appropriate articles. Each journal was reviewed and a second list of categories was developed. The two category lists developed during the preliminary review were then merged to form one list (Appendix A). Slight revisions were made in the categories in the earlier stages of data analysis to minimize the "other" listings. (Any previously coded articles were reviewed for possible recoding.)

The theme of an article was coded in one of the thematic categories. Themes were clearly apparent in the majority of cases. When a decision had to be made between two or more categories, there was a rereading of the first paragraph and the summary paragraphs of a magazine article. With journal articles the same process was followed if there was no abstract. Otherwise, the abstract and title were used to reach a final decision.

Reliability. Prior to the selection of family related articles from each medium a preliminary analysis was conducted involving approximately 50 journal issues and several issues of each of the selected magazines. A number of articles from each medium was classified by theme using the tables of content, abstracts and summary paragraphs. The decisions were confirmed by the dissertation advisor in over 90 percent of the cases. Cases of nonagreement were discussed and agreement was reached typically by further specifying the theme categories.

To assess coder reliability five articles, one from each of the publications analyzed, were selected haphazardly from stacks of xeroxed copies. An independent analysis of those articles was made by an experienced researcher using the coding sheet (Appendix B). When comparisons were made between the two coders' sheets complete agreement was obtained on the theme categories and a high level of agreement was found on the coding of other items on the schedule. There was complete agreement on the assumptions about stability or change, the information on statistical information, the

characteristics of the author, and the existence of personal accounts. In no instance did the direction of change presented vary. In one instance one coder ranked change presentation as negative and the other coder marked it as predominantly negative.

Additionally, twenty of the first articles coded were reanalyzed. Again, a high level of agreement resulted with no different decisions on theme category, presence of statistical information, or direction of change being reached on the second analysis.

A discussion of the findings of the content analysis appears in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY CHANGES REFLECTED IN MAGAZINES AND JOURNALS

There were fewer family structure articles than anticipated, so family related themes are analyzed. The 53 family related theme categories form the basis of the investigation. There is considerable variation in the total number of family articles in each magazine: 28 in Good Housekeeping; 134 in Ladies' Home Journal; and 62 in Redbook. The journals were more similar: the American Sociological Review with 113 family related articles and the Journal of Marriage and the Family with 117 family related articles for the research years.

Women's Magazines

First, the incidence of family related articles is reported with attention to the most prominent themes in each of the three magazines. Then, the types of authors and changes in editorship are analyzed in relationship to the thematic patterns of the articles. Finally, the views of change in the family related magazine articles are examined.

Focus on the Family

In 1935 the fewest family related articles appear (Table I). While the number of family related articles in Redbook was stable between 1935 and 1945, slightly more than twice the number of family related articles appeared in the 1945 issues compared to the 1935

TABLE I
TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILY RELATED ARTICLES IN
WOMEN'S MAGAZINES, 1935-1975

Articles In	Years					Total
	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	3	8	1	3	13	28
<u>Ladies' Home Journal</u>	15	32	42	17	28	134
<u>Redbook</u>	3	3	27	15	14	62
Total						224

issues of both of the other magazines. Redbook stressed the importance of the family in 1955 when nine times as many articles appeared as did in either 1935 or 1945. Ladies' Home Journal also had more articles in 1955--about a third more than in 1945 issues.

Good Housekeeping does not give the same prominence to articles on the family until 1975 when there are more articles than in any of the previous four research years. Almost half of those in the seventies are on celebrities (celebrity articles are not counted for the other magazines, but are included for Good Housekeeping due to the scarcity of family related articles). If the celebrity family write-ups are excluded the same pattern exists with the seventies having more articles than any other of the studied decades.

Topical Presentation

With so few family related articles appearing in Good Housekeeping (see Table II), patterns in the topical presentation are difficult to discern. No articles focusing on family relations (other than with spouses or children) appear. Only two articles on family disorganization are present: one on divorce in 1935 and one on child abuse in 1975. The only demographic article is one in 1945 on young age at marriage.

For Good Housekeeping only two theme categories have more than two articles over the forty years. About half the family related articles are almost equally divided between parent-child relationships and marital expectations. The parent-child articles are spread throughout the research period, but six of the eight articles relating to marital expectations are in 1975. Thus, the only consistent family related emphasis is on parent-child relations.

The family is not the only interest of any of these magazines. Katz (1972) noted that many of Good Housekeeping's efforts over the years have been related to products that have been tested in their institute.

According to both Katz (1972) and White (1970), Redbook, unlike many other women's magazines, designates a large proportion of its space to fiction. Still Redbook has twice as many articles on the family as Good Housekeeping over the same period of time. More diverse themes appear in Redbook's articles, but some clustering is evident. Table III shows that almost one-third of all articles fall in the

TABLE II
FAMILY RELATED THEME CATEGORIES IN GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, 1935-75

Theme Categories ^a	Years					Total
	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	
Marital Relations						
Marital expectations	-	2	-	-	6	8
Reasons for marriage	-	1	-	-	-	1
Happy marriage	-	-	-	-	-	0
Romantic love	1	-	1	-	-	2
Marital stability	-	-	-	-	-	0
Family relations	-	-	-	-	-	0
Stress						
Conflict	-	-	-	-	-	0
Financial matters	-	-	-	-	-	0
Sexual matters	-	-	-	-	-	0
Adjustment/separation	-	1	-	-	1	2
Spouse and Parental Roles						
Childbirth	-	-	-	-	-	0
Multiple birth families	-	-	-	1	1	2
Fertility plans	-	-	-	-	-	0
Economic role						
Husband working	-	-	-	-	-	0
Wife working	-	-	-	-	1	1
Parent-child relationships	1	2	-	-	3	6
Family roles	-	-	-	-	-	0
Other	1	2	-	2	1	6
Totals	3	8	1	3	13	28

^aThemes not listed had no entries.

TABLE III
FAMILY RELATED THEME CATEGORIES IN REDBOOK, 1935-75

Theme Categories ^a	Years					Total
	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	
Marital Relations						
Marital adjustment	-	-	1	-	-	1
Marital expectations	-	1	2	3	-	6
Reasons for marriage	-	-	1	-	-	1
Happy marriage	-	-	2	-	1	3
Romantic love	-	-	-	-	1	1
Marital stability	-	-	-	-	-	0
Family relations	-	-	-	-	-	0
Stress						
Conflict	-	-	-	1	1	2
Financial matters	-	-	4	-	-	4
Sexual problems	-	-	1	-	-	1
Adjustment/separation	-	-	-	-	-	0
Spouse and Parental Roles						
Childbirth	-	-	-	1	-	1
Multiple birth families	-	-	2	-	1	3
Fertility plans	-	-	-	-	-	0
Economic role						
Husband working	-	-	2	-	-	2
Wife working	-	-	-	-	1	1
Parent-child relationships	1	-	7	5	7	20
Family roles	-	1	3	1	2	7
Other	2	1	2	3	-	8
Totals	3	3	27	15	11	62

^aThemes not listed had no entries.

parent-child relationships category with the majority of those articles in the 1955, 1965, and 1975 issues. Only one article with that theme appears prior to 1955. The next two most common categories are marital expectations and family role expectations. These two categories overlap somewhat. If they are combined there are almost as many articles in the combined category as in the parent-child relations one.

Ladies' Home Journal has the greatest diversity in family related themes. Of the 53 family theme categories, 37 have at least one entry (see Table IV). Of the four articles with a demographic theme, two are on age at marriage (Hoover 1945; Lang 1965), one on child-spacing ("How Long Should You Wait Between Babies?" 1945), and one on family size (Harrington 1955).

Ladies' Home Journal has more articles on family disintegration than either of the other two magazines. Extramarital relations are discussed in 1935 and in two 1965 articles. Only one article has divorce as the major theme, but numerous articles each decade in all three magazines refer to the incidence of divorce as well as its presumed consequences. Ladies' Home Journal deals with other types of family problems in 1955 and 1975. One article on child abuse appears in 1955. Ladies' Home Journal apparently has been more willing to address family problems than either of the other two magazines.

Patterns in the other two magazines are present in Ladies' Home Journal also. While not as large a percentage as for Redbook,

TABLE IV
FAMILY RELATED THEME CATEGORIES IN
LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, 1935-75

Theme Categories	Years					Total
	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	
Marital Relations						
Marital adjustment	-	-	-	5	1	6
Marital expectations	1	2	5	2	4	14
Reasons for marriage	1	-	-	-	-	1
Happy marriage	1	-	1	-	-	2
Romantic love	-	-	1	-	-	1
Marital stability	-	-	-	-	-	0
Family relations	-	-	-	1	2	3
Stress						
Conflict	-	-	3	1	1	5
Financial matters	1	-	1	1	-	3
Sexual problems	-	-	1	-	2	3
Adjustment/separation	-	2	-	-	-	2
Spouse and Parental Roles						
Childbirth	-	-	1	-	-	1
Multiple birth families	-	-	-	-	-	0
Fertility plans	-	-	-	1	-	1
Economic role						
Husband working	-	-	1	-	-	1
Wife working	-	1	2	-	1	4
Parent-child relations	2	9	11	1	10	33
Family roles	-	1	1	-	-	2
Socialization for:						
Gender roles	1	-	4	-	-	5
Teenagers	6	10	-	-	-	16
Achievement	-	-	-	1	-	1
Socioeconomic status	-	-	1	-	-	1
Other family relationships						
Grandparents	-	-	-	-	-	0
In-laws	-	-	2	-	1	3
Siblings	-	-	1	-	-	1
Step-parent/child	1	-	-	-	-	1
Foster children	-	-	2	-	-	2
Adopted children	-	-	-	-	2	2
Other	-	-	1	-	-	1

TABLE IV (Continued)

Theme Categories	Years					Total
	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	
Family disintegration						
Divorce and desertion	-	-	-	-	1	1
Extramarital relations	1	-	-	2	-	3
Spouse abuse	-	-	-	-	-	0
Child abuse	-	-	1	-	-	1
Disorganization (other problems)	-	-	1	-	3	4
Demographic						
Fertility	-	-	1	-	-	1
Child spacing	-	1	-	-	-	1
Marriage rates	-	-	-	-	-	0
Age at marriage	-	1	-	1	-	2
Duration of marriage	-	-	-	-	-	0
Divorce rates	-	-	-	-	-	0
Women working	-	-	-	-	-	0
Sex ratio	-	-	-	-	-	0
Multiple demographic	-	-	-	-	-	0
Family institution	-	1	-	-	-	1
Family policy/law	-	-	-	-	-	0
Family and war	-	-	-	-	-	0
Dating and mate selection	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unwed mothers	-	-	-	-	-	0
Life cycle stages						
Wedding	-	-	-	-	-	0
Parenthood	-	-	-	-	-	0
Postparental	-	-	-	-	-	0
Retirement	-	-	-	1	-	1
Old age	-	-	-	-	-	0
Widowhood	-	3	-	-	-	3
Totals	15	32	42	17	28	134

the largest proportion of articles is in the theme category of parent-child relations. Over all five periods, 25 percent of the Ladies' Home Journal articles focus on parent-child relations and 32 percent in Redbook. (In 1975, 35 percent of Ladies' Home Journal articles are on parent-child relations.) Another 12 percent of the Ladies' Home Journal articles deal with socialization for teens reflecting the presence of the Sub-Deb column in the thirties and the forties. No articles are in this category or the dating and mate selection category after the discontinuance of the Sub-Deb series, perhaps reflecting the emergence both of teenagers as a special category and more specialized magazines.

