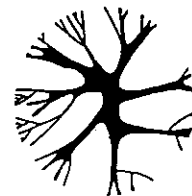


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Women and Men in the Media

Margaret Gallagher

Since the time of Adam and Eve no theme has held the attention of storytellers and their audiences more consistently than that of sexuality and the relationship between the sexes. It is multifaceted, ever-changing, and so deeply involves everyone emotionally that few other subjects present such a challenge to sociological analysis. All would have to admit, however, that the past century has seen unprecedented changes in the role and status of women in relation to men. The mass media have played their own part in this evolution, creating images which have helped to delineate and define its shifting currents.

This issue of *Trends* discusses recent approaches to the study of women, men and the media. It concentrates on patterns of male and female representations in content and in the relative spheres of influence within the media industry itself. The ambiguities of the topic inevitably make clear research conclusions elusive, but underlying the debate are serious issues of fairness and justice which everyone involved in the media must face.

I. FEMINIST THEORY, COMMUNICATION AND POLITICS

Lana F. Rakow (ed.). *Women Making Meaning: New Feminist Directions in Communication*. New York/London: Routledge, 1992.

Tania Modleski. *Feminism Without Women: Culture and Criticism in a "Postfeminist" Age*. New York/London: Routledge, 1991.

Origins and Evolution

Feminist work in the field of communication has its roots in the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) - generally considered an inspirational text for the modern women's movement

in North America and Western Europe - contained at its core a critique of the mass media. At a global level the United Nations International Decade for Women (1975-1985) was a catalyst for much activity, and in the field of women and media UNESCO initiated the first international reviews of research and action

(Ceulemans and Fauconnier, 1979; Gallagher, 1981).

So it was a political impetus which shaped, and in large measure continues to shape, the academic agenda of feminist communication critique. The media were held to be deeply implicated in the patterns of discrimination operating against women in society, patterns which through the absence, trivialisation or condemnation of women in media content amounted to their 'symbolic annihilation' (Tuchman, 1978). Over the years this broad critique was to be played out around two central axes: an analysis of structures of power and oppression in which women were systematically subordinated, and a focus on the politics of representation and the production of knowledge in which women were objects rather than active subjects.

These dual concerns were addressed in many early studies of the late 1970s and early 1980s as problems of 'women in the profession' (the absence of) and 'images of women in the media' (the defects of). But they have gradually come together to produce a complex analysis of the structure and process of representation, the apparatus and economic structures which support these, the social relations which produce patriarchal ideology or discourse, and women's place in culture and language (see Treichler and Wartella, 1986).

The contemporary field of feminist communication inquiry thus looks vastly different from the relatively straightforward terrain occupied by 'women and media' studies little more than a decade ago. Leslie Steeves (1987) and Liesbet van Zoonen (1991) both offer detailed critiques of the work which has brought us from there to here, grouping it into basic categories - socialist, radical, liberal, cultural studies - intended to indicate its theoretical and political underpinnings. This provides a useful introduction to a wide literature. But it also demonstrates the highly eclectic nature of feminist communication studies, very few of which fit easily within any of these categories. By way of illustration, my own early work (Gallagher, 1981) which Steeves emphatically describes as 'socialist' is classed as 'liberal' in van Zoonen's schema. In fact insofar as such categories are part of the methodological legacy inherited by feminist scholars from their (male) teachers, it can be argued that they are inherently inappropriate to a description of the feminist enterprise. If, as Teresa de Lauretis argues, feminists are 'to create new spaces of discourse, to rewrite cultural narratives, and to define the terms from another perspective - a view from "elsewhere"' (1987, p. 25), then new categories and frameworks are needed.

The Feminist Turning Point in Communication

It is with these categories and frameworks that Lana Rakow engages in her edited volume *Women*

Making Meaning. Tracing the history and current status of feminist scholarship in communication in the U.S., Rakow contends that in the mid-1980s there was a feminist turning point in communication - a point at which it became impossible for communication scholars to ignore the existence of feminism and its challenge to the field. This challenge calls into question the very manner in which the study of communication has been divided and conceptualised, assigning priorities which have excluded or rendered invisible much of what is important to women. Issues such as male violence, sexuality, pornography, language as control, verbal harassment, the body, beauty, consumerism, 'women's genres' - magazines, soap opera, melodrama and romance - are among the topics brought onto the agenda of communication studies by feminists convinced that the 'personal is political'.

But the trajectory of feminism over the past two decades has been accompanied by deep political and academic fissures, which have greatly modified the original feminist critique of the mass media. Early feminist theory emphasised the commonalities of women's oppression, neglecting profound differences between women. As its exclusionary nature became evident, the collective 'we' of feminism was called into question - above all in the Third World where quite different feminist agendas were called for (Bhasin and Khan, 1986). Moreover the influence of psychoanalytic theory, which contests the existence of any coherent, unified 'identity', led to a mounting challenge on the usefulness of 'woman' or 'gender' as categories. Judith Butler's assertion that 'gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities' (1990, p.3) is echoed - almost as a litany - in most contemporary feminist texts. *Women Making Meaning* goes beyond the mere recital of these differences, exploring *inter alia* the white, middle-class assumptions of feminist theory and research in communication, the cultural biases of communication historians, the ways in which the discourse of racism is internalised by ethnic minority women. In the process, it shows that it is possible to speak of certain commonalities in women's position in relation to culture and communication while also acknowledging the differences and specificities of their experience.

Defining feminist scholarship as an approach which starts from a topic significant to women or to an analysis of gender and works outwards, Rakow suggests that feminism's strength is its ability - indeed its drive - to cross disciplinary boundaries. But this flies in the face of a traditional concern to defend empires and mark off territory within communication studies, and feminist scholarship is still regarded by many as a messy intruder. Even though its 'revolutionary challenge' can no longer be ignored, the revolution is yet to be realized. This North American assessment of the status of contemporary feminist theory - visible, but precarious - is

echoed elsewhere. In British institutions, for example, feminists have struggled against 'tokenism, the "add women and stir" approach, co-option, and marginalisation' to establish and maintain a space from which to analyse the position of women in culture and society (Franklin, Lury and Stacey, 1991, p. 172). And if the past decade has seen an 'astonishing popularization of feminist ideas (which are) regularly articulated at the cultural level, on television and most particularly in women's magazines' it remains to be seen whether these changes are simply cosmetic or part of a substantial transformation in consciousness (Nava, 1992, p. 5).

Male Feminism, Poststructuralism and Postmodernism

The problematic way in which the popular media respond to feminist demands - for example, men's involvement in childrearing as depicted in the hugely successful film *Three Men and a Baby* - is a theme taken up by Tania Modleski in *Feminism Without Women*. She explores two important developments - the movement of men into feminist criticism, and the impact of poststructuralist and postmodern theories. Modleski's title is ironical - an alert to certain trends in contemporary cultural criticism in a 'postfeminist' era which assumes that the goals of feminism have been attained (an assumption vigorously refuted by Modleski) and which finds evidence for this in the rise of male feminism. But Modleski is deeply sceptical. She makes a distinction between male criticism which *contributes* to the feminist project by, for example, analysing male power and hegemony in terms of its effects on the female subject; and male criticism which *appropriates* feminism, purporting to speak 'on behalf' of women or indeed 'as' women and therein employing the techniques of patriarchal panopticism. According to Modleski, his trait is clear in the work of cultural critics like John Fiske who, to take just one example, claims that 'female viewers of (*Magnum, P.I.*) will ... negotiate it towards their interests'. So *Magnum's* rejection of intimacy with any one woman would be seen (by female viewers) 'as a means of maintaining his masculine freedom to serve all women and provide them with the security and justice that their material social position may deny them' (Fiske, 1987, p. 265).

Modleski relates this drift within male criticism - and the complicity of certain strands of feminism - to the influence of poststructuralist theory which holds that the individual subject is 'produced' in language, ideology, or discourse. The humanist notion of identity and subjectivity with its heterosexual imperative (one is always either male or female) is thus radically questioned. Gender and sexual difference are seen as in some sense

arbitrary: at which point, a man can 'be' a woman (at least for the purposes of cultural critique). This position is taken further within postmodernism which rejects the grand theories of modernism (for example, Marxian and Freudian paradigms) as essentialist, falsely totalizing and unsustainable. Postmodernist social and cultural criticism floats free of any universalistic ground or any claim to absolute authority, and becomes 'pragmatic, *ad hoc*, contextual and local' (Fraser and Nicolson, 1990, p. 21). Moreover modernism's hostility to mass culture is challenged by postmodernism, which questions the historical polarisation of 'high' and 'popular' cultural forms.

It is easy to understand the appeal of poststructuralism and postmodernism for feminists. As Tania Modleski puts it, poststructuralism promises the analytical tools with which to start the task of 'unbecoming women' (for in Simone de Beauvoir's classic apothegm one is not *born* a woman, one *becomes* a woman). Postmodernism's renunciation of the 'master discourse' is itself at least partly an effect of the feminist challenge, and in its revalorisation of the 'popular' and its emphasis on the 'contextual' it fits well alongside current tendencies within feminist media criticism. For example Ien Ang and Joke Hermes draw on postmodern theory to question the stability of gender as a category in media consumption. This, they argue, can only be understood in highly particularised contexts which leave behind 'easy categorisation and generalisation'. From such a perspective, postmodern feminism is a 'critical reaction to the normative and moralist absolutism of earlier feminisms' (1991, p. 323).

But if feminists have indeed largely abandoned the totalising explanations pursued in the 1970s, a feminist accommodation with postmodernism raises new problems. Firstly, its relentless emphasis on fragmentation, specificity and difference seems to offer no 'position' - simply a paralysing relativism which threatens to make feminism obsolete. Indeed Ann Kaplan asks whether the appeal of postmodernism to some male theorists could be its offer of 'relief from the challenge of feminist discourse' (1988, p. 39). Secondly, Tania Modleski asks why some feminists have so quickly yielded ground on the issue of 'woman' and 'gender' as categories, while other oppressed groups continue to organise around presumably equally problematic categories such as 'race'. Arguing that the option to theorize themselves out of 'being (or becoming) women' is a luxury unavailable to the vast majority of women in the world, Modleski brings feminism back to its political starting point. The feminist project must indeed strive to demolish the 'death-dealing binary opposition of masculinity and femininity' (Moi, 1985). But as long as these differences continue to construct the here and now of communication and the media, they are essential - in a strategic sense - to feminist analysis and critique.

II. CONTENT, IMAGE, REPRESENTATION

Prabha Krishnan and Anita Dighe. *Affirmation and Denial: Construction of Femininity on Indian Television*. New Delhi/Newbury Park/London: Sage, 1990.

Lorraine Gamman and Margaret Marshment (eds). *The Female Gaze: Women as Viewers of Popular Culture*. London: The Women's Press, 1988.

Steve Craig (ed.). *Men, Masculinity, and the Media*. Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1992.

Feminist Approaches to Media Content

At the heart of feminist cultural politics is a critique of media content and its implication in the construction of gender. The debate has moved on since the content analyses of 'sex-roles and media stereotypes' which typified feminist scholarship of the 1970s in North America and in countries such as Japan, Korea, and the Philippines, where quantitative social science methods were favoured. These studies certainly documented women's exclusion from or silencing in many media forms, and helped to show how media images underscore received notions of 'difference' - for example in behaviour, aspirations, psychological traits and so on - between women and men. But their limitations are now clear enough.