The third largest category (with 10 percent) deals with marital expectations. About the same proportion of material is in each decade. This is the only magazine to include articles (in the last three decades) on family relations, including children and expectations related to them, as opposed to marital relations.

Authors

In the women's magazines articles typically are signed and singly authored. Table V shows that all Redbook articles have an author specified. Only 5 percent of Ladies' Home Journal articles (Table VI) have no author specified. About 10 percent of Good Housekeeping articles are not signed, as indicated in Table VII. No Good Housekeeping article has more than one author. Four Redbook and two Ladies' Home Journal articles have more than one author.

TABLE V
CHARACTERISTICS OF AUTHORS OF REDBOOK ARTICLES, 1935-1975

Type of Author	Years					Total ^a
	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	
M.D.	-	-	-	3	3	6
Expert	-	-	6	5	3	14
Celebrity	-	-	1	-	-	1
First person	-	-	-	1	1	2
Journalist/writer/author	2	3	22	5	6	38
Contributing editor	-	-	-	-	1	1
Editor	-	-	-	-	-	0
None specified	-	-	-	-	-	0
No additional information	2	-	6	4	4	16

^aThe total exceeds the number of articles as more than one item could be a characteristic of an author. For articles with multiple authors each author was tabulated separately.

TABLE VI
CHARACTERISTICS OF AUTHORS OF LADIES' HOME JOURNAL ARTICLES, 1935-75

Type of Author	Years					Total ^a
	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	
M.D.	-	1	13	-	1	15
Expert	-	5	24	1	1	31
Celebrity	-	-	-	-	1	1
First person	-	-	1	1	1	3
Journalist/writer/author	12	18	9	11	22	72
Contributing editor	1	-	-	-	-	1
Editor	-	-	1	-	-	1
None specified	2	2	1	-	2	7
No additional information	1	7	6	4	1	19

^aThe total exceeds the number of articles as more than one item could be a characteristic of an author. For articles with multiple authors each author was tabulated separately.

TABLE VII
CHARACTERISTICS OF AUTHORS FOR GOOD HOUSEKEEPING ARTICLES, 1935-1975

Type of Author	Years					Total ^a
	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975	
M.D.	2	-	-	-	-	2
Expert	-	-	-	-	-	0
Celebrity	1	-	-	-	1	2
First person	1	-	1	2	-	4
Journalist/writer/author	-	5	-	-	5	10
Contributing editor	-	-	-	-	-	0
Editor	-	-	-	-	-	0
None specified	-	-	1	1	1	3
No additional information	-	3	-	1	6	10

^aThe total exceeds the number of articles as more than one item could be a characteristic of an author. For articles with multiple authors each author was tabulated separately.

Articles in the fifties tended to be written by "experts" on the topic. In 1955, 63 percent of the Redbook articles, 57 percent of the Ladies' Home Journal articles, and all Good Housekeeping articles were prepared by experts. In Ladies' Home Journal, Dr. Benjamin Spock and Dr. Clifford Adams frequently appear. In other decades "experts" do not appear as often.

The pattern across the study period involves each magazine regularly using a specific set of authors or drawing on professional journalists. The author who appears over the longest period of time on a relatively regular basis is Dorothy Cameron Disney. She signed the Ladies' Home Journal's "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" articles in the fifties, sixties, and for most of the seventies. Betty Hannah Hoffman, who authored articles in the magazine in 1945, has the byline on three articles in that series in 1975.

Fifty-four percent of the articles in Ladies' Home Journal are by journalists, writers, or book authors. (The research design reduced the number of authors due to the exclusion of book excerpts.) Thirty-six percent of the articles from Good Housekeeping fell into the same authorship classification. Sixty-one percent of the Redbook articles were authored by writers, book authors, or journalists.

Editors or contributing editors rarely have pieces in the articles sections related to the family. First person articles also are rare (3 percent in Redbook, 14 percent in Good Housekeeping, and 2 percent in Ladies' Home Journal) as are articles authored by celebrities (2 percent in Redbook, 7 percent in Good Housekeeping,

and 1 percent in Ladies' Home Journal). On the other hand, articles about celebrities and their family lives are rather common in recent years in Good Housekeeping. (As earlier noted, these articles are included only for Good Housekeeping. Of the twenty-eight articles from Good Housekeeping, nine are focused on celebrities or well-known individuals or families.)

Rarely do authors interview experts and incorporate their comments into articles. Only 10 percent of the Redbook articles, 2 percent of Ladies' Home Journal articles, and none of Good Housekeeping's articles do so. But, reference to and accounts of personal situations are common: 71 percent of Good Housekeeping articles, 40 percent of Ladies' Home Journal articles, and 59 percent of Redbook articles include such references. The accounts are equally likely to be drawn from the author's life or from an expert's.

Changes in Editors

Magazine editors exercise control over article content by their assignment of articles, control of meetings where discussions of topics are held, veto of publication power, and use of other organizational mechanisms. Therefore, editors in each of the five publications were identified for the years included in this analysis. According to the current staff at Good Housekeeping, William Frederick Bigelow was the editor in 1935. The magazine had no masthead listing an editor, so their judgment is based on a signed editorial. Herbert Mayes was editor in both 1945 and 1955. By 1965 Wade H. Nichols was at the helm, and he remained there through May of 1975. At

mid-year John Mack Carter took over the editorial duties at Good Housekeeping. Both Nichols and Carter were formerly editors of other women's magazines in the study.

For the first eight months of 1935, Loring A. Schueler was editor of Ladies' Home Journal. Bruce and Beatrice Blackmar Gould began in September 1935, and continued into the early sixties. The situation was unusual in their sharing the editorial duties. Davis Thomas finished his duties after the first three months of 1965. After his departure, John Mack Carter became editor. In early 1970 Carter faced more than 100 feminist advocates who demanded his resignation and space for the views of the feminist movement (Taft 1982). They were granted eight pages. Three years later Carter became president of Downe Communications and Leonore Hershey assumed the duties of editor and continued through 1975.

The total number of family related articles in Ladies' Home Journal is lowest in 1935 (at fifteen) and in 1965 (at seventeen). In both years males were editors for the majority of the year. At other times in the study period there was either a female co-editor or editor.

Redbook, like Good Housekeeping, depended on male editors. In both 1935 and 1945 Edwin Balmer served and in 1955 Wade H. Nichols before leaving for Good Housekeeping. For a couple of months in 1965 no one was listed as editor, but Sey Chassler arrived by May 1965 and was there throughout 1975. Thus all editors were males and no comparisons can be made.

Use of Statistical Data

Very few of the magazine articles present any statistical information and those that do devote a small proportion of the space to the statistics. A typical practice is to generally refer to "the increasing divorce rate" or "the breaking up of the family" without using specific numbers or providing sources for the statistics. In some cases the author apparently is drawing on examples from his or her own experience by referring to "an acquaintance" or "a friend."

In four situations Redbook invites a few people in to discuss a matter and their discussions are presented as if they were representative (e.g., husbands, wives, mothers-in-law, or daughters-in-law). In other cases there are no clues about the bases for the conclusion.

Redbook regularly began surveying its readers in 1972. The results of two reader surveys are presented. Katz and Richards (1978) argued that the editors know more about its readers and their attitudes than other magazine editors and are thus thought to be better able to respond to its readers. But the reader surveys are not referred to in the articles other than those specifically reporting their overall results.

Presentation of Change

Of the magazine articles that addressed change (see Table VIII) 39 percent presented change either negatively or predominantly negatively. Thirty-one percent of the articles either had both positive and negative portrayals or were neutral. The remaining

TABLE VIII
TREATMENT OF CHANGE IN WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

Magazine	Treatment of Change		
	Positive	Both/Neutral	Negative
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	11	5	7
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	21	27	28
<u>Redbook</u>	12	14	23
Totals	44	46	58

30 percent were positive or predominantly positive. The variation is due to Redbook and Ladies' Home Journal which had similar distributions of negative, neutral, and positive. Good Housekeeping, with the fewest family related articles, predominantly presented change in a positive way.

The time of reference in the majority of the magazine articles is not specified but assumed to be contemporary unless it is stated otherwise. Sometimes claims about the future are made and there may be reference to how trends have changed recently. Overall, change is more likely to be treated neutrally or positively than negatively.

Social Science Journals

All issues from the initial publication in 1936 through 1979 are used for the American Sociological Review. All issues from 1939 to 1966 are used for the Journal of Marriage and the Family. By

the middle sixties the number of family related articles was so numerous that it was necessary to sample from the sixties and the seventies. The issues through 1966 covered the mid-decade period. For the 1970's the 1974-1976 issues were used. The number of articles from each source is similar.

Focus on the Family

When the National Council on Family Relations began publishing a journal in 1939 it served a multiplicity of functions ranging from providing information about the newly formed organization, its meeting program, state and regional meetings, to presenting question and answer features, stories for children, and publicity on individual members of the organization. The initial title, Living, was changed with the winter 1941 issue of volume 3 to Marriage and Family Living. In 1964 it became the Journal of Marriage and the Family. Eventually a newsletter presented many of the items reported in the earlier volumes. Duvall's (1964) analysis of the journal indicates that page length has varied from a low of 24 pages to over 100 pages an issue.

Due to the nature of the journal in the earlier decades few articles meeting the selection criteria appeared. Table IX shows that with the exception of the fifties, the number of articles is greater for each successive decade. A low of five articles in the inaugural 1939 volume "represent" the thirties and 53 articles from the 1974-1976 period represent the seventies. During the 1960's and 1970's articles on some aspect of family were excluded if their

TABLE IX
FAMILY RELATED THEME CATEGORIES IN JOURNAL OF MARRIAGE AND
THE FAMILY,^a 1939-1976

Theme Categories	Years					Totals
	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	
Marital Relations						
Marital adjustment	1	-	-	-	-	1
Marital expectations	-	-	-	-	1	1
Reasons for marriage	-	1	-	-	-	1
Happy marriage	-	1	-	-	7	8
Romantic love	-	-	-	-	-	0
Marital stability	-	-	-	-	1	1
Family relations	-	-	-	-	1	1
Stress						
Conflict	-	-	-	1	-	1
Sexual problems	-	1	1	-	-	2
Adjustment/separation	-	-	-	-	1	1
Spouse and Parent Role						
Childbirth	1	-	-	-	-	1
Multiple birth families	-	1	-	-	-	1
Fertility plans	-	1	-	1	6	8
Economic role						
Husband working	-	-	-	-	-	0
Wife working	-	-	1	-	1	2
Parent-child relations	-	4	1	6	6	17
Family roles	-	-	-	1	-	1
Socialization for						
Gender roles	-	-	-	-	-	0
Teenagers	-	-	-	-	-	0
Achievement	-	-	-	-	-	0
Socioeconomic status	-	-	-	-	-	0
Other family relationships						
Grandparents	-	-	-	1	1	2
In-laws	-	-	-	-	-	0
Siblings	-	-	-	-	1	1
Step-parent/child	-	-	-	-	1	1
Foster children	-	-	-	-	-	0
Adopted children	-	-	-	-	-	0

TABLE IX (Continued)

Theme Categories	Years					Total
	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	
Family disintegration						
Divorce and desertion	1	-	-	1	1	3
Extramarital relations	-	-	-	-	3	3
Spouse abuse	-	-	-	-	2	2
Child abuse	-	-	-	-	-	0
Disorganization (other problems)	-	-	-	2	1	3
Demographic						
Fertility	-	-	-	-	6	6
Child spacing	-	-	-	1	-	1
Marriage rates	-	1	-	-	-	1
Age at marriage	-	1	1	4	-	6
Duration of marriage	-	-	-	-	-	0
Divorce rates	-	1	1	-	1	3
Women working	-	-	2	2	-	4
Sex ratio	-	-	-	-	-	0
Multiple demographic	-	1	2	-	5	8
Family institution	-	-	-	2	-	2
Family policy/law	1	2	-	3	-	6
Family and war	-	1	-	-	-	1
Dating and mate selection	-	-	-	5	2	7
Unwed mother	-	-	-	1	-	1
Family cycle stages						
Wedding	-	-	-	-	-	0
Parenthood	-	-	-	1	2	3
Postparental	-	-	-	1	1	2
Retirement	-	-	-	-	-	0
Old age	-	-	-	-	1	1
Widowhood	-	-	-	-	-	0
Other	-	-	-	-	1	1
Totals	5	17	10	32	53	117

^aPublished under the previous titles of Living (1939-41) and Marriage and Family Living (1941-1964).

primary focus was scale development, model building, or some other refinement of research tools.

In the American Sociological Review are 21 articles from the 1936-1939 period, 52 articles from the 1940-1949 period, 14 articles from 1950-1959, 10 articles from 1960-1969, and 16 articles from 1970-1979 period (Table X).

Few empirical studies appear in the earliest research years. In both journals, particularly in the forties, there are "thought pieces" some with summaries of research and a variety of positions extolled. Both journals publish some speeches, although Duvall (1964) in a speech published in the Journal of Marriage and the Family stated that the journal had moved from the role of publishing speeches. The American Sociological Review continues to publish presidential addresses.

Topical Presentation

The diversity of family topics in both journals is as great as in the Ladies' Home Journal. Of the 53 theme categories, 40 have at least one entry for the Journal of Marriage and the Family and 36 for the American Sociological Review. The journals have entries in several of the demographic categories. No articles in either of the journals fall in the following theme categories which had at least one magazine article: retirement, economic support role--husband working, socialization for achievement, socialization for teenagers, child abuse, and relationships with in-laws, with foster children, and with adopted children.

TABLE X
FAMILY RELATED THEME CATEGORIES IN AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW,
1936-1979

Theme Categories	Years					Total
	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	
Marital Relations						
Marital adjustment	1	4	-	-	-	5
Marital expectations	2	2	-	1	-	5
Happy marriage	-	1	-	-	-	1
Romantic love	-	-	1	-	-	1
Marital stability	-	1	1	-	1	3
Family relations	-	6	-	-	-	6
Stress						
Conflict	1	-	-	-	-	1
Financial matters	-	-	-	-	-	0
Sexual problems	1	-	-	-	-	1
Adjustment/separation	1	-	-	-	-	1
Other stress	-	-	-	-	2	2
Spouse and Parent Role						
Childbirth	-	-	-	-	1	1
Multiple birth families	-	-	-	-	-	0
Fertility plans	-	-	-	1	2	3
Economic role						
Husband working	-	-	-	-	1	1
Wife working	-	-	-	-	1	1
Parent-child relations	-	6	-	2	-	8
Family roles	-	-	-	1	-	1
Socialization for						
Gender roles	2	-	-	1	-	3
Teenagers	-	-	-	-	-	0
Achievement	-	-	-	-	-	0
Socioeconomic status	-	-	-	1	3	4
Other family relationships						
Grandparents	-	-	-	-	-	0
In-laws	-	-	-	-	-	0
Siblings	-	-	-	-	-	0
Step-parent/child	-	1	-	-	-	1
Foster children	-	-	-	-	-	0
Adopted children	-	-	-	-	-	0

TABLE X (Continued)

Theme Categories	Years					Total
	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	
Family disintegration						
Divorce and desertion	-	-	3	-	-	3
Extramarital relations	-	1	-	-	-	1
Spouse abuse	-	-	-	-	-	0
Child abuse	-	-	-	-	-	0
Disorganization (other problems)	2	2	-	-	1	5
Demographic						
Fertility	3	6	2	1	1	13
Child spacing	-	-	2	1	-	3
Marriage rates	1	2	-	-	-	3
Age at marriage	-	1	2	-	1	4
Duration of marriage	-	-	1	-	-	1
Divorce rates	1	1	-	-	-	2
Women working	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sex ratio	-	1	-	-	-	1
Multiple demographic	1	4	1	1	-	7
Family institution	-	-	-	-	-	0
Family policy/law	1	1	-	-	-	2
Family and war	-	2	-	-	-	2
Dating and mate selection	2	7	-	-	1	10
Unwed mother	-	-	1	-	-	1
Family cycle stages						
Wedding	2	-	-	-	-	2
Parenthood	-	-	-	-	-	0
Postparental	-	-	-	-	-	0
Retirement	-	-	-	-	-	0
Old age	-	3	-	-	-	3
Widowhood	-	-	-	-	-	0
Totals	21	52	14	10	16	113

The parent-child relationship theme category has the most Journal of Marriage and the Family articles. That is a pattern similar to the women's magazines, but only 15 percent of the articles fall in that category. Seven percent of the American Sociological Review articles are in this theme category.

In a number of instances articles with a particular theme are published in one journal for a couple of decades and then the majority in that theme category in the later decades is in the other journal. For instance, 11 of the 13 fertility articles in the American Sociological Review are in the first three decades of the study period while all six of the fertility articles in the Journal of Marriage and the Family are in the sixties and seventies. And, 9 of the 10 articles in the American Sociological Review on dating and mate selection are in the first two decades while all seven of the dating and mate selection articles in the Journal of Marriage and the Family are in the last two decades. Six of the eight articles on parent-child relationships in the American Sociological Review are in the forties while 12 of the 17 articles in the Journal of Marriage and the Family in this area are in the sixties and seventies.

One major difference between the women's magazines and the journals is the proportion of articles on demographic factors. One-fourth of the family related articles in the Journal of Marriage and the Family have a demographic theme and 31 percent of the articles in the American Sociological Review do. The trend in the Journal of Marriage and the Family has been toward more demographic articles.

The American Sociological Review has fewer articles on the family in recent decades, so the decline in the number of demographic articles does not always represent a decline in the proportion of family related articles which are demographic.

Authors

One visible difference between the journal and magazine articles is the number of authors per article (see Table XI). In the American Sociological Review there are no more than two authors of any article but there is a fluctuating proportion of articles that have two authors in each decade. The increasing tendency for co-authorship is apparent in the 1970's when 73 percent of the articles have two authors.

For the Journal of Marriage and the Family the number of articles with more than one author increases each decade (see Table XII). In the sixties two articles have more than two authors and by the seventies, 23 percent of the articles have three or more authors. Fifty-three percent of all the articles in the seventies have more than one author.

Nothing germane to this study could be ascertained from studying authorship.

Changes in Editors

Differences in topical content of the journals cannot be explained by looking at the editors. In the first year of publication of the Journal of Marriage and the Family there were two editors, and they changed at about two or three year intervals after 1949 following

TABLE XI
NUMBER OF AUTHORS OF FAMILY RELATED ARTICLES IN
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 1936-1979

Authors	Years					Total
	1936-39	1940-49	1950-59	1960-69	1970-79	
One author	19	47	10	7	4	87
Two authors	2	4	3	4	11	24
Three or more	-	-	-	-	-	0
Total						111

TABLE XII
NUMBER OF AUTHORS OF FAMILY RELATED ARTICLES OF
JOURNAL OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY^a 1939-1966,
1974-1976

Authors	Years					Total
	1939	1940-49	1950-59	1960-66	1974-76	
One author	5	16	8	21	25	75
Two authors	-	1	2	9	16	28
Three or more	-	-	-	2	12	14
Total						117

^aPublished under the previous titles of Living (1939-41) and Marriage and Family Living (1941-1964).

E. W. Burgess' eleven year span as editor (three for the fifties, three for the sixties research period, and two for the mid-seventies research period). Gladys H. Groves was editor from summer 1950 through the winter 1952 issue and she was the only female editor in the research period.

F. H. Hankins served as editor of the American Sociological Review for the first two years. Read Bain served from early 1938 to near the end of 1942 and subsequent editors served from two to four year terms. Four sets of editors (F. Stuart Chapin and George B. Vold served jointly for two years) served during the forties, four editors for the fifties, four editors for the sixties research period, and three editors for the seventies research period. Only one editor was a female: Rita J. Simon served during 1978 and 1979.

Data

Information was collected on the samples in empirical studies appearing in both journals. In the Journal of Marriage and the Family 11 percent were probabilistic nationwide samples, 18 percent were student samples (most often college, but sometimes elementary and/or high school), 4 percent used census data, and 66 percent of the sample were some other combination, but not nationwide.

In the American Sociological Review studies there is more use of census data (13 percent) and relatively less of student samples (24 percent) resulting in the "other" classification being smaller for studies in this journal (48 percent). Probabalistic national samples were 15 percent of the total.

Some invalid predictions resulted from use of less than current data. They are discussed in Chapter V. Secondary data analysis may be based on data gathered as much as ten years prior to its re-analysis and publication. Most articles using survey data had samples gathered two to four years preceding its analysis.

A replication of some aspect of a family study is rare in either journal, but a few studies directly support or refute previous findings. A primary example is research on homogamy of couples. Variations of the timing of the questions (before engaged, after engagement, or after marriage) reveal somewhat different conclusions (Snyder 1964; M. Smith 1941 and 1946).

Presentation of Change

Journal articles often are assumed to be more complete and accurate sources of information than magazine articles. Yet social scientists' conclusions are affected by societal and personal values as well as the limitations of available information. The treatment of change as positive, negative, or neutral in magazine and journal articles was an initial interest. For magazines this information was coded, but such judgments could not be made for the journals.