One problem is that the juxtaposition of 'positive' and 'negative' images of women - however vaguely these are defined - entails the adoption of a certain norm against which images can be judged. Consciously or unconsciously, this norm has tended to be defined in typically 'masculine' terms: 'positive' images would show women as autonomous, self-fulfilled, authoritative, successful etc. The result of this oppositional coding is to perpetuate a view of society in which women are defined as the problematic - or deviant - sex. A second problem is that this approach has little to say about the meaning of the images it critiques - how these 'speak' to women, and to men. The tendency in many of these studies to conflate 'images' with 'models' (of identification or behaviour) suggests that human consciousness is a *tabula rasa* on which media images are directly imprinted, ignoring the 'baggage' of knowledge, preferences, predispositions and so on which different audience members bring to their encounters with media content. The early work on media imagery has been severely critiqued in recent accounts (Ang and Hermes, 1991; van Zoonen, 1991). But evaluated in historical context, its contribution is clear. Its disclosure and condemnation of sexism in media content provided a first, essential spring-board. Without it, as Laura Mulvey has said of early feminist film criticism, 'no leap forward could be conceived' (1989, p. 118).

The 'leap forward' in the feminist study of media content which occurred in the 1980s has drawn principally on two strands of scholarship, both influenced by more qualitative European perspectives and methodologies. One is film theory, which uses psychoanalytic, semiotic and

poststructuralist frameworks to explore how the media 'construct' definitions of femininity and masculinity (definitions which are often competing and contradictory); and also how these definitions create specific 'subject positions' with which viewers and readers may identify. This strand focuses on the text itself and the textual mechanisms which, it is argued, invite particular readings, interpretations and identifications. Here the idea that 'images of women' can be assessed or judged in terms of how they 'reflect' or 'distort' reality gives way to an approach which sees the media as deeply implicated in the 'definition' of reality itself and in the 'representation' of women. The notion of representation is very different from that of reflection. To quote Stuart Hall, 'it implies the active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping: not merely the transmitting of an already-existing meaning, but the more active labour of *making things mean*' (1982, p. 64; emphasis in original).

This leads to the second strand on which recent feminist media criticism has drawn: cultural studies, with its focus on the construction of 'meanings' as part of a set of social and power relations - a structure which is never static, being the site of constant contestation and struggle. Here the emphasis shifts from the text to the context of its reception, a context in which the audience may play an active part in producing textual meanings. In his influential essay 'Encoding/Decoding' Stuart Hall argues that there is 'no necessary correspondence' between the television message as it is 'encoded' by the producer and as it is 'decoded' by the viewer: the latter may take up one of several hypothetical positions - identified by Hall as dominant-hegemonic, negotiated, and oppositional - in decoding the message and its meaning. Hall's thesis heralded a 'new and exciting phase in so-called audience research, of a quite new kind' (1980, p. 131), and one to which many scholars have turned as part of an effort to understand why apparently regressive media content holds a strong appeal for large numbers of women, including feminists.

Femininity as Ideology

In *Affirmation and Denial* Prabha Krishnan and Anita Dighe straddle various methodological approaches in their account of the construction of femininity in Indian television. Content analysis provides a quantitative starting point, painting a detailed picture of the gendered 'who's who' inscribed in programme

content. In corroborating the findings of many studies from North America and Western Europe, the quantitative results alone raise important issues. For Indian television is among the least 'contaminated' by the global media market: imported programmes account for only 8%-10% of total output (UNESCO, 1989, pp. 146-148). So the pattern which 'affirms' women's subordination and 'denies' their personhood is one which appears to be culturally indigenous, while also confirming characteristics found in very different parts of the world (p. 112). What then can account for the apparent cross-cultural stability in this pattern of affirmation and denial? The colonial experience, the elitist education of media professionals - these may be significant. But the authors argue that specifically Indian traditions - cultural, religious, political - come together in a particular configuration with (state-controlled) television to produce or reproduce ideological patterns. Moreover, they contend that television's limited representation of women is not merely an effect or *result* of this configuration, but is actually part and parcel of a 'hegemonial process' which supports 'the marginalisation of women and the disprivileged' (p. 123).

This argument is developed with reference to the Indian political climate of 1988-1989 when in the context of proliferating communal (Hindu-Muslim) strife, attempts were made to tighten control of the media - including the press, which has historically enjoyed relative freedom in India. In this period serials based on the traditional *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* epics were telecast, and each commanded a massive audience following. Pointing out that these epics are regarded as *dharma shastras* ('sources of tradition and guides to right conduct'), the authors go on to analyse the women in the serialised epics. Although some play important roles, the women 'are constructed as symbols of culture and tradition' (p. 121) - both epics essentially being records of patriarchal valour. These mythic representations are played out against a background of real, daily communal strife in which the invocation of male virility is justified by an alleged need to 'protect' women from violation. Thus in two inter-related contexts - the mythic world of the serialised epics, and the real world of politics - women's symbolic function is to 'conserve' male authority and simultaneously to 'preserve' traditional cultural values. In a 'confluence of political expediency, religious fundamentalism and cultural confusion' (p. 123), conclude Krishnan and Dighe, the stated goal of gender justice in Indian society is threatened with subversion.

The focus of this analysis - which attempts to link the symbolic domain and the political environment through an account of women's place in each - is exceptional in current feminist media criticism. In some respects reminiscent of Michèle Mattelart's

provocative studies of the ideological 'work' ascribed to women through both media and political forces in the Chilean coup of 1973 (see Mattelart, 1986), it adopts the kind of holistic framework which much recent feminist analysis has renounced in favour of a more particularistic approach.

Pleasure and the Female Gaze

In her powerful essay 'Visual Pleasure and the Narrative Cinema' (first published in 1975; see Mulvey 1989, pp. 14-26), Laura Mulvey concluded that in-built patterns of pleasure and identification in the mainstream narrative film impose masculinity as a 'point of view'. Briefly summarised, Mulvey's psychoanalytic critique turns on the notion of a filmic structure of male 'looking' and female 'to-be-looked-at-ness' which replicates the structure of unequal power relations between women and men. Two particular aspects of Mulvey's argument have preoccupied feminists ever since: first, her idea that 'the determining male gaze' invites even the female spectator to identify with masculine pleasure and its objectification of the female; second, her call for the analysis and 'destruction of pleasure', to force a break with 'outworn or oppressive forms' (p. 16).

Starting from a critique of Mulvey, the contributors to *The Female Gaze*, adopt a quite different premise: given the importance of popular culture, the critic is mistaken in always positioning herself outside it. On the contrary, it is 'crucial to explore the possibilities and pitfalls of intervention in popular forms in order to find ways of making feminist meanings a part of our pleasures' (p. 2). From this perspective the notion of 'pleasure' is to be taken for granted, not challenged. The concern for feminists is rather to 'convert' commonsense meanings and pleasures into 'good sense'. The authors are optimistic, arguing that mass entertainment forms do 'allow space for disturbances of dominant meanings... and thus perhaps in commonsense notions about women' (p. 4). In other words, the 'male gaze' may be porous, admitting the prospect of a distinctly 'female gaze'.

The contributors address this possibility in various ways, but a particular vision of female power is central to many of the essays. Belinda Budge considers the character of Alexis Carrington (played by Joan Collins) in *Dynasty* as someone who 'has seized on those aspects of a woman's life which normally render her powerless and turned them into weapons' (p. 107). Margaret Marshment argues that the 'women of substance' in fictional best-sellers - by Barbara Bradford Taylor, Shirley Conran, Judith Krantz - 'take conventional femininity and re-articulate it to a kind of power that has to be taken seriously' (p. 38). In her discussion of Madonna's appeal to young women, Shelagh Young contends that in confidently returning the fetishist's gaze while wearing his favourite sexual accessories, Madonna parodies the classic pornographic peepshow. This

'reveals the sophistication of a new young female audience that knows the difference between feeling powerful and feeling powerless' (p. 184).

Andrea Stuart's review of Steven Spielberg's film *The Color Purple* (based on the novel by Alice Walker) is more equivocal. Although she concludes that the film has 'a powerful anti-sexist message in its visual and emotional marginalisation of men' (p. 74), Stuart concedes that Spielberg 'considerably weakened' Walker's message by reinforcing the stereotype of conventional beauty as the source of women's power. This raises an issue which the volume generally tends to evade: the extent to which feminist themes become deradicalised in popular culture. Consequently, at times the optimistic thesis of the authors is strained. As for example, in the discussion of the advertising industry's widespread appropriation of the term 'liberation': 'if [it] talks about "liberation", in whatever context, liberation is still what it is talking about, not confinement' (p. 4). But liberation from what, to do what? Todd Gitlin has pointed to the tendency in current media theory and criticism to use the 'language of opposition' as if popular culture can be equated with political activity. 'What kind of opposition is this' asks Gitlin; 'does it engage in politics in the strict sense... or does it simply make the most of consumption?' (1991, p. 336). Certainly, the link between powerful images and political power which is assumed in many essays in *The Female Gaze* calls for deeper exploration.

As conceived by most of the authors in this volume, the 'female gaze' is essentially a depoliticised gaze. It is rooted in a view of popular cultural forms as 'polysemic', offering a multiplicity of meanings, rather than as vehicles of a single (masculine) point of view, as theorised by Mulvey. If a female gaze exists, therefore, 'it does not simply replicate a monolithic and masculinised stare, but instead involves a whole variety of looks and glances - an interplay of possibilities... Our ways of seeing are myriad, our pleasures plural' (p. 59). Among these may be the pleasure of looking at men in new ways. This theme is taken up by Suzanne Moore in her discussion of recent representations of the 'New Man' in films and advertisements. If explicitly sexual representations of men have always troubled dominant ideas of masculinity (because male power is so tied to 'looking' rather than being looked at), 'the striking thing about contemporary images of men is that at least some of them seem to acknowledge and even embrace a passivity that was once symbolically outlawed' (p. 54). But whose 'pleasure' is paramount here? As Moore acknowledges, these representations also signal a 'coming out' of male narcissism. In a recent anthology on changing definitions of masculinity, Frank Mort notes that in the new images 'many of the traditional codes of masculinity are still in place. The newly sexualised male body can turn out to be

nothing more than the old form of male exhibitionism' (1988, p. 222). As a result, Mort concludes, these texts are not necessarily progressive for women.

Exploring Masculinity

Most analyses within the 'gender and media' framework have focused on women. In *Men, Masculinity and the Media* the emphasis shifts to men. Six of the fifteen essays are authored or co-authored by women, but the male-authored contributions are of special interest in mapping out areas of male concern and foregrounding male interpretations. Steve Craig in his introduction points out that 'most men's studies research seeks to extend and expand the insights into gender relationships offered by feminist thought' (p. 2). In fact, the issue of gender relationships is rarely taken up in these essays, whose focus is indeed 'masculinity'. That might explain why most of these authors rely much more heavily on male rather than female writings on gender. On the other hand, feminist insights do help to inspire some of the most stimulating contributions.

Stan Denski and David Sholle examine masculinity as represented in 'glam' heavy metal rock groups. Glam metal takes up styles that imply female or homosexual identity, while still projecting an aggressive masculinity: 'on the back cover of Hurricane's *Slave to Thrill* (an album whose front cover features a naked woman strapped into a frightening-looking machine), the band members appear with teased hair, exposed belly buttons, low-slung pants, and jewelry' (p. 45). 'How is it' ask the authors 'that an adolescent heterosexual male audience identifies with performers who appear to take up the stylistic marks of the feminine? How is it that young heterosexual female audiences fantasize over aggressive males in feminine clothes?' (pp. 45-6). Denski and Sholle start from the 'beyond gender' Foucauldian framework of feminists like Judith Butler, who has argued that the insubstantiality of gender as a category is revealed in performances such as drag, which in parodying gender also subverts it (1990, pp. 137-138). But based on their ethnographic studies of musicians and music audiences, the authors conclude that the notion of glam metal as subversive discourse is untenable. To explain its contradictory gender representations they turn instead to the psychoanalytic perspective of Ann Kaplan, drawing on her study of MTV (1987) to argue that glam metal is 'a response to feminine power. By taking the feminine into itself, [it] disavows the need for women' (p. 55). In this way, its 'appropriation of feminine gender signs [is] a thinly disguised reproduction of traditional masculine roles of power and domination' (p. 59).

The issue of the 'feminization' of masculinity in contemporary popular culture is taken up by other contributors. Robert Hanke, in a useful discussion of prime-time television in the United States, concludes that the 'new view of manhood' offered by these shows

is part of a cultural process in which 'hegemonic masculinity' reasserts itself 'through a variety of representational strategies, including images of feminized masculinity and the construction of negative symbols of masculinity, in order to win the consent of male and female viewers' (p. 196). In a different context, Christopher Newfield has argued that male power is consolidated through cycles of crisis and resolution, in which female power is ultimately incorporated: 'Hegemonic patriarchy can survive without male assertion, but not without feminization: only feminization enables men... to occupy both sides of a question. Whereas tyranny depends on male supremacy, liberal hegemony or "consensus" depends on male femininity' (quoted in Modleski, 1991, p. 7). Thus Hanke rejects the 'progressive fallacy' which interprets changing male and female television images as the displacement of dominant gender ideologies (p. 197).

Robert Hanke's chapter is one of the few which engages directly with the question of male power. Although cited as a dominant concern of the collection in Michael Kimmel's Foreword, the issue of power is side-stepped by most of the male authors. This is at its most obvious in the essays by Lance Strate and Ralph Donald. Strate's analysis of the representation of masculinity in beer commercials concludes that this revolves around the theme of 'challenge' which, though it can be criticised as uni-dimensional and anachronistic, does bring some redeeming features to the myth of masculinity in that 'facing challenges and taking risks are valuable activities in many contexts' (p. 92). In his study of Hollywood war films, Donald regards the male fixation with 'winning' as 'the most serious and most potentially dangerous of all the absurd notions that Americans and their war films stuff into the psyches of their male young' (p. 136). Both these essays speak from a perspective curiously untouched by fe-

minist insight. For example, Judith Williamson's analysis of the Harp lager advertisement (1986, pp. 103-105) raises broader questions about the representation of masculinity - differentiated from femininity as part of a *political* construct - than those of male challenge, risk and mastery. Tania Modleski's critique of many of the war films discussed by Donald leads her to a much more radical conclusion about the 'male fixation with winning'. If Donald sees women in war films as 'the "out-group", a separate identity men find distracting to the task at hand, but a commodity to think, dream and make plans about' (p. 129), Modleski argues that hostility towards women is central to the warrior mentality. Male sexual domination and wartime aggression, she contends, are intertwined in a 'relationship which has to do with the need to conquer femininity both within and without' (1991, p. 63).

At issue here is not whether these feminist insights are 'better' or 'more correct'. It is that if, as Steve Craig (quoting Michael Kimmel) suggests, 'men's studies seeks to... complete the radically redrawn portrait of gender that women's studies have begun' (p. 2), it would seem useful to take the work generated within the framework of women's studies as a point of departure. Many feminists would, of course, want to question the assumptions behind men's mission to 'complete' what women have 'begun'. And certainly the uses to which feminist work is put in some of these essays will be hotly contested. A quite different question is whether a concentration on media representations of masculinity may result in the kind of conceptual *impasse* that stunted many early studies of women and media. As some of the most thought-provoking essays in *Men, Masculinity and the Media* make clear, it is to a more rounded analysis of the *articulation* of feminine and masculine representations in media content that male scholars can make a particular contribution.

III. AUDIENCE, RECEPTION, CONSUMPTION

Mary Ellen Brown (ed.). *Television and Women's Culture: the Politics of the Popular*. London/Newbury Park/New Delhi: Sage, 1990.

Ros Ballaster, Margaret Beetham, Elizabeth Frazer and Sandra Hebron. *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine*. London: Macmillan, 1991.

Ann Gray. *Video Playtime: the Gendering of a Leisure Technology*. London: Comedia/Routledge, 1992.

Mass Culture and Women's Culture

In an intriguing essay 'Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other', Andreas Huyssen gives a new twist to the 'high culture-mass culture' debate. His argument is that women's historical exclusion from the realm of 'high art' took on new connotations in late nineteenth century Europe. The age of the industrial revolution and cultural modernisation, notes Huyssen, also coincided with the first major women's movement. 'The masses' of nascent

socialism who were rattling at the gate of modern civilisation, were also women knocking at the gate of a male dominated culture. Huyssen shows how turn-of-the-century political, psychological and aesthetic discourse consistently gendered mass culture and the masses as feminine, and thus inferior. This idea retained a purchase in much later theories of mass culture - as, for example, when Adorno and Horkheimer conjure up the fairy tale evil queen to claim that 'mass culture, in her mirror, is always the

most beautiful in the land' (quoted in Huyssens, 1986, p. 192).

The dichotomy which gendered mass culture as feminine and inferior has strongly patterned media criticism and analysis until very recently and, not coincidentally, one of the most remarkable developments in feminist media criticism over the past decade has been its 'reclamation' of the popular media of mass entertainment. Previously denigrated forms such as romance, soap opera, melodrama and popular music have become legitimate objects of critical analysis. Given the history of the high culture/mass culture debate, which cast the consumers of mass entertainment as prey to the narcotising effects of the 'consciousness industry', it is not surprising that much of this recent analysis has turned on an effort to understand how popular texts are actually 'read' or received by audiences.

Activating the Audience

This indeed is the basic concern of the contributors to *Television and Women's Culture*: how women use and 'make meanings' from popular television texts. In its goal to demonstrate how women purposefully use television in their lives, and the pleasures they gain from viewing and talking about television, the book can be seen as a welcome relief from earlier theories of the female viewer as passive 'victim'. These authors subscribe to the notion of the 'active audience', arguing that popular texts may yield 'resistant' or even 'subversive' readings which women can use to empower themselves. This is an appealing thesis, though not without problems.

Mary Ellen Brown lays out the premises in her introductory chapter, adopting a view of television proposed by John Fiske and John Hartley: the television message is forced by its own constraints to accord a 'freedom of perception to all its viewers' (1978, p. 16). In other words, 'television is inherently polysemic. This view, means that television contains within it the contradictions which enable viewers to understand the play of ideology' (p. 18). Within this very broad interpretation of 'polysemy', Brown and her collaborators set out to show how women can work creatively within the confines of the ideologically structured television message. If the polysemic text allows women to 'understand the play of ideology' then we may find 'a feminine way of speaking that acknowledges subordination and yet empowers women' (p. 22).

The majority of essays in fact present the authors' own 'readings' of television. Often these are extremely illuminating. Ien Ang explores female viewers' fascination with the 'weak' heroine Sue Ellen in *Dallas*, attributing this to the power of fantasy and fiction to offer us the 'imaginary occupation of other subject positions which are outside the scope of our everyday social and cultural identities' (p. 84). For Ang, the emergence of the feminist movement has compounded women's diffi-

cult task of 'marking out the boundaries between the feminine and the unfeminine'. In real life 'it is often not easy to know what it means to be a "true" woman... In fantasy and fiction, however, there is no punishment for whatever identity one takes up, no matter how headstrong or destructive: there will be no retribution, no defeat will ensue' (p. 86). Though Ang's post-structuralist feminist interpretation is 'trying to explain what it means for women to identify with a melodramatic fictional character' (p. 87, emphasis added), she is careful to stress that her interpretation needs further contextualisation and refinement.

Other contributors are less hesitant. Danae Clark, in her analysis of the female detective series *Cagney & Lacey*, challenges Laura Mulvey's theory that the female is the object of a 'gaze' which is always 'male' (see Section II). Clark amply illustrates her argument with reference to the strategies of the show - for example, by virtue of their centrality and authority the female characters (Cagney and Lacey) define the text's 'point of view'; scenes that would objectify women are avoided; there is considerable emphasis on sound as opposed to visual imagery, and so on. Clark argues that the show's mechanisms invite certain viewer identifications and interpretations, and contends that these textual 'invitations' intermesh with actual 'reading practices', in a relationship which 'most closely resembles the framework and goals of feminist consciousness-raising groups in the sense that women are encouraged to join in the discussion of women's issues and find answers that will empower them' (p. 123).

This tendency to speak for and 'empower' the imaginary viewer is most evident in the essay by John Fiske. In his view, feminist theories of how the interests of the dominant are served by the systems they control 'need to be mitigated, if not contradicted, by studies focusing on how the subordinate make use of these systems' (p. 135). This he describes as 'the art of making do, an art at which women excel... and from whom other subordinated groups have much to learn' (p. 141). Fiske offers various 'oppositional' readings of popular quiz shows, claiming that this genre is 'liberating' for women in that it recognises their skills as shoppers, allows them to be 'noisy' in public, symbolically liberates them from their economic constraints 'and in so doing liberates them from their husbands' economic power' (p. 137), and so on. These oppositional readings are also available to women, says Fiske: 'Women are not cultural dopes. They are not complicit in, nor do they find pleasure in, their subordination under patriarchy... I have made oppositional readings of quiz shows which can be made by any among the subordinate against the thrust of dominant ideology and social power' (p. 140). The quiz show does of course embody discourses of subordination for women - consumerism, romance, the family - he concludes. But these can be subverted, 'making the discourses of subordination into ones of

empowerment for the subordinate' (p. 143).

The voices of these critics, and the tenor of their 'readings', contrast in various ways with those of the viewers whose opinions - as interviewees or group discussants - are reported in a few of the essays. At times the contrast is rooted in material reality. Dorothy Hobson's study of how women talk about television in the workplace is instructive in this respect. Among the women described by Hobson's informant, Jacqui, are 'little Tracey, who gets a black eye from her boyfriend every 5 weeks or whatever' (p. 62) and 'Vicky, who... lived in this sort of domestic hell... She used to say she loved all the soap operas... She used to say, "Brian hates them and if I'm watching them... he turns the telly off and I'm not allowed to watch them, I have to go and get his tea"' (pp. 64-5). Here the 'art of making do' hardly touches the 'thrust of dominant ideology and social power'. The second type of contrast which emerges from these 'outside' voices is one of socio-cultural difference. This division is clear in Andrea Press's analysis of reactions to *Dynasty*, where working-class and middle-class women express their preferences in quite distinct terms. If the 'typical' working-class response is based in realism, devoid of irony or critique: 'Krystle's just wonderful! and Alexis is just... just horrid! She's just a mean lady!... What can I say?' (p. 171); the 'typical' middle-class reaction is more parodic and distanced: 'Alexis (is) fun, you know, she's amusing. She's like... they make her out to be this real evil woman. But she's, you know, she's real independent... I really can't stand what's-her-name... Linda Evans, Krystle... ugh! She is such a bad actress and just really... She's real one-dimensional' (p. 172). The women in Press's study respond in complex ways to the ideologies of femininity in *Dynasty*. But as these extracts reveal, the higher 'cultural capital' of the middle-class viewer situates her closer to - though still quite far from - that of the academic 'soap-watcher'.