Change generally is presented in neutral terms in the journal articles, but sometimes assumptions are presented as if they were not subject to question. For example, Huntington (1939) offered quotes from the Bible along with his pleas not to abandon legal marriage and for the older married couple to live continuously with at least one of their children. Further, he stated that if couples

had less than three and a half children per family the population would decline. "Four child families will go on. The number of children in the families . . . will increase. So that each generation will have more and more children" (1939:15).

Another article in the Journal of Marriage and the Family stereotypes women. Fleming (1943) admonished wartime employers to be aware that women would have higher absence rates and that their wearing slacks and uniforms would "help" as the women "feel like boys in the army" (1943:3). Reid (1943) did not particularly stereotype but stated that because some women would remain within the labor force after the war, a continued decline in the birth rate could be expected. While the increased proportion of women in the work force has been a factor in the overall reduced fertility, there was no reduction for quite some time after the war.

An American Sociological Review article propagandized when it cautioned military age men against "choosing the lesser danger of matrimony" (Bossard 1941:333) and made incorrect projections about the effects of war upon the family and particularly the sex ratio. A later study of the impact of the war on the sex ratio does not support Bossard (Myers 1947).

Albert Ellis (1948:710) referred to the divorce rates being "alarmingly high" but Samuel Newman (1950a) explained in an article two years later that programs for collecting marriage and divorce statistics were discontinued during World War I, the depression, and World War II. Although collection was resumed in 1944, Ellis had to use incomplete statistics.

Discussion in Chapter V points out that some authors generalized incorrectly or projected inaccurately from data as evidenced by comparisons with demographic indicators. Also, in the earlier years writers would sometimes make broad assumptions about what was happening to the family without clearly identifying them as assumptions.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION OF STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE FAMILY

Neither the journals nor the magazines had many articles with strong demographic foci. Articles with themes related to the demographic categories are consequently the focus of analysis.

Information on demographic change related to family structure is presented in a series of tables in Appendix C. Demographic trends are described prior to the discussion of the articles on the related family structures.

Social Science Journals

One of the contrasts between the magazines and the journals is that a larger proportion of the journal articles have demographic themes. Comparing Tables IX and X, pages 54 and 57, with Tables II, III, and IV, pages 39, 40, and 42, 3 percent of the magazine articles and 29 percent of journal articles have one of the demographic themes. When journal articles have a central theme which is demographic, the articles do not rest entirely on statistical data. Some provide no statistics in the article; a few criticize the claims being made in the magazines, and many carry the author's ideas about the normalcy of the situations discussed. Statements sometimes are made about the future based on contemporary norms.

The discussion reviews contents of journal articles on the themes of marriage rate, age at marriage, divorce, female employment, and

fertility rates. Sometimes references are made to other articles that did not have the theme under discussion and were not so coded. The similarity of some content is the basis for referring to them.

Marriage Rate

Americans have had a high rate of marriage over the course of the study period with over 90 percent of the population marrying. The marriage rate dropped around 1930 due to the depression (Appendix C, Table XIII). Bossard (1937) presented information which led him to conclude that the decrease in the marriage rate during the depression was not uniform in all groups. Before concluding the article he conjectured about whether giving hiring preference to married men would stimulate more men to marry in order to improve their employment situation.

The marriage rate varies for different segments of the population. When Punke (1940) examined the marriage rate for teachers, it was only one-half to five-eighths as high as that of the larger society. The conclusion is that the depression decreased the marriage rate among teachers. Anderson (1983) reminded us that most teachers were female at that time.

Throughout the twentieth century the marriage rate for women has decreased as the level of education increased. In an article on mate selection Popenoe (1937) argued females have more difficulty in obtaining marital partners than do males. He believed college women assume they are a "catch" and they are not. This claim is admittedly not based upon statistics. He gave several different

different admonitions to females including urging them to visit clubs to try to meet males. If they were to do this at a rate of two groups a week, he concluded over one hundred groups could be visited in a year. Additionally, females need to develop interesting personalities, acquire domestic skills, and study the psychology of sex. He did not explain the last recommendation!

The marriage rate was back to the 1920 level in 1940 when the depression was ending and men were faced with the prospect of going to war. Duvall (1942) in a Chicago-based study, claimed that when the selective service became effective, the marriage rate went up, and she provided the reader with vignettes naming specific cases.

Changes in the marriage rate after World War II are not the focus of any articles despite the fact that it varied. In 1946 the marriage rate jumped to a century long high, 16.4 per 1,000. It dropped off in the early 1950's and remained between 8.5 and 10.0 until the late 1960's when it began climbing to a contemporary peak of 11.0 in the 1972 after which it fluctuated around 10.5.

Age at Marriage

Average age at marriage for females and males generally declined from the turn of the century (21.9 females, 25.9 males) until the mid-1950's when it reached its lowest level (Appendix C, Table XIV). In the 1960's and 1970's age at marriage slowly but steadily increased. Several magazine articles focus on marriage of the young, of college students and of high school students, but there is a slightly greater proportion of articles with such themes in the journals (2.6

percent in magazines and 4.3 percent in the journals).

The women's magazines emphasize the possible detrimental effects of early marriage on the female while several journal articles note the effects upon the male. For example, in the thirties Waller noted: "For the average college students, and especially for the man, a love affair which led to immediate marriage would be tragic because of the havoc it would create in his scheme of life" (1937: 729). Another thirties' article noted the proportion of married college students was so low partly because a number of institutions still prohibited the enrollment of the married student (Britten 1935). Riemer (1942) indicated that 6 percent of college students were married in the early forties. He proposed college attendance as the "solution" for the bored married woman by serving an entertainment function for her.

In the 1950's universities and colleges built housing for married students reflecting the enrollment of married veterans of World War II and the Korean Conflict. By the late fifties a larger proportion of college students were married (29 percent of college males and 10 percent of college females) according to Christopherson (1960). He offered no explanation of the difference between the rates of males and females even though there was discussion of how these married students managed their money including the wife's earnings. (This type of presentation is similar to the articles in the women's magazines that include annual budgets for an example family.)

The percentages of college students who were married apparently did not redress social scientists' concerns about the effects of

early marriage on pursuit of educational and occupational careers, for in the sixties writers in the journals were trying to identify ways to prevent marriages of the young. Neubeck and Hewer (1965) thought the college marriage course provided insurance against "hasty" marriages, although no data were provided to support their position. Burchinal (1965) believed the Peace Corps and Vista would provide attractive alternatives to high school marriages.

Cavan and Beling (1958) placed the age at marriage "in perspective" by noting that the average age at marriage had decreased three years for men and two years for women since 1890. The language used reveals societal expectations through the repeated references to females as girls and to high school males as men. Additionally, the discussion of the prohibition of the pregnant female from school has references to the effect upon "his" future and "his" education when the meaning is to her future and her education.

In the 1970's the age at marriage had been rising for a number of years and no articles addressed it.

Divorce

The long term trend in the divorce rate in the twentieth century has been upward (Appendix C, Table XV). There was a dip during the early 1930's due to economic factors related to the depression and a sharp increase in the mid 1940's when men returned home from World War II.

The divorce rate in the 1950's reflected the concern about family stability evidenced during that period. Only 2 percent of

the journal articles have divorce as the major theme, but this underrepresents the amount of discussion of divorce in the magazines.

Other journal articles (Jacobs 1939; Burgess 1944) made references to the divorce rates, but not as frequently as in the magazines.

Dodd (1950) referred to a "torrent of popular articles" on the problems with American marriages but pointed out a lack of statistical documentation. Newman (1950b) confirmed that national data on divorce rates are lacking. (Uniform reporting of divorces was established relatively late and suspended during World War II.)

In the thirties and the forties in the journals several types of articles appear. Rose (1947) had a negative article dealing with divorce rates. Schroeder's (1939) article advised that couples need similar interests and "perhaps activity in church." Monahan (1940) made the unsupported claim that some marriages are foreordained to failure. Gulden (1939) offered an analysis of divorce and business cycles which is not claimed to establish a causal relationship but is offered as a parallel to analysis of marriage rates and the depression.

Also in the thirties Popenoe (1938) discussed four case histories of couples who were married, divorced, and then remarried the original spouse. It was reminiscent of a Ladies' Home Journal series on marriage problems with its discussion of specific cases. Popenoe concluded his presentation with the claim that there was need to improve education for marriage, to provide counseling, and to change judicial procedures. The first two of these claims are made repeatedly in the Journal of Marriage and the Family. Several articles in

the theme category of family law (see family law section in Chapter VI) lend support to the third need. Popenoe was on the editorial board of the journal at the time of publication of this article so he may have had some editorial license.

The rising divorce rate in the 1960's and 1970's is not discussed even though it followed a decline in the 1950's.

Women and Employment

After World War II female labor force participation began to steadily increase as more wives and mothers were employed (Appendix C, Table XVI). The female labor force participation rate was 25.4 in 1940, 29.0 in 1950, and 34.5 in 1960. No articles in the sample had rates of female labor force participation as their theme. Thus, the discussion focuses on articles which address women and employment in other ways. References to employed women are not scattered through numerous articles. Only 2 percent of the journal articles have the women and employment theme. Statistics form the basis of analysis for most articles, but the interpretations include expressions of normative behavior.

Fleming (1943), in a reprinted article originally addressed to managers, noted that women are different and need machines redesigned since their hair would get in the way and they are not as strong as men. And, women should be added to interview committees. This article was reprinted in the Journal of Marriage and the Family with the notation (1943:2) that it "seemed as significant for our readers as for business management to which it is addressed."

In another article, Reid (1943) predicted in the early forties, based upon the assumption that a million women would be added permanently to the work force, that the birth rate would continue to decline. Gianopulus and Mitchell (1957) examined marital disagreement and the wife's employment but they did this only in "conflicted families," using no demographic data. Leopold (1958) detailed many statistics and ended with the statement:

While expanding their interests and activities, women do not seek to replace men but rather to work beside them as partners and to become their partners as earners and citizens (p. 281).

No articles related to this theme appeared in the sixties and only one article in the seventies. Treiman and Terrell (1975) compared working men and working women and the process of status attainment. Their attention was on that process rather than statistical analysis of employed women.

Fertility

The long term trend has been a decline in fertility although there was a noticeable "baby boom" in the late 1940's and 1950's (Appendix C, Table XVII). Average family and household size also have declined over the twentieth century.

Articles focused on family size, ideal number of children, average number of children, size of household, and family size as central are classified together under the demographic heading of fertility. The articles in the seventies have narrow foci such as the relationship between actual and relative income on fertility

(DeFronzo 1976), the effect of divorce on number of children (Cohen and Sweet 1976), and the relationship between AFDC payment level and the nonwhite illegitimacy birth rates (Janowitz 1976). In a lengthy article, Hofferth and Moore (1979) detailed both positive and negative effects of early childbearing. All of these articles appeared in the Journal of Marriage and the Family while the articles in the thirties and forties on fertility were in the American Sociological Review.