The Politics of Pleasure

Television and Women's Culture does not aim to provide a developed theory of society within which to politically situate the proposed readings. In her concluding chapter Mary Ellen Brown explicitly renounces any claim to 'setting out agendas for changing the representation of women on television'. Her concern is to theorise women's 'political use of pleasure' by focusing on 'what women do with what is at hand' (p. 202). Since for women politics often takes place in the context of everyday life, it is here that we must look for signs of resistance and subversion - in feminine discourse and women's genres.

Yet the so-called 'women's genres' of television are by and large shaped by men, not merely in their location within male-directed institutions, but in

their actual conceptualisation. Even in the case of *Cagney & Lacey*, which Julia D'Acci's analysis (Section IV) shows did provide a forum for many women writers and producers, men scripted or co-scripted over half the programmes. So the television messages of women's genres are, as Stuart Hall puts it, 'structured in dominance' (1980, p. 134). In this sense women's empowerment through the 'politics of the popular' may be no more than the power of Sue Ellen in *Dallas* whose 'small victories make her feel strong at times. But they... will never allow her to break out of her cage' (pp. 81-2).

The authors of *Women's Worlds* are also centrally concerned with the issue of women's pleasure - specifically the pleasure women gain from that quintessential 'women's genre', the women's magazine in Britain. Though they share many of the theoretical perspectives which inform *Television and Women's Culture*, their analysis places particular emphasis on the notion of ideology. This, they argue, has the advantage of being able to address the relations between different kinds of power - discursive, economic and social. Their aim is to get beyond the text itself, and beyond the individual reader, to tackle broader aspects of the 'meaning' of pleasure. 'It may be that our engagement with texts is, as psychoanalysis predicts and describes, the exercise of unconscious desires and drives, but, if this is the case, we need a social account, an account of economic circumstance, political power, cultural hegemony, to explain why' (p. 42). The analysis is based on their own 'readings' of women's magazines from the eighteenth century to the present day. In the case of contemporary magazines, they also draw on discussions with four separate groups of women - university students, old-age pensioners, youth workers, and polytechnic students (thirty-one women in all).

Like the viewers in Andrea Press's study of *Dynasty*, these women produced very different types of 'reading'. For example, the youth workers used 'a theoretical vocabulary of stereotypes' with which to criticise the magazines, as in: '[they] reinforce a lot of women stereotypes'; 'it's set up to make women look inadequate'; 'they're a strong reinforcing agency aren't they?'. The students used a different kind of language and identified different areas of conflict and criticism, such as: 'they teach you to see yourself as an object'; 'they're turning you into proto-consumers' (p. 134). The authors comment on these distinct terminologies, relating them to the different educational and cultural contexts of the students and youth workers. Both these groups maintained a critical and reflexive tone, being 'eager to "defend" or "explain" their magazine reading and the pleasures it extends to them' (*ibid.*). In contrast, the pensioners' discussion lacked this sort of reflexiveness, making few attempts to analyse their pleasures. 'It may be', say the authors, 'that they do not consider that reading magazines is an activity that requires

explanation, whereas the others, aware that in feminist and critical circles it may be disapproved of, adopt a more defensive position' (p. 135). *Women's Worlds* makes a conscious effort to highlight the problems surrounding the quest for the 'authentic' audience voice. Just as women's magazines frequently use the voice of 'real people' to break the dominance of editorial authority only to confirm it, they suggest that their own use of the reader's voice has a similar function - 'adding authenticity and interest, breaking our authorial dominance, but not vitiating or undermining our project' (pp. 136-7).

This rejection of 'authenticity' extends to their analysis of the pleasures of women's magazines. All pleasure is socially constructed. Women's magazines do not, of course, acknowledge the socially constructed nature of pleasure. Although women's pleasure is represented as natural, homogeneous and unified by the dominant editorial *voice* of the magazine, the *text* offers the pleasure of difference and multiplicity, carrying quite contradictory discourses of femininity simultaneously. But despite its seemingly heterogeneous and open-ended form, certain discourses - feminist, socialist, critical - are glaringly absent. The authors conclude that the magazines 'do render under analysis what we might term a "resisting reading", exposing the ideological and social contradictions that problematise the business of "becoming female" for women'. But although 'their heterogeneous form exposes the paradoxical nature of constructions of female identity... the "preferred" reading does not call women readers' attention to such paradoxes. Rather, they are encouraged to consume each element of the magazine as a separate entity. Few women, as we have noted, read their magazines from cover to cover, beginning to end' (p. 176).

The Gendering of Cultural Power

Whatever their limitations, women's magazines have throughout their history offered readers a privileged space within which to explore the female self. The magazine is also an expression of shared culture, in which women exchange magazines on a regular and ritualistic basis. As one of the youth workers in *Women's Worlds* says: 'When I go and see my mum she's got, you know, on a circuit, like she buys one and... her neighbour buys one, and they swap over and then it goes to someone else' (p. 163). In this sense, the magazine does indeed seem to function as 'a world of women's own' where their tastes and preferences are uncontested. Other spheres of leisure represent altogether different sites of struggle for supremacy, and it is to these that Ann Gray turns in *Video Playtime*.

Her focus is on the domestic video cassette recorder as a piece of entertainment technology: how women use it, and what they think about it. Gray carried out loosely structured, open-ended conversational

interviews with thirty women in their own homes in the north of England. She argues that pre-existing, gendered domestic structures and familial ideology quickly become encoded in the new entertainment equipment - in terms of both physical use and choice of software - as it enters the household. For example the 'territories' marked out in the domestic division of labour - the 'pink' kitchen, the 'blue' garage - are further entrenched through ideologies of technical competence. The colour-coding of VCR operating modes follows a gendered pattern: the 'record', 'rewind' and 'play' modes are generally lilac, but the timer switch is nearly always blue. The women in her study depended on their male partners or children to set the timer for them. The blueness of the timer is exceeded only by the deep indigo of the remote control which, in all cases, was held by the male partner.

Gray finds that the cultural preferences and competencies which women bring to their use of the VCR are determined primarily by educational level which, in turn, is closely associated with class. The 'educated' women were keen to distance themselves from soap opera, particularly American products. At first glance then, it seems that access to cultural capital through education produces an alliance of male/female preferences for 'quality' texts while also placing women in the 'educated' group in alliance with men in the lower education group in their shared dislike for soap opera. But although the findings replicate those of David Morley's *Family Television* (1986), Gray argues that these apparent alliances should not be taken at face value. The men in Morley's study claimed to dislike fiction in general - and soap opera in particular - regarding it as a 'feminized' genre. The 'educated' women in Gray's sample dislike soap opera not primarily because it is a 'female genre', but because it is perceived as having low cultural capital. Gray concludes that both want to distance themselves from the product because it challenges an important element of their subjectivity.

Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's essay 'The Aristocracy of Culture', Gray analyses her findings in a gender-class framework. The 'educated women' have achieved what Bourdieu calls an 'aesthetic disposition' based on a position of distanced objectivity with regard to cultural products. But in voicing fears that 'addiction' to soap opera might 'take over your life' these women indicate a tension in the 'self-control' essential to the aesthetic disposition as outlined by Bourdieu. Women in the less educated category, who see abandonment as an essential part of pleasure, espouse what Bourdieu describes as the 'popular aesthetic' - 'the desire to enter into the game, identifying with the characters' joys and sufferings' (1980, p. 238) - an aesthetic which Bourdieu equates with the working class. However, as Gray points out, the working class male is contradictory in that his 'masculine preferences' lead him to disassociate with these pleasures. At the same time, his preferences

give him cultural power over his female partner. Among the less educated families in Gray's study, the male-preferred genres - considered by both women and men to be of a 'higher order' - always took priority for shared viewing. This leads to tensions for the woman who adopts the 'popular aes-

thetic', since her preferences carry low cultural value both publicly and domestically. In this scenario, the least contradictory subject is the educated/middle class male whose aesthetic disposition is at one with his masculine subjectivity and his sense of self-control.

IV. PRODUCTION OF MEDIA CONTENT: MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Margaret Gallagher (ed.). *Women and Media Decision-making: the Invisible Barriers*. Paris: UNESCO, 1987.

Pamela Creedon (ed.). *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values*. Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1989.

Michelle Citron. 'Women's Film Production: Going Mainstream'. In E. Deidre Pribham (ed.), *Female Spectators: Looking at Film and Television*. London/New York: Verso, 1988, 3, pp. 45-63.

Helen Baehr and Gillian Dyer (eds). *Boxed In: Women and Television*. New York and London: Pandora, 1987.

Power and the Producer

The content-producer relationship has been always a central - though often inferred - issue in feminist media criticism. If early analyses tended to focus on media content, the limitations of that content were often linked to women's under-representation and lack of power in media organisations. It was tempting to predict - as the earliest studies sometimes did - that more women, in positions of greater authority, within the media workforce would lead to a change in media output. The simple optimism of this prognosis was clear from the outset. Institutional policies, professional values, advertisers' demands - all rooted in a male-dominated culture - are among the most obvious constraints on women working in media organisations. Moreover the assumption that women would or could change media content begged crucial questions about the nature of women's cultural practice.

Initial characterisations of the struggle for more 'positive' or 'realistic' images of women came to be seen as inadequate. Demanding the replacement of one female role-model by another - stronger and more independent - threatened to merely 'reproduce the conventions established by male-dominated exploitative production with a new twist' (Mulvey, 1989, p. 115). Consensus on what constituted 'the real' also proved elusive. In effect, as Charlotte Brunson (1987) puts it; 'to call for more realistic images of women is to engage in the struggle to define what is meant by "realistic", rather than to offer easily available "alternative" images' (p. 149). And so the notion that female professionals in the media could (and should) 'change' content has given way to a more complex concern with the language of representation, and an effort to identify a specific women's perspective or aesthetic which could radically transform - rather than simply adapt to - discriminatory structures and practices in the media industries.

Limiting Women's Influence

Despite its pivotal importance, the relationship between producer and content remains the most under-researched element within feminist media critique. At a basic level, reliable statistics on gender patterns in media employment are scarce - particularly outside Western Europe and North America. The studies in *Women and Media Decision-making* - from Ecuador, Egypt, India, Nigeria and Canada - begin to fill this data gap. Each contains a statistical profile of the broadcast workforce, and the emerging picture - even if incomplete - is striking in terms of the similarities it depicts across countries and media systems. The almost complete absence of women from senior management, and from technical jobs; their presence in spheres such as presentation, and in certain production areas (educational and children's programmes) rather than others (news and current affairs): such findings suggest that the 'man's world' of the media is a recognisable phenomenon around the globe. In their analyses of women's access to media management posts, the five studies again demonstrate considerable consistency. An 'egalitarian gloss' within each media organisation hides a whole battery of attitudes, beliefs and organisational procedures which amount to indirect discrimination. Thus the barriers facing women are rarely overt, but nonetheless present - invisible threads supporting a strict gender hierarchy in media production and policy-making.

These barriers are viewed from a North American angle in *Women in Mass Communication*. Since 1977 the majority of students in American schools of journalism and mass communication have been female, and the book documents the gradual entry of women into the media professions. Problems persist: women earn less than men, and a 'glass ceiling' keeps them from the top jobs. Also disturbing is the finding that the influx of women into the communication industry appears to coincide with an overall decline in salaries and status of media professionals. However,

while this trend is addressed by several of the authors, none is able to show cause and effect. Nonetheless as Pamela Creedon points out, mass media headlines such as 'Is the Field Being Hurt by Too Many Women?', and repeated use of terms like 'pink collar ghetto' have helped to *interpret* the trend in a particular way. Creedon identifies this as a cultural tactic of 'undercutting' which attempts to disempower women by reinforcing their minority status even as they begin to constitute a numerical majority (p. 17).

Describing the process of undercutting as 'the tactic of terror', George Gerbner has argued that in media content disempowered groups such as women are accepted into the ranks of power 'provided they act on behalf of the rules designed to protect the interest of majority groups' (1978, p. 50). Within this framework, the determination of some female professionals to support dominant values and definitions is explicable. Maureen Beasley's essay in the Creedon collection recounts that certain senior media women reacted with 'seething anger' to her research which suggested that the nature of news might change if women predominated in newsrooms. In the words of one: 'News is news; it has no sex' (p. 190). This assumption that the standards of the dominant system are somehow a primordial workplace norm is of course strongly challenged in much contemporary feminist work. Accordingly Creedon stresses the need to 're-vision' the teaching of communication so that in the future women entering the communication industry will be encouraged to question its values. But the studies in her volume indicate few signs of significant change in media content or structure so far.

The Politics of Marginality

One reaction to the mass media's oppressive representation of women has been the formation of independent feminist media, and in *Women and Mass Communication* the history and characteristics of these are examined by Marilyn Crafton Smith. Standing outside the mainstream, they have offered an ongoing critique of the mass media while taking up issues usually ignored. Often shortlived, under constant financial strain, these media play a crucial role in feminist politics around the world. Part of a global networking, consciousness-raising and knowledge creation project, they have enabled women to communicate through their own words and images. If print and publishing have been the most widely used formats, other media such as music, radio, video and film have also been important.

A vexed question for the feminist media, however, is the issue of 'marginality'. This is central to Michelle Citron's thought-provoking analysis. An American feminist film-maker, Citron argues that for fifteen years feminists have made films which assumed a 'privileged communication' with the

audience: the screening of an avant-garde or documentary film would be followed by a dialogue between the audience and the film-maker or her surrogate (a teacher, or group leader). This was possible in the social/political climate of the 1970s, when funding could be found for at least limited independent distribution and exhibition. But the political and economic context has changed, and women must consider genres such as mainstream narrative which allow for an immediate relationship between film and audience. In taking this position, Citron confronts an influential body of feminist film theory which has developed around a powerful critique of narrative realism. In narrative fiction, according to critics like Laura Mulvey, the image of women occupies a central place in the 'manipulation of visual pleasure' which helps to sustain an oppressive patriarchal order (1989, p. 16).

But, Citron argues, the shifting historical moment means that 'women entering into the production of mainstream narrative films are film-makers following their audience' (p. 55). This shift from the marginal to the mainstream means exchanging 'control' (over a film which could be seen by only a small audience) for 'power' (to reach hundreds of thousands of women). While accepting that this power is double-edged, Citron believes that it is possible 'to work within the constraints of a popular genre and subvert it in small but significant ways by offering a point of view informed by feminist awareness' (p. 61). The examples she cites, while problematic in their admission of compromises that some feminists would find unacceptable, support her view that 'the potential for subversion in a mainstream context nevertheless does exist' (*ibid.*).

Mainstream Negotiations

The extent to which a 'feminist awareness' can be used to negotiate new representations of women in the mainstream media is explored further by a number of contributors to *Boxed In: Women and Television*. For example, Jill Hyem describes her experience as co-writer of *Tenko*, a series centred on a group of British women interned in Singapore during the Second World War. Initially turned down by the male producer to whom it was offered on the grounds that 'I couldn't stand the thought of working with all those neurotic women' (p. 153), *Tenko* ran for three series, was nominated for most major television awards, and sold widely around the world. If the first triumph was to gain acceptance for a format whose central characters were middle-aged women, subsequent skirmishes arose from the fact that the writers (both women) 'saw things from a different perspective than the men with whom we were working'. This led to problems 'over apparently small things, but ones which together could have had a major effect on the style and content of the series' (p. 155). Hyem relates the compromises made, the battles lost and won, in

her attempt to raise issues such as lesbianism and abortion in the programme.

If Hyem defines her struggle as one against the 'unconscious male censorship' of individual colleagues, Julia D'Acci's fascinating analysis of the police detective series *Cagney and Lacey* explores the institutional context of production. She shows how the writers - and to some extent also the actresses - engaged in a continuous struggle to reconcile treatment of feminist concerns with the limits imposed by commercial network television. One strategy was to develop 'promotable' or 'exploitable' stories which literally 'cashed in on' issues of great complexity for women - such as rape, wife-beating, incest, child molestation, pregnancy among unmarried women, breast cancer, abortion. But the positive audience reaction to the series' treatment of these issues 'makes the complex, contradictory character of this practice clear' (p. 219). Despite its limited political vision - which reduced women's liberation to a matter of equal roles and equal jobs - D'Acci concludes that over its troubled history *Cagney and Lacey* helped 'to test the limits and define the conditions of possibility for the representation of "woman" on television' (p. 223).

Some critics remain sceptical of such engagement with the mainstream, regarding its apparent successes as no more than a 'modest allotment of institutional legitimation... bought at the price of reducing the contradictory complexity [of feminism] to simpler and more acceptable ideas already existing in the dominant culture' (De Lauretis, 1987, p. 138). Of necessity, therefore, the concept of 'incorporation' remains fundamental to feminist debate and theorising. But if entering the mainstream means to take risks, contends Michelle Citron, 'these are risks we need now to take. We will lose a certain amount of control, despite our best intentions and preparedness. We will make bad judgements. We will even make bad films. But we need new "data" in order to refine our understanding of film and our relationship to it' (p. 62). Citron's argument is ultimately for heterogeneity - for an approach which adds to, rather than replaces others. Extended to the media as a whole, it is an argument which broadly coincides with the theory and practice of contemporary feminism.

PERSPECTIVE

This review can merely scratch the surface of the principal trends within the studies of gender and media criticism today. But it should be clear that these debates produce more complex understandings of the cultural dimensions of power and equality, and more specifically feminist analyses of the media, culture and society, than those which underpinned the youthful - and thus more confident - engagement with questions of women's portrayal and participation in the mass media. However, it is also

true that the increasing sophistication of recent research and criticism has been accompanied by a considerable fragmentation and a particularisation of effort. As a result, while certain issues and areas are very thoroughly explored, there seems to be little attempt - indeed little theoretical incentive - to place these within a macro perspective which could sustain development of policy or strategic judgements. This is a rather surprising departure from early feminist media criticism, which was marked by a commitment to policy formulation, and it raises questions and doubts as to future perspectives.

The current focus on 'reception studies' - heavily influenced by poststructuralist and postmodern theory - affects the entire field of communication study. But it has particular connotations for the development of future research from a feminist perspective. Despite its *prima facie* appeal - celebrating the autonomy of individual audience readings, and validating audience 'pleasures' - much of this work raises serious questions in relation to concepts and methods. Notions such as 'resistant' or 'subversive' readings of the 'inherently polysemic' text seem to have been vastly overstated, to say the least, for example the enthusiastic embrace of 'semiotic democracy' often seems to equate 'polysemy' with 'pluralism'. But, as Stuart Hall points out, this is a conceptual confusion: 'If there were no limits, audiences could simply read whatever they liked into any message' (1980, p. 135). Moreover, the insistence that audiences are not 'cultural dopes' (an emotive and over-worked term) threatens a return to the caricatured positions of the old high culture/mass culture debate. Of course women are not 'cultural dopes', but to ignore the fact that audiences are positioned within a cultural system which reproduces particular representations of 'femininity' and 'masculinity' is to create an alarming vacuum in attempts to theorise power and its unequal distribution.

There is also the question of whose 'pleasures' are actually at issue in this type of critique. The self-declared pleasures of feminists themselves in the consumption of popular culture inevitably complicate much of the analysis. Of this problem, Jostein Gripstrud notes: 'By pretending that the academic critic's pleasure is the same as anybody else's s/he not only erases the socio-cultural differences between the academic and the genre's core audiences, but also avoids analyzing the specificities of for instance the film scholar's pleasure in soap-watching. And soap-talking!' (1989, p. 198). The difficulty becomes compounded when male scholars enter the debate, taking up positions which are presented as those 'of women'. Thus much of this work seems to reproduce the heavily criticised tendency of early feminist theory to speak on behalf of 'all women', a tendency now made even more problematic by the arrival of men in feminism.

The recent proliferation of studies on previously neglected 'women's genres' - soap opera, melodrama,

women's magazines, and so on - has been an understandable (and necessary) effort to validate cultural products historically ignored in traditional male-dominated media research. It has been at the core of the 'popular culture project' which has been so influential over the past decade. But John Corner makes the point that this popular culture project has had little connection with a second trend in contemporary media criticism, a trend which he calls the 'public knowledge project'. This has been concerned primarily with 'the media as an agency of public knowledge and "definitional" power, with a focus on news and current output and a direct connection with the politics of information and the viewer as citizen' (1991, p. 268). Partly as a result of the divergence of these two projects, a feminist perspective on the crucially important genres of news, current affairs and other factual media content is well-nigh absent. This is a disquieting blind-spot in feminist media criticism. In the first place these formats are at least as significant as popular culture forms for any gender-based critique of mass mediated messages. Indeed Neil Postman has argued that it is not what he chooses to call the 'junk-entertainment' of television which presents the major challenge to media analysis, but the type of television which 'co-opts serious modes of discourse - news, politics, science, education, commerce, religion - and turns them into entertainment packages' (1985, p. 165). Secondly if feminism is to extend its impact on the analytical categories and frameworks of communication research, a feminist intervention in the study of these central issues is long overdue.

The current introspective tendency in feminist media criticism leads to an inevitable ethnocentrism. The move away from global analysis and from a direct consideration of the political-economic context of media development means that much of what is now 'fashionable' may seem utterly irrelevant to the concerns of women outside Europe and North America. This drift also has the effect of apparently excluding much research conducted in other parts of the world from what has come to be regarded as the 'correct paradigm' in the West. So for example the study by Prabha Krishnan and Anita Dighe (see Section II) was judged by one reviewer 'to do little more than confirm the obvious' (*Journal of Communication*, 1991, p. 144). But of course, attempts to evaluate research against culturally alien standards inevitably result in a misunderstanding of its significance. Technology too can be exclusionary. As Angharad Valdavia has pointed out, the vocabulary of a good deal of current media criticism is inaccessible and alienating to those not already steeped in its 'discourse'. And Valdavia also notes that theoretical perspectives which rely on a 'postmodern' view of society may be conceptually ethnocentric: 'Most of the Third World population does not experience a "modern" life, let

alone "postmodern" cultural politics' (1989, p. 45).

Overall it is the consciously apolitical trend in current feminist media studies which seems most debilitating. The tendency to avoid theoretical engagement with the issue of power (at any level) - the issue on which the entire feminist project was posited - is associated with and complicated by a querying of 'gender' as a useful analytical category. This has a certain appeal for some feminists, eager to break free of restrictive gender roles. But where does it leave feminist media criticism? At the very point when at least some areas of 'mainstream' media research appear to show signs of its impact, feminism may risk being swallowed up by its own radicalism. To counter this there seems an urgent need to re-engage with the broader political economy concerns which gave some of the earlier feminist work its distinctly critical edge. In their recent defence of a 'critical political economy' of communication, Peter Golding and Graham Murdock argue for an approach which is 'clearly critical, but in a sense which necessarily engages with empirical research, and which has no qualms about addressing issues of pragmatic and policy concern' (1991, p.15). For example, the development of global satellite communications, the intensification of commercial ownership and control of the media world-wide, set within the context of the political 'new world order' - all these present immensely challenging questions for feminists. If the micro-level work which currently preoccupies many critics - undoubtedly provides certain pleasures - a move back into the perhaps more difficult and daunting political domain could help feminist media research, to escape the relativism and ethnocentrism which seem to threaten its further development.