During the depression the crude birth rate declined. In 1920 the birth rate was 23.7 while it was 18.9 in 1930 and 17.9 in 1940. Two articles published in 1937 presented contradictory positions on the size of the family. Newcomb (1937) claimed that marriage and children are "back into popularity" and that more girls and men (his terms) were making decisions based upon reason. Subsequently, he questioned their ability to make those decisions. Parten and Reeves (1937) examined the 1930 census data and illustrated that the "typical" family of two parents and three children was not confirmed since only one-eighth of the families in the United States at that time had five members and only some of them would meet the additional characteristics. Instead the data indicated an average of 2.1 children per couple at the beginning of the depression. Cottrell's article of the same year on fertility differentials is noteworthy because of his acknowledgement of its limitations. He closed with:

If this paper has been too discursive and too little limited by rigorous research principles, indulgence is asked in the name of the rights of the frontiersman who must fashion his house out of what materials the untamed environment furnishes (1937:685).

Kiser and Whelpton (1947) in the late forties decided to document the decline in the birth rate due to their belief that there would be a demand for evidence to support pronatalist legislation (presumably because of declines in the 1930's). The crude birth rate rose from 17.9 to 23.6 in the decade 1940-1950. Woofter (1944) in an earlier forties article clearly made a plea for a population policy of expansion. Whelpton (1949), incorrectly as it turns out, predicted that the country could expect lower fertility in the fifties and beyond than existed in the forties.

Studies on fertility expectations (Burgess 1947; Jaffee 1964) provide further insight into normative expectations related to fertility and social class. Jaffee found that the justification for not sharing birth control with the lower socioeconomic groups was a result of the stereotype that it would not be used, yet studies did not confirm the accuracy of that belief.

The only article on multiple births was George's (1949) article stressing the similarities between identical twins even when they were raised apart. Various personal accounts are cited with the use of first names.

Multiple Demographic

When an article had more than one of the demographic variables central to its theme the article was coded as multiple demographic. In one article, Radomski (1948) in the late forties assumed the three child family as the norm and referred to "normal" households as having the male as the sole worker.

Paul Glick (1975) reviewed demographic data on marriage, living arrangements, and fertility from 1935 to 1974 and ended with four recommendations. Most of them appear to be similar to those offered by Popenoe in the thirties. Glick argues there is a need for training to select a marriage partner, a need for a scientific system for selecting a marriage partner, a need for periodic marriage checkups (presumably by counselors), and the need for modernization of marriage and divorce laws. Even though the society changed considerably in the 30-year interval the same lack of individual knowledge needed for successful marriage and/or family life is assumed and the same justifications are offered for marriage counseling.

Magazines

Age at Marriage

In the thirties the concern expressed (Britten 1935) involves the increase in college students who are married. The article labels Ernest R. Groves, research sociologist, as having the most radical view. Groves does not believe that college students should be expected to postpone marriage until after graduation. "There is a temptation to find a substitute for marriage; and with present liberal thinking

and knowledge of birth control, this danger is greater than it has ever been" (Groves 1935:60).

Articles are generally positive toward successful young marriages between "mature" individuals in the forties, fifties, and sixties (Hoover 1954; Drury 1955d; Mudd 1955d; Lang 1965), but the theme is not represented among the 1975 articles. A young couple with a child is encouraged to realize that they still love each other and they need to replace their single friends with friends in similar circumstances for that "all in the same boat feeling" (Drury 1955d). By the 1960's Lang (1965) concluded that teenage marriages are here to stay. It was in the fifties that the average age at marriage reached its lowest level (see Appendix C, Table XIV).

Child Spacing

An article in the forties on child spacing suggested that a woman should not wait two years between children and should have them close together for the children's benefit and to lower her chances of toxemia. Appendix C, Table XVIII, indicates that the usual difference between first and second births was generally about 26 months. "Big" families were touted to be possible because women did not wait until they had enough money for children ("How Long Should You Wait Between Babies?" 1945).

Divorce

The two articles which focused on divorce in the thirties (Howe 1935; Heylbut 1935) treated it very negatively, as do references in other articles that refer to its undesirability and its current

"alarming rate." The divorce rate decreased in the early 1930's but increased sharply in the mid-1940's.

No articles focus on divorce in the forties or fifties, although negative references to it appear in articles with other foci. For example, in the fifties lawyers are blamed for easy divorces (e.g., Hotchner 1955). In the sixties a lengthy article (Havemann 1965) appeared on a couple who married some time after their separate divorces and had no problems. The message apparently is that marriage is the goal and divorced people should remarry to find their happy marriage. In the seventies concern was expressed about adult children of divorced parents who had myriads of problems within their own marriages presumably because they were products of divorce (e.g., Disney 1975b).

Wife and Employment

The female labor force participation rate changed little from 1920 to 1940 but increased in the forties. It was 23.3 in 1920, 24.3 in 1930, 25.4 in 1940, and 29.0 in 1950. The increase for the next decade was to 34.5 (Appendix C, Table XVI).

The tenor of the articles that had a theme of conflict between the wife role and a worker role do not appear to be dependent on the conditions at the time, such as whether or not women were needed to fill economic positions vacated by mobilized men, but more on ideals. The one article in 1935 is negative toward women working (Heylbut 1935).

Three articles appeared in 1945, with one of them positive and two of them strongly negative. One of the negative ones (Eck 1945) was a woman's experience of personal devastation because she did not give up her career, even though she intended to do so. The other article (Hoffman 1945b) was framed in terms of a war job, not a career, that should be stopped. In one article, judged to be positive toward the combination of the roles, there was recognition of the burden that would be carried by women having two roles (Janeway 1945b).

The choice of career or motherhood was not raised in any of the articles. By the fifties the messages on the topics are expressed somewhat differently. There is recognition that a woman may be happier with a job, but women were cautioned (Mudd 1955e) that "society" would not like them working. The case of one woman who gave up her war job presented the strains as being something she personally could not manage (Disney 1955d). Nothing is said about the attitudes of other members of the family. In another article there is the wife who had a salary significantly higher than that of her husband and they have no problems, because he is the boss (Hoffman 1945b). And another woman (with an unemployed husband) who needs to work has her employment presented positively (G. White 1955).

All three magazines ignore this topic in the sixties. The only article in the 1970's (Pogrebin 1975) presents eight vignettes on women and their jobs. Husband's views are also there, but

little is said in the short space given to each case. The format allows no position to be taken on employed women. This lack of attention is somewhat surprising for the women's movement was directing considerable attention to female employment during this period.

Fertility

One article idealizing the big, happy family living on a tight budget appeared in the fifties (Harrington 1955). An unusual characteristic of this family is that ten of their thirteen children are adopted. The mother is so organized that she can "teach school" to the young ones from 1:00 to 3:00 each afternoon. The crude birth rates remained level at a high rate throughout the fifties with a rate of 23.6 in 1950 and 23.7 in 1960. The rate began to decrease in the sixties (Appendix C, Table XVII).

Summary

The magazine articles with demographic themes rarely rest upon rates. Generalities are made regarding the rates and impressions are left regarding normative behavior by the presence or absence of topics. Additionally, some articles are prescriptive, e.g., replace your single friends with married ones in similar circumstances.

The next chapter discusses some of the other family related themes.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER FINDINGS

Various articles related to the family but not to the focal set of demographic changes. The themes of these articles in the magazines and journals were quite different so they are discussed separately.

Women's Magazines

The family related topics in magazines range from engagement to happy marriages, marital relations and parent-child relations to family problems. Articles with these themes are discussed in chronological order.

Engagements and Marriage

One of the themes in the thirties is that a woman should train or prepare for marriage much as she might learn to cook and sew (e.g., Howe 1935; Banning 1935b). Marriage is the goal, for a woman is offered no way out of an engagement even if she realizes she does not want to marry her fiance. In a Ladies' Home Journal article (Harriman 1945) that reads like fiction, one female's decision during a convalescence to not marry Roger is dealt with as if her fever has caused her not to know her own mind. The details are provided on how the engagement ring repeatedly finds its way back to her finger by either the nurse's or Roger's efforts until she

gives up. She reports it took three years in sanitariums for her to get up enough courage to go to Reno for a divorce.

The irrevocability of engagement is accompanied by belief in the permanence of marriage in the forties (Culman 1945) regardless of problems brought on by the war or anything else. Women are instructed to be attractive and amusing for their husbands (H. Wilson 1945). In the forties women are admonished not to expect their mates to be perfect (Peale 1945).

In one fifties' article it is stated that the woman's husband had such poor personal qualities that he should not even be married, yet his wife is told by the marriage counselor that she must be creative and "entice" him (Drury 1955e). By the sixties a woman had to be careful not to let her husband know how much she cared for him (Disney 1965f). The idea of marriage as ownership by the husband persists into the sixties (Siegel 1965). By the seventies the advice reflects changes, so wives are encouraged not to be hasty in getting out of bad marriages not because of duty (Disney 1975d) but because they could be lonely alone.

The articles not only dealt with the nature of marriage but also its timing.

The magazines instructed women on marriage timing in the thirties (Faegre 1935b). During World War II they were encouraged to wait for his military leave (Janeway 1945b) or until their "tottering twenties" (Wright 1945) for marriage. During the fifties when the average age at marriage was at its low point, one article

indicates that you can get married and have your honeymoon on a four day pass (Feingersh 1955).

Concern about the consequences of young marriages appears in the thirties, forties, and again in the sixties after the average age of first marriage began to slowly increase. Some of the concern is with how the lives of those in high school or college would be affected (Britten 1935; Hoover 1945; Drury 1965d; Mudd 1965d; Disney 1965b; Lang 1965; Disney 1965i).

Purpose for Marriage

During the depression people delayed marriage and parenthood. In the 1930's and 1940's women were exhorted to marry; reasons for marriage appeared and the purpose of marriage was clearly stated as being for reproduction or parenthood (see Howe 1935; Taylor 1945a; and "Ten Reasons for Marriage" 1935). (Social science journal articles stated there were concerns over the declining birth rate and investigated the impact of childlessness upon marriages.) During the "baby boom" idealization of a large family (Harrington 1955) was a way of affirming the importance of childbearing to marriage.

Parent-Child Relations

A large proportion of the articles in each magazine address the parent-child relationship. Many articles counsel parents on how they should behave. One strongly prescriptive 1935 article (Richardson) in Good Housekeeping is on breastfeeding. The mother

is cautioned to breastfeed only under the guidance of a doctor. Specific guidelines in the article instruct her, for instance, to "get rid of" the bowel movement that takes up "valuable space" by giving the baby a soap suppository. After its completion the feeding is to be resumed. (Somewhat surprisingly, this is not one of the examples of advice analyzed in a 1965 Redbook article (Geddes 1965) detailing the completely contradictory advice on child rearing that had been dispensed over the last 500 years.)

The mother's primary responsibility for the child, particularly its well being and "normal" development, requires that she be alert to all types of problems and potential problems. In the thirties focus was on the lazy child (Faegre 1935c) and handling the child sick in bed (Moats 1935). The child's speed of recovery is directly related, according to the second article, to the mother's adherence to a variety of guidelines. The implication of the first article is that the mother has a role in the child's potential laziness.