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CURRENT RESEARCH ON GENDER AND MASS MEDIA

Argentina

Ana Maria Amado (Gallo 1080, 1172 Buenos Aires) writes on the image of women in mass media, and on women's alternative media.

Australia

Ien Ang (Centre for Research in Culture and Communications, School of Humanities, Murdoch University, Murdoch, WA 6150) focuses on popular media: gender representations and receptions.

Jennifer Craik (Division of Humanities, Griffith University, Brisbane, Queensland 4111) researches into gender and cultural production with a particular focus on the representation of fashion and the body.

Barbara Creed (Dept. of Cinema Studies, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria 3083) is preparing a book provisionally titled 'The Monstrous Feminine: Women in the Horror Film'.

Kevin Durkin and Linda Jeffery (Child Study Centre, Dept. of Psychology, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Perth 6009) carry out research into sex role development and media use.

Ann Moyal (Centre for International Research on Communication and Information Technologies, Riverside Quay, 4 Byrne Street, South Melbourne, Victoria 3205; Fax No: +61-3-616-8800) focuses on women and telecommunications policy, including women's use of the telephone.

Sally Stockbridge (School of Communication and Cultural Studies, Curtin University, GPO Box U1987, Perth, WA 6001) carries out research into the representation of masculinity and femininity in video music clips.

Gillian Swanson (Division of Humanities, Griffith University, Nathan, Brisbane, Queensland 4111) is investigating gender and sexuality in the cultural representation of contemporary public controversies in Britain.

Sue Turnbull (Media Centre, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria 3083) is researching the role of the media in the lives of girls.

Diana Wyndham (9 King George Street, McMahons Point, NSW 2060) focuses on sexist images in advertising and the media.

Brazil

Nelly de Camargo (Alameda Jau 705 ap. 141, 01420 Sao Paulo; Fax No: +55-11-285-6531) is interested in images and employment of women in the media.

Canada

Thelma McCormack (Dept. of Sociology, York University, 4700 Keele Street, North York, Ontario M3J 1P3; Fax No: +1-416-736-5735) works on the development of feminist theories and analyses of communication; also research on pornography and censorship.

Michèle Martin (Télé-université, Université du Québec, 4835 avenue Christophe Colomb, Montréal, Québec, H2J 4C2) is investigating women's contribution as workers and consumers in the videotext industry.

Elsbeth Probyn (Dépt. de sociologie, Université de Montréal, C.P. 6128, Montréal, H3C 3J7) is working on the mass media discourses of the new traditionalism and postfeminism.

Annie Méar (Dept. of Communication, University of Montréal, Montréal, H3C 3J7; Fax No: +1-514-343-2377) is interested in women and communications policy.

Gertrude J. Robinson (Graduate Program in Communications, McGill University, 3465 Peel Street, Montréal H3A 1W7) has two on-going projects: a generational study of the media coverage of Canadian women politicians; and a theoretical reflection on relationships between feminism and mass communication scholarship in North America.

Tannis MacBeth Williams (Dept. of Psychology, University of British Columbia, 2136 West Mall, Vancouver V6T 1Y7; Fax No: +1-604-822-6923) is researching into the effects of gender portrayals in the media - particularly television - on attitudes and behaviour.

Chile

Viviana Erazo and Adriana Santa Cruz (Fempres-ILET, Casilla 16-637, Santiago; Fax No: +56-2-232-5000) are interested in women's alternative communication media, and publish the monthly *Mujer/Fempres* which contains reports from throughout Latin America.

Colombia

Elsy Bonilla (CEDE, Facultad de Economía, Universidad de los Andes, Apto. Aéreo 4976, Bogotá) is investigating gender images in the mass media, particularly television advertisements in Colombia.

Florence Thomas (Dpto. de Psicología, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá) is exploring concepts of masculinity and femininity based on a semiological study of Colombian television, radio and press.

Denmark

Kirsten Drotner (Dept. of Cinema, Television and Communications, University of Copenhagen, 78 Njalsgade,

DK-2300 Copenhagen S) specialises in research into young women and mass media, melodrama as a cultural mode, and theory of popular aesthetics.

Lisbeth Egsmose (Dept. of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, 15 Rosenborggade, DK-1130 Copenhagen K; Fax No: +45-33 122613) is conducting a comparative study of the psycho-social working environment of women in Danish and British television.

Anne Jerslev (Dept. of Cinema, Television and Communication, University of Copenhagen, Njalsgade 78, 2300 Copenhagen S) is carrying out qualitative audience reception research on girls, boys and fiction films.

Vibeke Pedersen (Strandgade 88, 3.th, 1401 Copenhagen K) researches in the area of feminism, sexual difference and film and television theory.

Birgitte Tufte (Danmarks Laererhøjskole, Emdrupvej 54, 2100 Copenhagen NV) focuses on gender aspects in children's decoding of television, and in children's media productions in school.

Egypt

Sonia Dabbous (Dept. of Mass Communication, American University of Cairo, PO Box 2511, Cairo) is studying the situation of women in the Egyptian press, in both historical and contemporary contexts.

Soha Abdel Kader (Social Research Centre, American University of Cairo, PO Box 2511, Cairo) is researching the image of women in drama and women's programmes in Egyptian television.

Finland

Irma Kaarina Halonen (Dept. of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere, PO Box 607, SF 33101 Tampere; +358-311-34473) studies the representation of women in television and newspaper journalism.

Tarja Savolainen (Fredrikinkatu 30 A 13, 00120 Helsinki) focuses on the subject of women in radio and television news.

Henrika Zilliacus-Tikkanen (Svenska social- och kommunalhögskolan, PB 49, 00251 Helsingfors) is investigating the role of female journalists and their strategies in developing a female perspective in journalism.

France

Erika Apfelbaum (GEDISST, CNRS, 59-61 rue Pouchet, 75017 Paris) is conducting a comparative study in France and Norway to investigate how the media portray women in leadership positions, and how these portrayals help to shape the identity strategies of such women.

Anna Eriksen-Terzian (123 bis boulevard Rodin, 92130 Issy-les-Moulineaux) specialises in studies of the role of gender in media education.

Michèle Mattelart (7 rue Payenne, 75003 Paris) is interested in the impact of gender studies on new critical communication theories, and the links between television

genres and women's culture.

Chantal Rogerat (GEDISST, CNRS, 59-61 rue Pouchet, 75017 Paris) is studying the ways in which social struggles revolving round the sexual division of labour are represented in the media.

Germany

Marie-Luise Klein (Fakultät für Sport-wissenschaft, Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Stiepler Str. 129, 4630 Bochum 1) researches into women and sport in the mass media, including the role of female sports journalists.

Ghana

Boatema Boateng (PO Box 84, Trade Fair Site, Accra) is interested in gender issues in communication and development.

Greece

Diotima (Centre for Research in Women's Issues, 2 Kekropos Street, Athens 10558) is coordinating a study of women in Greek television.

Tessa Doukeri (50 Tsimikis, Athens 11473) is carrying out a study of women and mass media in Greece.

Hungary

Hungarian Inst. of Public Opinion Research (Akademia u.17, PO Box 587, 1054 Budapest) has several researchers working on related topics. Magdolina Barcy focuses on the impact of new media on family communication; Erzsebet Szilagyi is concerned with women in the Hungarian film industry.

India

Anita Dighe (Adult Continuing Education and Extension Unit, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi 110067) has been carrying out research into images of women in the media, and women's use of the media in India.

Josephine Joseph (Dept. of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Madras, Madras 600 005) is concerned with women in Indian film.

Ila Pathak (Ahmedabad Women's Action Group, 48 Somnath Nagar, Vijaynagar Road, Naranpura, Ahmedabad 380 013) is completing a study of regional films, including analysis of content and interviews with women involved in their production.

Leela Rao (Dept. of Communication, Bangalore University, Central College, Bangalore 560 001) focuses on the portrayal of women in Indian films.

Rekha M. Sasidharan (University of Kerala, Vakkom House, Cantonment, Trivandrum 33, Kerala 695 033) is studying the image of Indian women in advertising, and the portrayal of women in English magazines.

Ireland

Barbara Bradby (Dept. of Sociology, Trinity College, Dublin 2) is involved in discourse analysis of rock and pop music, particularly in terms of gender differences.

Ann Fitz Gibbon (Dept. of Teacher Education, 3108 Arts Building, Trinity College, Dublin 2) is carrying out a study which relates television viewing patterns to personality type, and which includes a gender analysis.

Barbara O'Connor (School of Communications, Dublin City University, Glasnevin, Dublin 9; Fax No: +353-1-704-5447) is investigating social class and gender influences in the use and interpretation of television.

Ailbhe Smyth (WERRC, University College, Belfield, Dublin 4; Fax No: +353-1-830060) is studying media coverage of women's cultural production in Ireland.

Israel

Chava E. Tidhar (Israeli Educational Television, 14 Klausner Street, Tel Aviv 69011) is carrying out research into television news coverage of women in the Intifada; study in collaboration with **Dafna Lemish** (Centre for Communication and Education, College of Administration and Management, Haifa).

Italy

Milly Buonanno (Il Campo, via di Novella 8, 00199 Rome) is studying gender roles in televised fiction in Italy.

Gioia Longo (corso Trieste 19, 00198 Rome) is coordinating a nation-wide project which collects public reactions to the representation of women in the media.

Japan

Teruko Inoue (Wako University, 2160 Kanaicho, Machida-shi, Tokyo 194-01) specialises in the content of women's magazines, and mass media and gender socialisation.

Harueko Kato (Tokyo Women's Christian University, 4-3-1, Mure, Mitaki-shi, Tokyo 181) is concerned with women and communication as an aspect of human rights.

Miiko Kodama (Dept. of Mass Communications, Edogawa University, 474 Ichibanwari Komaki, Nagareyama-shi, Chiba-ken 270-01; Fax No: +81-3-580-02442) is studying the situation of women in the mass media, particularly television journalism.

Yasuko Muramatsu (Theoretical Research Center, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Inst., 2-1-1 Atago, Minato-ku, Tokyo 105; Fax No: +81-3-436-5880) is engaged in feminist analysis of mass media content, particularly broadcasting, and the development of strategies for change.

Midori Suzuki (Forum for Children's Television, Nagae 1601-27, Hayama-machi, Kanagawa-ken) monitors media content, particularly television, from a feminist perspective.

Korea

Yung-Duk Kim (Korean Women's Development Inst., CPO Box 2267, Seoul; Fax No: +82-2-356-1467) runs the KWDI which carries out research into sexist media content, and develops educational materials to promote awareness of stereotyping.

Kyung-Ja Lee (Dept. of Mass Communication,

Kyung-Hee University, 1 Hoeki-Dong, Dongdaemun-ku, Seoul 130-701) carries out research into formats and images in women's television programmes.

Yoo-Jae Song (Dept. of Mass Communication, Ewha Woman's University, 11-1 Daehyun-dong, Soedaemun-ku, Seoul; Fax No: +82-2-364-5172) is preparing a book on women and mass media in Korea.