Attention in the 1940's and 1950's is directed to the idea of prevention of problems. Various checklists (McIntyre 1945a and 1945b) are offered for parents, with the admonition not to give the child contradictory messages (Black 1955b). Mothers employed during World War II were instructed to coordinate care of their children in day nurseries or in schools (Himber 1945), no matter what other obligations they had. Broader concern expressed about so many children in institutions (McIntire 1945b) reflected belief in the importance of "normal" family life to development.

In the fifties articles provided advice on how to handle many more specific situations: tattling (Black 1955d), bad language (Black 1955a), toilet training (Spock 1955a), bedwetting (Spock 1955b), nudity in the household (Spock 1955h), sibling relations (Spock and Shapiro 1955a), chores (Spock 1955g), solitary play (Black 1955c), traveling with a child (Spock 1955e), and bottle feeding (Spock 1955d). These articles tend to be very prescriptive.

During the 1950's the father is finally mentioned in the parenting role (Stocker 1955; Spock 1955c). By the sixties more articles not only mention the father, but are addressed to him. In the 1960's and 1970's efforts to change women's role in society and to have males play more active roles in childbearing are reflected in the magazines. He receives instruction on how to act in the delivery room (Spero 1965) and the importance of being a "good" father (Cohen 1965). In the seventies Dr. Spock (1975a) joins others and writes a column to fathers. He acknowledges some may disagree with his suggestions, asserting that he writes only for those fathers who believe in equality. And one father (Sarda 1975) presents a personal account of his experiences with the children when he and his wife swap domestic and economic roles.

Overall, parent-child relationships are not as prominent a feature as measured by their proportional representation in the women's magazines in the sixties as in earlier periods. Fewer parent-child articles appear and thus fewer topics are covered. Besides those about and to fathers, advice on how to cope with

children and the holidays appears (Spock 1965b).

There is some evidence of changing views but not very much. Redbook magazine presents two very conflicting views of child rearing in 1965. One glorifies it (Seton 1965b) and one by sociologist Rossi (1965) questions the ideology of full-time motherhood that assumes the separation of mother and child is damaging. According to Hallenback (1966) the editor titled Rossi's 1965 article "The Case Against Full-time Motherhood" and alerted readers that some would not agree with her views.

Spock continues writing about children in the 1970's and covers some older topics: bad language (Spock 1975b) and strictness of discipline (Spock 1975a). (The only other article on strictness is in 1945 but it focuses primarily on the need for strictness with boys (Ribble 1945) rather than with children.) Children's television personality, Mr. Rogers, talks to mothers (Davis 1975) on how to handle a child's fears. Geissler (1975) writes on allowing a child more freedom in order for growth to occur.

Children and Institutions

Strong negative presentations ("Help the Children Now" 1945) about the number of children in institutions in the forties, due to wartime separations and female employment, and in the fifties, due to a high rate of divorce (Lagemann 1955) tacitly endorse the traditional mother role. Along with these warnings there is an appeal to take a foster child so that there will not be the institutional damage (Gould 1955). At that time more young, white children

were available for adoption than later, but nothing on adoption is found until 1975 when the focus is on adopting children from other countries ("How America Lives" 1975b; Rubin 1975).

Marital Expectations

Expectancies about the marital role involve other subcategories which are discussed elsewhere in this chapter, e.g., the happy marriage, the permanence of marriage, fidelity, and ideals about quarrels and fighting. Some specific instructions are presented below.

In the thirties wives are urged ("Why Do I Love My Wife?" 1935) to show deference to their husbands' notions but to realize they can still "win." In the next two decades women are reminded of the permanence of marriage (Culman 1945; Wilson 1945; Taylor 1945a) and are encouraged to overcome "fear of failure" (Taylor 1945b).

Generally the message of the 1950's was that home and family came first and that the wife must be adaptable to her husband's mood and advances in the occupational world. She was to keep a schedule for household work, stay within her budget and serve meals on time. Adams (1955a:22) provided specifics:

She tries new recipes, rearranges the furniture, and invites new friends to dinner. She reads fashion articles, follows sports and tries her luck at a new game. Her development is measured not by a pay check but by her husband's growing admiration, appreciation and love.

Many of the articles in the "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" series focused on marital and/or parental expectations. Whether the problem revolved around poor partner communication (Disney 1965d; Adams 1955b; Hoffman 1975c), alcoholism (Disney 1975i, 1975g), unresolved childhood problems (Hoffman 1975a, 1975b; Disney 1975e), a seriously ill child (Disney 1975h), divergent thoughts on quarrels (Disney 1975f), or jealousy (Disney 1975d; Drury 1955c), the answer was inevitably "yes." Rarely was divorce even mentioned in the series and that was not until the seventies. Changes were always required of the wife. In the seventies one article dealt with the necessity of both spouses changing their ways.

Over time concern shifted from having a satisfactory marriage to having a good marriage.

Happy Marriages

In the 1930's and 1940's marriage was the desired state. In later years concern about the quality of marital life became apparent. Guidance for achieving a happy marriage (Hafey 1955; Jacoby 1975) and directions on how to handle a jealous husband (Disney 1965g, 1965h) are provided. For example, women should understand that "the boys" need to go off by themselves periodically and leave the wives alone (Rhodes 1975). The ideal wife is described, which could have led women to critically evaluate themselves, but it was balanced by discussion of the perfect husband (Baker 1965).

Expectations about sexual behavior rarely are the explicit theme of an article.

Chastity and Fidelity

In recent years concern about the spread of herpes and AIDS has led some writers to discuss "new" sexual standards including chastity. In 1935 when there was a hint that penicillin might be effective in treating syphilis, readers were told that only chastity will stop the spread of the disease (Gardner 1935). The admonition was accompanied by descriptions of unsuccessful treatments to date.

References to the possibility that husbands, lonely in wartime situations, might have engaged in activities that they would not have otherwise appear, but wives were not to seek information and were to be forgiving (Thompson 1945b). And, wives who might have "strayed" during the war were admonished that life goes on and they should now turn their attention to the returned husband (Gardner 1945).

During the 1950's when the family was highly idealized no articles on chastity or fidelity appeared. Infidelity is the topic of two Ladies' Home Journal articles in 1965 (Callwood 1965; Disney 1965e). Also an article on premarital pregnancy provides an account of how one woman dealt with her daughter's situation ("Teenage Mother" 1965). In the 1970's when the "sexual revolution" was allegedly occurring, no articles on infidelity appeared.

While expectations about sexual behavior are infrequently discussed when marriage is idealized, problems arising over conflicting financial expectations are recognized.

Finances and the Family

Finances are a major theme of articles in the fifties. The only other times are in 1935 when one article (Banning 1935a) deals with a "you might as well spend it" attitude using only examples of wives, and one in 1975 on a family that won a million dollars but changed little ("How America Lives" 1975a).

In the fifties there are various ways that money is central. In one family there is the gambling husband (Disney 1955a), but can the marriage be saved? Another family loses its wealth and higher class life-style, but family members find each other (Stocker 1955). There is the young couple that is supported by the wife's parents and as a consequence has to deal with the parents' demands (Mudd 1955c; Drury 1955c). Readers are alerted that husbands and wives fight over money (Whitbread and Caden 1955b; Mudd 1955f; Drury 1955f)!

Quarrels

Fights were not only over money but over sexual matters and competition (Blum 1965; Viorst 1975b). The earliest article to deal with quarreling between spouses as a theme is in 1955 when a marriage is on the "rocks" (Mudd 1955e) and the author suggests that the husband may be avoiding "making love" to the wife because

she has a job. Couples were given examples of how others fought (Blum 1965).

Quarreling over conflicting expectations was an infrequent theme, but apparently still was a more acceptable topic for readers than violence in the family.

Family Violence

Fighting between partners appears as a theme in 1955, and there is an article on child abuse and neglect in 1955 (Disney 1955b). "Can This Child Be Saved?" followed the same format as "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" with her story, his story, and the counselor's recommendations. The only other abuse article was in 1975 (Lobsenz 1975) which detailed one woman's personal campaign against child abuse in her community.

In recent decades readers apparently were more interested in how to negotiate and compromise than in how to engage in conflict.

Marital Adjustment

All of the articles with the marital adjustment theme were in the sixties and seventies and primarily emphasized financial management (Disney 1965f, 1965g, 1965h, 1965i), unrealistic expectations (Disney 1975c) and different cultural backgrounds (Disney 1965a). Feinberg (1965) wrote to busy executives on how to satisfy a neglected wife "based on scientific observations."

Social Science Journals

The journal articles address some of the same family related issues as the magazine articles, but in somewhat different ways. Overall, the journals have fewer articles not related to demographic themes.

Reasons for Marriage

Implicit in early journal articles is the assumption that a major reason for marriage is childbearing. Huntington (1939) said more than three and a half children per couple are needed for a happy marriage and to increase the population. Thus, he argued the family must be strengthened to keep the birth rate from decreasing. Huntington also expressed (1939:14) ideas of normality when he said: "The normal woman wants a man and children for her own. . . . The normal man wants his own child that belongs to him." Hill (1964) assumed children will be a part of family life. (He also pointed out the need to detect value preferences in research and writing on the family.)

Both Rogers (1943) and Burgess (1944) indicated that the reasons for war marriages were different and that war marriages were themselves different. Various cases were discussed, but no data were offered to support their claims. Burgess (1944) proposed that because there would be a shortage of men after the war and because the men would likely marry women younger than they were, older women would be less discriminating in their choices. A similar message

appeared in the forties in the women's magazines, when women were instructed not to expect a perfect mate (see discussion of magazines).

With so much attention paid to the need for education for marriage (Wilson 1939; Burgess 1944) it might be assumed that writers would address the reasons for marriage. (The magazines repeatedly carried articles including reasons for marriage.) But Brooks and Hillman (1965) only investigated the reasons for nonmarriage, supporting the norm that people ought to marry by studying the "deviants" to see why they do not conform.

While magazine readers were being given reasons for marrying and advice on what they should expect and how they should behave, journals for the most part were addressing other topics.

Marital Adjustment

In the first article of the first issue of the Journal of Marriage and the Family Burgess (1939) calls for further progress in the field of the prediction of marital adjustment and for the development of the Marriage Adjustment Research Institute. By the mid-forties P. Landis (1946) is claiming his primary motive in collecting data on marital adjustment is to get information to aid in the development of his collegiate marriage course. No articles on marital adjustment appear after the forties. This theme was limited to a specific period with such studies apparently ceasing to be in vogue.

Social scientists showed more interest in government policies which might affect family life than in how individuals related to each other.

Family Law and Family Policy

Only two articles in the American Sociological Review are on this topic, but there are six articles combined with repeated calls for reform in the legislation within the Journal of Marriage and the Family. Rheinstein (1940) asserts the society has gone too far by emancipating the married woman and has endangered the interests of outsiders because penniless women and children may not be able to pay their debts. In the forties McDermott (1942) writes on fraudulent military deferments for marriage and gives some examples. One example is of a deferment being refused because the wife earned \$16 a week and it was determined that she could "exist" (the government's term) on that income.

One of the proposals (Shipman 1965) for changes in law, which seems to have the intent of trying to block divorce or mandate counseling, would require the introduction of reconciliation procedures in the divorce process at the juncture between filing and a court appearance.

While the journal articles focused on social policies related to marriage but not marital expectations, they, like the magazine articles, exhibited considerable interest in parent-child relations.

Parent-Child Relationships

Articles focused on any aspect of the parent-child relationship or child rearing are in this theme category. In the forties articles deal with day care. McClure (1943) concluded that the cooperative play groups were superior to war nurseries but no supporting evidence was provided. Smith (1944) focused on the working mother and her children's care. The article is prescriptive in telling mothers they cannot simply make arrangements, but they must confer with the workers and coordinate information with the school also.

In 1944 Merkling and Gaul also incorporated the expectation that the mother should coordinate all the children's activities and information with the nurse, the social worker, and the nursery workers. They described a particular day care situation with outlines of all routines and offered examples of unusual cases as well. In the article are references to early marriage, divorce, desertion and particularly women's efforts to deal with situations with the assistance of day care workers. This was the only reference to what a day care center provides and how day care could be evaluated. Since the proportion of women in the labor force has been increasing for over fifty years, it is notable that there were no professionals evaluating day care.

In the early sixties Ilgenfritz (1957) has an article on widows and divorcees raising children alone. (Except for an article in the fifties about a widow raising six children on welfare, there is nothing in the women's magazines on the parent-without-a-partner

raising children alone.) The author indicates he is presenting the "story" of twelve women who meet regularly to discuss their situations.

Other articles deal with very diverse topics: determination of parent preference of the child (Nimkoff 1942); ascertainment of which type of parent-child relationship is more important (Winch 1943); recognition of class differences (Green 1946; Davis and Havinghurst 1946); measurement of the effects of intermittent absences of the father (Crain and Stamm 1965); discussion of maternal deprivation (Skard 1965); and consideration of conflicts with the mother's role (Stoodley 1952; Gray 1962).

Two child-rearing articles in the journals focus on fathers. Underwood, in the earliest article on fathers (1949), found that college student fathers who spent the most time with their children were trying to be the kind of parent their mother, not their father, was. Elder (1963) found fathers were a little more dominant in rearing children as family size increased.

The next two themes received considerably more attention in the journals than in the magazines.

Dating and Mate Selection

Articles focused on the theme of mate selection were concentrated in the thirties and forties in the American Sociological Review and in the sixties and seventies in the Journal of Marriage and the Family. Homogamy (Synder 1964; Coombs 1966), ideal mate images (Udry 1965), parental images (Strauss 1946), residential propinquity

(Abrahms 1943; Ellsworth 1948; Koller 1948), rating and dating (Waller 1937), and attractiveness (Taylor and Glenn 1976; Mathes 1975) are the subtopics in this theme. (There is no parallel between the journal articles with this theme and the Sub-Deb series of Ladies' Home Journal which carried the only magazine article with this theme.)

Fertility Expectations

The efforts to better predict actual fertility from expected fertility is the major focus of a recent set of articles (e.g., Scanzoni 1976a, 1976b; Waite and Stolzenberg 1976). Some efforts were made to explain levels of expected fertility in terms of social factors (Bean and Aiken 1976; McAllister et al. 1974) in the seventies. No articles with this theme appeared in the women's magazines.

Other thematic categories had only a few articles in them and as a consequence are not discussed. In the next section the similarities and differences in theme frequency and representation in the women's magazines and social science journals are discussed.

Other Similarities

Some similarities in the magazines and journals occurred in the years before the journals limited their content to articles reporting research, developing theory, and devising new measures. The long running series, "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" that first appeared in Ladies' Home Journal in the study period in 1955 issues is predated by a similar article (Mowrer 1936) following the same

format in the second issue of the American Sociological Review. Instead of using names the couple is referred to as Mr. and Mrs. X. Their sexual difficulties are explained in detail. The wife used her "spells" to avoid sex as a way of striking back at her husband because of her premarital pregnancy. The husband blamed all of his problems, from nervousness to the failure of his business, on lack of "sexual satisfaction." (There is no resolution of this case or even comments by the counselor as is typically found in the Ladies' Home Journal series.)

A similar article (Mudd 1945) appears in the Journal of Marriage and the Family dealing with a Mr. and Mrs. X. It follows the same format as the Ladies' Home Journal series presenting her story, his story, the counselor's assessment, and the happy ending. Mudd (1945) deals with a couple that has sexual problems, but she is vague as to the type of problems. Additionally, this article praises the counselor's skill. A footnote indicates the article is the first in a series of cases illustrating marriage counseling techniques which the editors planned to publish.

The magazine series "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" covertly praises the counselor and even identifies the counselor in the early accounts (a practice later discontinued). The series in the fifties carries a prominent picture of Paul Popenoe, Director of the American Institute of Family Relations, and a few general statements of his regarding the extensiveness of the problem encountered in that month's column. In the fifties Dorothy Cameron

Disney does not have a full byline on the article but signs at the end with the phrase "compiled and condensed reports." Whether Popenoe had control over the content of the article is unclear.

Apparently the presentation of similar cases in the Journal of Marriage and the Family was not a high priority. Another case appears in the 1950's issue (Stokes 1951), but it is presented differently. After the case and its resolution are described, comments and reactions from four discussants are presented. This case also deals with sexual matters, specifically the married virgin. Not only do these three articles resemble closely the "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" articles, but they are the only articles in the journals with the sexual problems theme.

Three articles have the wedding as their theme. Two of them are in the thirties in the American Sociological Review, and the other is in 1965 in Good Housekeeping. In 1938 Paul Popenoe presents data from a study of elopements in the American Sociological Review and cites various cases using letters or first names. The other wedding related articles are similar. Timmons (1939) presents findings from a survey of 154 couples in the American Sociological Review on the average cost of the wedding and related expenses such as the honeymoon. McGregor (1965) details in Good Housekeeping the cost of her wedding and related expenses and the range of costs at that time for each item. One difference is that McGregor concludes that the hectic planning and high cost of a wedding may not be worth it.

The final chapter provides an overall summary and conclusions.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Neither medium consistently presented information which drew their audiences' attention to changes as they were occurring. Using that timing criterion neither medium played an innovative or creative role in shaping public perception of trends. Both the selected magazines and journals appeared to be serving roles as maintainers of widely shared views of the nature of the family, of a similar symbolic reality. The symbolic reality presented changed over time as American popular culture changed but these media did not appear to be leaders in shaping that reality. They played limited reflective roles presenting information and occasionally inaccurate or out of date information about a few well established demographic trends while ignoring others.

Summary

Themes Presented

A major proportion (25-32 percent) of the articles in the women's magazines have as their theme parent-child relationships and perceptions or expectations of marriage and spouse. Smaller percentages (7-14 percent) of journal articles are in the parent-child category but the parent-child relationship is one of the more frequent categories in the journals. Dating and mate selection are other fairly frequent themes in the journals while they are not in the magazines.

Theme Timing

There are several differences between the two professional journals. Some are patterns of time and some are differences in thematic categories. Sometimes a particular theme appears in one of the journals for a time and then appears in the other one with few or no articles in the first journal.

Changes in "symbolic reality" were evidenced when both the magazines and the journals ignored certain topics during the same periods. Spouse abuse and certain problems or evidence of other destructive family behavior were ignored until near the end of the study period when reader interest in those topics had increased. Magazines did not carry articles on single parenting, evaluating day care, dating and mate selection, and remaining childless. Neither journal focused on in-law relationships, the adopted child, transition to retirement, stresses in the family related to the distribution of power.

Each decade provides some evidence of family changes, but there are often erroneous assumptions that accompany the discussion of change.

"Story" Telling

The close correspondence between the type of biases presented in the nonfiction of magazines and of social science journals is explained by each telling a story. Social scientists may not realize they are writing stories but a number of techniques employed in scientific writing assist in creating credible research reports or stories. The stage is set appropriately, props are used and the material may even

be reified (Gusfield 1976). The more frequent usage of demographic data by journal article writers does not mean prevailing cultural values do not direct their research and its interpretation, but rather such data are valuable when setting the scientific stage (Tuchman 1976; Lester 1980).

The presentation of the family is not representative of changes within the society, but of norms or values, what writers and editors believe should exist. Magazine articles are frequently and obviously prescriptive as are some journal articles in the thirties and the forties. When articles are not directly prescriptive, they may refer to standards of "normality" and thus label any other behavior as deviant by implication, if not by direct assertion.

Conclusions

Shifts in the content of articles are an indicator of the audiences' or the writers' interests at a particular time. While possible explanations may be offered for the presence of numerous articles upon a topic, e.g., changing conditions in society, they also should be offered for what is omitted from the publications. Only a few topics related to some aspect of the family are omitted from both the women's magazines and the professional journals. The omission of some themes may be a result of reluctance to provide recognition or legitimation to a situation in the society and in the case of "negative" trends a desire to provide readers with more positive information.

The result of the omissions is an emphasis on certain family roles. The child rearing role, the mother role, multiple births and the male breadwinner role are stressed in the magazines. These roles are presented in a normative fashion. This research finds, as Brown (1981) did, that there is a lack of the recognition that families are different at different points in the life cycle. The overemphasis upon children assumes that most families have two relatively young parents with the husband the wage-earner and that there are at least two children in the family.

Comparing demographic indicators with themes of family related journal and magazine articles, generally the print media did not reflect changes as they were occurring in the society. Sometimes the journals first addressed a change and sometimes the magazines were first. Occasionally, as with the topic of divorce, a topic was not the theme of articles but indications of changes in the family were apparent as a result of the number of comments made in articles with other foci.

The high and increasing proportion of articles in the parent-child relations theme was consistent with the change in society to the child-centered family. Other changes were not evident in the print media. The lower birth rate of the thirties and the decrease of the birth rate in the sixties and seventies following the baby boom were ignored. The increasing proportion of women in the labor force was not apparent in the sixties or seventies. The accompanying increase in the demand for child care facilities was not recognized.

Continuity of topics is important to the print media because of reader expectations. But, even though the same questions may be asked at different times, the answers may differ. For example, why a woman should not seek a divorce depends upon the decade. Controversial topics are rarely the focus of articles. Brevity of magazine articles is a way to handle what could otherwise be a controversial topic, e.g., the "Mothering" series in Ladies' Home Journal.

After a change has occurred some attention may be paid to it by trying to delve into the process. For instance, the 1970s had a larger number of articles on fertility expectations than any of the other decades. The birth rate began declining after the post World War II baby boom after increasing or remaining high for the previous twenty years. Who first presents evidence of change does not seem to be related to the particular theme nor any other discernable factor.

Research Limitations

Any time data from more than one time period is used, there is "the problem of the relationship between short-term and long-term change" (Rosengren 1981). The connotations of words may change over time. Possibly the periodicals used may differ from other women's magazines or professional journals. There is no assurance that the mid-decade years are representative of magazine articles of other years. Occasionally articles with more controversial themes appeared in the magazines, particularly Redbook (Mead 1963: 1966).