México

Olga Bustos Romero (Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, Facultad de Psicología, Universidad Autónoma de México, Ciudad Universitaria, 04510 México, D.F.) is researching into the topic of socialisation, gender division and the mass media.

Netherlands

Valerie Frissen (Inst. of Mass Communication, University of Nijmegen, Postbus 9108, 6500 HK Nijmegen; Fax No: +31-80-612372) is investigating viewing patterns among women and men as part of a larger project on heavy viewing, and is also interested in gender and new information technologies.

Joke Hermes (Dept. of Mass Communication, University of Amsterdam, Oude Hoogstraat 24, 1012 CE Amsterdam; Fax No: +31-20-525-2179) is carrying out an extensive research project into the readership, interpretations and significance of women's magazines.

Magda Michielsens (Centre for Women's Studies, University of Nijmegen, Postbus 9108, 6500 HK Nijmegen; Fax No: +31-80-612372) is concerned with studies of television programme content, and its impact, with particular reference to women.

Liesbet van Zoonen (Dept. of Mass Communication, University of Amsterdam, Oude Hoogstraat 24, 1012 CE Amsterdam; Fax No: +31-20-5252179) is preparing a book on feminist media studies.

Nigeria

Charles Okigbo (Dept. of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria, Nsukka) is preparing a publication on Nigerian perspectives on women and the media.

Norway

Eva Bakoy (Dept. of Mass Communication, University of Bergen, Fosswinkelsgt. 7, N-5000 Bergen; Fax No: +47-5-327639) is studying the role of filmic images of children in the production of social ideology.

Inger Christensen (University of Bergen, Dept. of English, Sydneplass 9, 5007 Bergen) focuses on the representation of women in films and in literature.

Marian Flick (Schweigaardsvei 26a, 5032 Minde) is especially concerned with the portrayal of gender roles in advertisements.

Pakistan

Simorgh (Women's Resource and Publication Centre, PO Box 3328, Gulberg-II, Lahore 54660) is concerned to analyse

and document images of women in the media.

Perú

María A. Vargas Poma (Tumi Analyst, PO Box 4094, Lima 100) is studying sex roles in Peruvian mass media in a historical perspective, and the impact of the media on voting behaviour of women.

Philippines

Doreen G. Fernandez (Dept. of Communication, Ateneo de Manila University, PO Box 154, Manila 1099) is interested in the role of women in the press and other mass media in the Philippines.

Poland

Teresa Sasinska-Klas (Inst. of Political Science, Jagiellonian University, ul. Ziai 5, 31-114 Krakow) focuses on the professional activity of women in journalism.

Senegal

AAWORD (Assoc. of African Women for Research and Development), c/o CODESRIA, BP 3304, Dakar) is coordinating a working group of researchers on the topic women and mass media in Africa, with participants from Egypt, Mali, Nigeria, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia and Zambia.

Singapore

AMIC (Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre, 39 Newton Road, Singapore 1130; Fax No: +65-2534535) is coordinating an 8-country study of the access of women to communication education and to work in journalism and communication. Reports from Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Sri Lanka have been completed so far.

Spain

Concepción Fagoaga (Dpto. Periodismo I, Facultad de Ciencias de la Información, Universidad Complutense, Ciudad Universitaria, 28040 Madrid) is concerned with access, in terms of women and men as news sources.

Rosa Franquet (Departament de Comunicació Audiovisual i de Publicitat, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Edifici I, 08193 Barcelona; Fax No: +34-3-5812005) has two research interests: women in radio and television news; women and new information technology.

Juana Gallego (Departament de Periodisme, Facultat de Ciències de la Informació, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Edifici I, 08193 Barcelona; Fax No: +34-3-5812005) researches into the women's press - past, present and future.

Sweden

Ulla B. Abrahamsson (Audience and Programme Research Dept., Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, S-105 10 Stockholm; Fax No: +46-8-6625620) has a long-term research project on the role of television in establishing social norms and values, with particular reference to equality in Sweden; with Madeline Kleberg (see below) she is co-President of the Gender and Communication Section of the International Assoc. for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR).

Gunnar Andren (Unit of Media and Cultural Theory,

University of Stockholm, S-106 91 Stockholm; Fax No: +46-8-6187979) studies gender structures by means of diachronic and synchronic comparisons.

Hillevi Ganetz (Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift, S:t Eriksgatan 7, S-112 39 Stockholm) is researching the place of women in Swedish rock music.

Tove Holmqvist (Unit of Media and Cultural Theory, University of Stockholm, S-106 91 Stockholm; Fax No: +46-8-6187979) is interested in the relationship between gender, media and popular culture and in the construction of femininity and masculinity in various types of media content.

Madeline Kleberg (Dept. of Journalism, Media and Communication, University of Stockholm, Gjordwellsgratan 26, S-122 60 Stockholm; +46-8-6187979) is looking at the role of women in news production and, together with Ulla Abrahamsson (above), edits the annual *Gender and Mass Media Newsletter*.

Birgit Petersson (Dept. of History, University of Umea, S-901 87 Umea) is studying images of women in the press and the role of female journalists, from a historical perspective.

Kristina Wallander (Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen, University of Umea, S-901 87 Umea) is investigating women's contributions to the Swedish trade union press.

Britt-Louise Wersall (Toppeladugard, S-240 13 Genarp) has been studying gender differences in various aspects of magazine short stories, from a historical perspective.

Tanzania

Penina Mlama (Faculty of Arts and Social Science, University of Dar es Salaam, PO Box 35044, Dar es Salaam) is conducting research into the participation of women in communication for development.

Thailand

Kanjana Kaewthep (Catholic Council of Thailand, 2508-10 Saensuk, Prachasongkroh Road, Bangkok 10400; Fax No: +66-2-2761546) is interested in the development of a women's perspective in the production of knowledge.

Ubonrat Siriyuvasak (Dept. of Mass Communication, Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Phytai Road, Bangkok 10330; Fax No: +66-2-2153591) researches into the relationship between women and popular culture.

United Kingdom

Helen Baehr (Faculty of Communication, Polytechnic of Central London, 18-22 Riding House Street, London W1P 7PD) studies the employment and representation of women in television.

Susan Beardsell (Dept. of Psychology, University of Surrey, Guildford, Surrey GU2 5XH) is investigating images of female sexuality in the media, perceptions of these images and their contribution to developing sexuality.

Charlotte Brunson (Dept. of Film Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL) focuses on audience research

and aesthetic issues, with particular reference to feminist critiques.

Guy Cumberbatch (Communication Studies Group, Aston University, Birmingham, B4 7ET) is directing several research programmes which include consideration of the portrayal of women, television's influence on fantasy behaviour including attitudes to women, and the effects of pornography.

Ann Gray (Dept. of Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT) has been conducting an in-depth study of women's use of domestic entertainment technology.

Peggy Gray (Centre for Mass Communication Research, University of Leicester, 104 Regent Road, Leicester LE1 7LT; Fax No: +44-533-523874) is doing research into uses of new technology in the family context, including consideration of gender differences.

Olga Linné (Centre for Mass Communication Research, University of Leicester, 104 Regent Road, Leicester LE1 7LT; Fax No: +44-533-523874) is particularly interested in the triad image-audience-families, and has also written on the role of female journalists.

United States of America

Mary Ellen Brown (Communication Dept., State University of New York, Brockport, NY 14420; Fax No: +1-716-395-2246) is researching into television audience viewing conventions and fanship practices, particularly those of women and girls.

Jackie Byars (Dept. of Radio-Television-Film, Texas Christian University, PO Box 32930, Fort Worth, Texas 76129) is studying the representation of differences in popular film and television.

Kathryn Cirkseña (School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240) specialises in feminist communication theory and research methods.

Pam Creedon (School of Journalism, Ohio State University, 242 West 18th Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43210) is studying media coverage of women in sport, and the value system of sport in the U.S.A.

Sue Curry Jansen (Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania 18104) is working in the area of gender and new information technologies.

E. Ann Kaplan (Humanities Inst., State University of New York, Stony Brook, New York 11794-3394) studies gender and the concept of the self in popular culture.

Cheris Kramarae (Dept. of Speech Communication, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801) is working on topics concerning technology and women's communication.

Andrea Press (Dept. of Communication, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1285) researches into women's interpretations of television, and into women's response to the issue of abortion as presented by the media.

Janice Radway (Graduate Program in Literature, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina 27706) is carrying out a study of the Book-of-the-Month Club, middle-brow culture and its relationship to cultural authority as a gendered form.

Lana Rakow (Dept. of Communication, University of Wisconsin-Parkside, PO Box 2000, Kenosha, Wisconsin 53141) is concerned with theories of gender, women's means of communication, and technology and gender.

Ramona Rush (Dept. of Communication, University of Kentucky, 227 Grehan Building, Lexington, Kentucky 40506-0042) is interested in developments to enhance efficiency and equality in global communications.

Cathy Schwichtenberg (Dept. of Communication, 402 Machmer Hall, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Amherst, MA 01003) researches in the field of feminist cultural studies.

H. Leslie Steeves (School of Journalism, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon 97403; Fax No: +1-503-346-3660) examines gender and communication issues in Third World contexts.

Linda Steiner (Dept. of Journalism and Mass Communication, Rutgers University, 4 Huntington Street, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903) specialises in feminist media ethics and the history of the women's press.

Angharad Valdivia (122 Carnegie Building, School of Communications, The Pennsylvania University, University Park, PA 16802) focuses on women and the media in Latin America, and is co-chair of the Feminist Studies Interest Group of the International Communication Assoc. (ICA).

Jean Gaddy Wilson (School of Journalism, University of Missouri, PO Box 838, Columbia, MO 65205) is director of the National Women and Media Collection, which documents the roles women have played and are playing in the U.S. media.

Venezuela

Gloria Comesana Santalices (Escuela de Filosofía, Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad del Zulia, Maracaibo) is interested in the image of women in radio, television and the press.

Viki Ferrara and Nelly Quintero Track (Universidad de los Andes, Apartado 466, Merida 5101) have been analysing the image of women in various types of printed media in Venezuela.

Yugoslavia

Nevanka Perkovic (Programme and Audience Research Centre, Radio Television Belgrade, Kneza Milosa 7, 11 000 Belgrade) has been studying the image of women in the programmes of Belgrade television.

Zambia

Julia Chileshe (PO Box 50551, Ridgeway, Lusaka) is interested in women's images in advertising and the printed media; she is co-Chairperson of the Zambia Assoc. for Research and Development (ZARD).

Josina Kaunda (PO Box 30445, Lusaka) has carried out research into women's access to employment in the mass

media in Zambia.

Resources

Directories and Resource Packages

Break the Lies that Bind. 1990. A reflection/action workshop program on sexism in the media. Includes leaders' guides on six topics, two issues of the journal 'Media & Values' ('Men, Myth and Media', and 'Redesigning Women'), and list of audio-visual resources. For use with youths or adults in formal and non-formal education. Available from Centre for Media and Values, 1962 South Shenandoah Street, Los Angeles, CA 90034; Fax No: +1-310-559-9396.

Into Focus: Changing Media Images of Women. 1990. An Asian Resource Kit. Analyses how the Asian media portray women and issues of concern to women, and illustrates innovative approaches, in five modules: Media, Family, Health, Violence, Work. Each has an illustrated text, video cassette, video notes. Also includes: forty slides, offprints booklet, bibliography, users' guide. For use by media practitioners and trainees, social action groups. Obtainable from Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development, PO Box 1137, Pantai, 59700 Kuala Lumpur; Fax No: +60-3-282-2761.