Social Science Journals

Shifts in the content of journals reflect many factors. As disciplines grew professional organizations had the resources to publish or sponsor multiple publications. The American Sociological Association uses its publication Footnotes to provide information about its members, the organization's activities and events or opportunities of interest to its members. Also, it has a separate book review publication, Contemporary Sociology, and publications for specialists, e.g., Social Psychological Quarterly. Job opportunities appear in an employment bulletin. The National Council on Family Relations has a newsletter similar to Footnotes and specialist publications such as the Journal of Family History.

As professions grew in size, specialization increased. Editors may direct articles with special foci to specialty journals.

As social science disciplines were growing and specializing there appears to have been emphasis on appearing more "scientific." Over the research period journal articles appeared to become less speculative and narrower in focus. Yet, these journals appear to be reasonably representative.

Women's Magazines

Over the research period more specialized magazines began to appear. There are magazines for black women (Essence), working women (Working Woman, Savvy), feminists (Ms.), as well as many other subsets of women. The set of magazines used in this research appear to have maintained their general focus.

Specific articles tended to be briefer (e.g., "Mothering" and "Working Woman" series that include very brief items on a number of topics). A limited length strategy may allow the magazine to claim it is "covering" a topic while each item is so brief it can hardly be controversial.

Additionally, sometimes journalists claim that a topic is too complex for them "to get a handle on it" or "nail it down." Topics that are complex may get omitted due to the need to convince editors that they can be presented coherently and the need to limit a story to a predictable length (Tuchman 1976).

Lester (1980) demonstrated that importance and interest are not independent properties that determine appearance or nonappearance of an event in the newspaper. The process of generating newsworthiness is a reflexive one and not based upon a set of rules. Probably the same reflexive process is operating with other forms of print media. Additional research is needed to detail the process.

Suggestions for Further Research

One obvious continuation of the research is to include 1985 as representative of the eighties. Since compromises had to be made in the selection of the sample magazines, financial aid could be sought to assist in obtaining material for analysis from the magazines with two of the highest circulation figures of this decade such as Family Circle and Woman's Day, although it may be impossible to obtain the earliest issues from the years when these magazines were distributed free of charge. Mass circulated magazines such as these may

focus more on the female's employment role than women's magazines used in this research. Other women's magazines and other professional journals might be included.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THEME CATEGORIES FOR MAGAZINES AND PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS

Demographic:

- Fertility (number of children, family size, cohort)
- Child-spacing
- Marriage rates
- Age at marriage (high school and college marriages)
- Duration of marriage
- Divorce rates
- Women working
- Sex ratio
- Multiple demographic indicators

Family as an institution

The family and war

Dating and mate selection

Unwed mothers/fathers (premarital pregnancy)

Family Cycle stages:

- Wedding
- Parenthood
- Empty nest/postparental
- Retirement
- Old age
- Widowhood

Family policy/family law

Marital relations and marital adjustment:

- Marital adjustment (including marital prediction tests)
- Perceptions/expectations of marriage and of partner
- Reasons for marriage
- Satisfaction: happy/successful marriage
- Romantic love
- Marital stability
- Family relations
- Stress
 - Quarrels, power relations, competition, exploitation
 - Financial matters (subsidized marriage)
 - Sexual matters
 - Adjustment after separation (remarriage or divorce)

Spouse and parent roles:

Childbirth (and pregnancy)

Multiple births (twins, triplets, quadruplets, etc.)

Fertility plans and expectations

Economic support role:

Husband working

Wife working

Parent-child relationships (childbearing)

Spouse and parental role expectations (family roles)

Socialization:

For gender roles

For teenagers

For achievement

and socioeconomic status

Other family relationships:

Grandparents

In-laws

Siblings

Stepparent/child

Foster children

Adopted children

Family disintegration:

Divorce and desertion

Extra-marital relations

Conflict and violence:

Spouse abuse

child abuse

Disorganization (other type problems)

APPENDIX B

CODING SHEET (MAGAZINES)

Editor _____
Magazine _____ Date _____

Title _____

Featured _____

Author's name _____
no author, M.D., expert, celebrity, first person, journalist,
contributing editor, no additional information _____

Length: _____ pages one page _____ less than page _____

Relative Emphasis of:

Statistical information?

Source of data?

Presentation of research?

Magazine survey?

Trends?

Personal Accounts (auto/biographical)?

Interviews with experts?

What change, if any, appears?

Presentation of change:

positive, negative, both, neutral, predominantly positive,
predominantly negative.

Assumption about stability or change:

Time period of focus?

Theme:

Other noteworthy items:

CODING SHEET (JOURNALS)

Editor _____

Journal _____ Date _____

Title _____

Article _____ Research Note _____ Featured? _____
(Note special issue focused on this topic)

Author _____

Length _____ pages one page _____ less than one page _____

Statistical information?
Data set (sample-years, who, national, small)
Longitudinal (trends)

Replication/Refutation (support "common sense," previous findings)

Presentation of change:
positive, negative, both, neutral, predominantly positive,
predominantly negative.

Assumptions about stability or change:

Time period of focus:

Theme:

Other noteworthy items:

APPENDIX C

TABLE XIII
MARRIAGE RATE (PER 1,000 POPULATION) BY YEAR IN THE U.S.,
1920-1980

Year	Rate	Year	Rate
1920	12.0	1958	8.4
1925	10.3	1959	8.5
1930	9.2	1960	8.5
1935	10.4	1961	8.5
1940	12.1	1962	8.5
1941	12.7	1963	8.8
1942	13.2	1964	9.0
1943	11.7	1965	9.3
1944	10.9	1966	9.5
1945	12.2	1967	9.7
1946	16.4	1968	10.4
1947	13.9	1969	10.6
1948	12.4	1970	10.6
1949	10.6	1971	10.6
1950	11.1	1972	11.0
1951	10.4	1973	10.9
1952	9.9	1974	10.5
1953	9.8	1975	10.1
1954	9.2	1976	10.0
1955	9.3	1977	10.1
1956	9.5	1978	10.5
1957	8.9	1979	10.6
—		1980	10.6

Source: Information Please: Almanac, Atlas and Yearbook. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981, p. 804.

TABLE XIV
MEDIAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE IN THE UNITED STATES BY SEX
1930-1976

Year	Male	Female	Year	Male	Female
1976	23.8	21.3			
1975	23.5	21.1	1959	22.5	20.2
1974	23.1	21.1	1958	22.6	20.2
1973	23.2	21.0	1957	22.6	20.3
1972	23.3	20.9	1956	22.5	20.1
1971	23.1	20.9	1955	22.6	20.2
1970	23.2	20.8	1954	23.0	20.3
1969	23.2	20.8	1953	22.8	20.2
1968	23.1	20.8	1952	23.0	20.2
1967	23.1	20.6	1951	22.9	20.4
1966	22.8	20.5	1950	22.8	20.3
1965	22.8	20.6	1949	22.7	20.3
1964	23.1	20.5	1948	23.3	20.4
1963	22.8	20.5	1947	23.7	20.5
1962	22.7	20.3	1940	24.3	21.5
1961	22.8	20.3	1930	24.3	21.3
1960	22.8	20.3	1920	24.6	21.2
			1910	25.1	21.6
			1900	25.9	21.9

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census,
"Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1976," Series P-20,
No. 306, January 1977.

TABLE XV
 DIVORCE RATES (PER 1,000 MARRIED WOMEN): UNITED STATES,
 1929-1975

Year	Rate	Year	Rate	Year	Rate
1975	20.3	1957	9.2	1943	11.0
1974	19.3	1956	9.4	1942	10.1
1973	18.2	1955	9.3	1941	9.4
1972	17.0	1954	9.5	1940	8.8
1971	15.8	1953	9.9	1939	8.5
1970	14.9	1952	10.1	1938	8.4
1965	10.6	1951	9.9	1937	8.7
1964	10.0	1950	10.3	1936	8.3
1963	9.6	1949	10.6	1935	7.8
1962	9.4	1948	11.2	1934	7.5
1961	9.6	1947	13.6	1933	6.1
1960	9.2	1946	17.9	1932	6.1
1959	9.3	1945	14.4	1931	7.1
1958	8.9	1944	12.0	1930	7.5

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, Monthly Vital Statistics Reports, Vol. 30, No. 13, and Vol. 31, No. 12.

TABLE XVI
LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN, 1900-1970

Year*	Percent of Women 14 Years of Age and Older in Labor Force
1900	20.4
1910	25.2
1920	23.3
1930	24.3
1940	25.4
1950	29.0
1955	30.7
1960	34.5
1965	37.9
1970	38.4

*Decade years, 1900-1970, are census data. Other years are annual averages of the monthly labor force.

TABLE XVII
BIRTH RATES AND GENERAL FERTILITY RATES FOR THE UNITED STATES,
1930-1975

Year	Crude Birth Rate (Per 1,000 Population)	General Fertility Rate (Per 1,000 Population)
1920	23.7	117.9
1930	18.9	89.2
1940	17.9	79.9
1950	23.6	106.2
1960	23.7	118.0
1965	19.5	96.6
1970	18.4	87.9
1975	14.8	66.7

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Vital Statistics of the United States, 1966, Vol. 1; Vital Statistics of the United States--Special Reports, Vol. 48, No. 17 (November 1958); Monthly Vital Statistics Report, Vol. 24, No. 12, 1976.

TABLE XVIII

MEDIAN INTERVAL IN MONTHS SINCE BIRTH OF PREVIOUS CHILD, FOR
BIRTHS OCCURRING IN SPECIFIED CALENDAR PERIODS: JUNE 1975

Period of Child's Birth	Second Birth	Third Birth	Fourth Birth
1970-74	31.7	35.4	35.5
1965-69	28.1	32.0	32.5
1960-64	24.7	29.0	29.2
1955-59	26.2	29.8	28.9
1950-54	28.8	30.4	29.8
1945-49	30.3	30.4	30.5
1940-44	29.9	29.7	30.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 315, "Trends in Childspacing: June 1975," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978).

VITA

Gretta Guyton Stanger was born in Memphis, Tennessee, on May 24, 1942. She attended elementary schools there and was graduated from Treadwell High School in June 1960. Four years later she obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree with a double major in Biology and Sociology from the University of Mississippi. The Master of Arts degree in Sociology was awarded in August 1966 from the same institution.

After three years as an Instructor of Sociology at Tennessee Technological University she entered The University of Tennessee to begin work toward the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Sociology. After a number of years of full-time work as an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Tennessee Technological University, the degree was awarded in December 1986.

The author is a member of the American Sociological Association, the Southern Sociological Society, the Mid-South Sociological Association, Sociologists for Women in Society, Sociologists for Women in Society--South, Women in Higher Education in Tennessee, the Middle Tennessee Women's Studies Association, and the American Association for University Professors. Ms. Stanger will continue in her tenured position at Tennessee Technological University.