Isis International. 1986. *Powerful Images: a Women's Guide to Audiovisual Resources.* Obtainable from Isis International, 85-A East Maya Street, Philamlife Homes, Quezon City, 1104 Philippines.

A catalogue of more than 600 audiovisuals produced by women worldwide. Arranged by theme and by region. Also contains practical tips on making simple audiovisuals, addresses, and an annotated bibliography.

Isis International. 1990. *Directory of Third World Women's Publications.* Obtainable from Isis International (address above).

Listing of women's periodicals, pamphlets, papers, bulletins, reports, directories and catalogues, arranged by region. A guide to alternative media created by women worldwide.

Women and Advertising Resource Package. 1991. For in-service training in the advertising industry, and tertiary-level communication students. Contains lecture material, overhead transparencies, workshop handouts, and a video. Produced for the National Working Party on the Portrayal of Women in the Media, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 3-5 National Circuit, Barton, ACT 2600, Australia; Fax No: +61-6-271-5414.

Regular Research Publications

Camera Obscura. Journal of feminism and film theory, published three times a year. John Hopkins University Press, Journals Publishing Division, 701 W. 40th Street, Suite 275, Baltimore, MD 21211.

Gender and Mass Media Newsletter. International in scope. Appears about once a year. Summarises current research, lists publications, notes forthcoming and recent events/conferences. Co-editors Ulla B. Abrahamsson and Madeline Kleberg (see 'Current Research': Sweden).

Media Report to Women. Quarterly publication, which reviews work on portrayal and employment of women in media, including women's alternative media. Mainly North American, but some international data. Communication Research Associates Inc., 10606 Mantz Road, Silver Spring, Maryland 20903-1228.

Women's Studies in Communication. Journal of the Organization for Research on Women and Communication. Publishes research from most subdisciplines of communication, including mass media. Editor: Roseann M. Mandziuk, Southwest Texas State University, San Marcos, Texas.

International Research Networks

Feminist Scholarship Interest Group. Part of the International Communication Association (ICA). Sessions at annual ICA conferences, Newsletter and members' mailing list. Predominantly U.S. members, some from Canada, Europe, Australia. Co-chair: Angharad Valdivia (see 'Current Research': U.S.A.).

Gender and Communication. Section of the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR). Sessions at the biennial IAMCR Conferences. Publishes 'Gender and Mass Media Newsletter' (see above), and regular members' mailing list. Members from all world regions, with most from Europe. Co-convenors: Ulla Abrahamsson and Madeline Kleberg (see 'Current Research': Sweden).

GRANITE (Gender and New Information Technologies). International network of researchers working in the field of gender and new information technologies. Founded in 1988. Newsletter. Coordinator: Kitty Verrips, SISWO, PO Box 19079, 1000 GB Amsterdam; Fax No: +31-20-229430.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON GENDER AND MASS MEDIA

Given the enormous quantity of published material now available on this vast theme, the following criteria have guided selection:

- * Nothing published before 1985 is listed.
- * Authors working on specific topics are represented only by their most recent publications on those topics.
- * Where possible, edited books and special issue journals are listed rather than individual book chapters or journal articles.
- * Articles frequently mentioned in other listed publications are generally not included.
- * Though the majority of titles originate from Europe and North America, an effort has been made to give priority to material from elsewhere.

Bibliographies and Guides

Communications Law Centre. 1990. *Women and Advertising: a Reference Directory*. Prepared for the National Working Party on the Portrayal of Women in the Media. Canberra: Office of the Status of Women, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

An annotated directory of international research and other material relating to women and the advertising industry. Contains an overview, followed by sections on marketing, sex role portrayals, analysing the images, regulation, and education.

Kuhn, Annette (ed.), with Susannah Radstone. 1990. *The Women's Companion to International Film*. London: Virago Press.

Compiled by a panel of eighty contributors, provides comprehensive coverage of film from an international feminist perspective. Also defines critical and technical terms, and outlines current debates.

Lent, John A. 1991. *Women and Mass Communications: an International Annotated Bibliography*. New York/Westport/London: Greenwood Press.

More than 3000 citations covering all types of literature on women and mass communications, organised by region and by theme. An appendix lists resources (periodicals, collections, associations) dealing with women and mass communications.

Collections and General Studies

Baehr, Helen and Gillian Dyer (eds.). 1987. *Boxed In: Women and Television*. London: Pandora.

A collection of essays on women's relationship to television as performers, writers and programme-makers, and as viewers. Divided into three

sections: women and communications technology, programming strategies, on the screen.

Bedolla Miranda, Patricia, Olga Bustos Romero, Fatima Flores Palacios and Blanca E. Garcia y Garcia (eds.). 1989. *Estudios de Genero y Feminismo I*. Mexico: Fontamara.

Articles on feminist theory and communication theory, representations of violence and rape in Mexican cinema, reactions of adolescents and their mothers to a popular telenovela.

Bosshart, Louis (ed.). 1991. *Femmes et médias*. Fribourg: Editions Universitaires.

Chapters cover the situation of women journalists in Switzerland, the women's press, the media as perceived by Swiss women's associations.

Brunsdon, Charlotte (ed.). 1986. *Films for Women*. London: British Film Institute.

Covers women's representation in cinema, films made by women, and films directed at women. Reflects important debates on such questions as 'positive' images, the representation of the female body, attitudes to commercial cinema, and the nature of the audience.

Canadian Journal of Communication. 1989. Vol. 14, No. 3, 'Women's Voices in Media Research'.

Essays cover women and the press, images of women in Francophone West African films, the need for a gender perspective in media research, capitalizing on the 'feminine' voice, women and television technology.

Communication. 1986. Vol. 9, No. 1, 'Feminist Critiques of Popular Culture'.

Includes essays on the relationship between feminist theory and communication studies, feminist critiques of popular culture, images of women and alcohol, the semiotics of the terms 'feminism' and 'lesbianism', and oppositional readings of cultural texts.

Craig, Steve (ed.). 1992. *Men, Masculinity and the Media*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

How the media construct images of masculinity, depiction of men and their relationships, how men respond to media images. Covers representation in U.S. comic books, rock music, advertisements and television. The single British contribution argues that the dominance of U.S. media results in an Americanization of gender images internationally.

Creedon, Pamela J. (ed.). 1989. *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage.

North American scholars cover two areas of terrain. First, feminism's contribution to how mass

communication is taught and practised, including fields such as media law and media history. Second, the status of women in the media industry. The volume concludes with two views of 'alternative' futures inspired by the women's media and feminist theory.

Critical Studies in Mass Communication. 1989. Vol. 6, No. 2, 'Gender Studies and Communication'.

Four essays dealing with the relation between the study of gender and communication: the contribution of feminist theory to communication theory, feminist cultural studies, the role of feminist scholars in communication, and images of men in media research.

Critical Studies in Mass Communication. 1990. Vol. 7, No. 3, 'Gender and Empowerment'.

Essays cover the construction of women as authorities, local journalism and the microphysics of power, images of power and the feminist fallacy, feminist criticism of 'The Mary Tyler Moore Show', images of fathers on prime-time television.

Durkin, Kevin. 1985. *Television, Sex Roles and Children*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press. Chapters on theories of sex roles and television, the sex role content of television, children's reactions to counter-stereotyped sex role themes in television, and television, sex roles and children: towards a developmental social psychological theory.

Garcellano, Rosario A. 1991. *Who Calls the Shots?*. Proceedings of the 1991 International Conference on Women, Media and Advertising. Manila: Women's Media Circle, Inc.

Edited papers by participants from Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and United States, covering public and commercial media, women and media ethics, satellites and regional cooperation, alternatives to advertising stereotypes, women and new technology, political systems and women's media roles, media violence against women.

Gunter, Barrie. 1986. *Television and Sex Role Stereotyping*. London and Paris: John Libbey.

Review of research from the 1970s and early 1980s, especially social psychological studies. Covers portrayal of the sexes, children's and adults' perceptions of these portrayals, their effect on children and adults, and the potential of television to 'counter' common stereotypes.

Journal of Communication Enquiry. 1987. Vol. 11, No. 1, 'The Feminist Issue'.

Articles cover feminist theory and communication studies, the relationship between sexism and other forms of oppression in media content, and gender representation in a variety of media.

Kawakami, Yoshiro (ed.). 1988. *Women and Communication in an Age of Science and Technology*. Proceedings of '88 Tokyo Symposium on Women. Tokyo: International Group for the Study of Women. International collection covering women and telecommunications, women and media, intrafamily communication, women and networking, women's work and technology. Contributions on women and media from Algeria, India, Israel, Japan, Philippines, Sweden, United States.

Media Asia. 1987. Vol. 14, No. 4, 'Women and the Media'.

Articles on the portrayal and participation of women in the media of the Philippines, Malaysia, Japan, Korea, and of South Asia: India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh.

Media Development. 1991. Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, 'Women's Perspectives on Communication'.

Includes essays on women and grassroots communication, interpretations of and gender differences in melodrama and soap opera, immigrant women's use of interactive cable in the Netherlands, women and international communication developments.

Medienpraktisch. 1988. No. 4, 'Women and Media'. (Medienpraktisch: Medienpaedagogische Zeitschrift für die Praxis).

Articles cover the 'female look' and women's cinema, sexuality and violence in the media, women working in the media, women and technology, critical computer courses for women.

Rakow, Lana F. (ed.). 1992. *Women Making Meaning: New Feminist Directions in Communication*. New York and London: Routledge (in press).

Essays explore current theoretical and political questions facing feminist communication scholars, and show how feminism extends the discipline's boundaries by reconceptualising communication forms - verbal harassment, pornography - of special concern to women. Case studies examine the construction of meaning and identity through texts and discourse, in terms of gender, race and class.

Rush, Ramona R. and Donna Allen (eds.). 1989. *Communications at the Crossroads: the Gender Gap Connection*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

An international collection of essays presenting the ideas and experiences of women seeking to improve and expand the communication system. Includes case studies of women's efforts to build alternative communication strategies and media.

Winship, Janice. 1987. *Inside Women's Magazines*. London: Pandora.

Analyses the women's magazine market from the 1950s to the 1980s, exploring the relationship between

editors and readers, the importance of illustrations and ideologies, the pleasures provided by women's magazines, and the extent to which feminism appears to have influenced them.

Women and Language. 1991. Vol. XIV, No. 1, 'Women and Media'.

Essays cover lesbian pornography, women's roles in Israel's 1988 television election campaign, teenagers and Australian soap opera, portrayal of African-American women in 'L.A. Law'. Includes book reviews and an extensive listing of resources.

Feminist Theory and Communication

Carter, Kathryn and Carole Spitzack (eds.). 1989. *Doing Research on Women's Communication: Perspectives on Theory and Method*. Norwood, New Jersey, Ablex.

Sets out to describe the relationships between gender, theory, methodology and methods, and to make explicit the implicit assumptions which inform the research process. Contains three sections: problematics of feminism and social science; theoretics of feminism and communication studies; methods for studying women's communication.

de Lauretis, Teresa. 1987. 'The Technology of Gender'. In *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 1-30.

Poses the question of how to theorize gender beyond the limits of 'sexual difference' and the constraints that such a notion has come to impose on feminist critical thought.

Gallagher, Margaret. 1989. 'A Feminist Paradigm for Communication Research'. In Brenda Dervin, Lawrence Grossberg, Barbara J. O'Keefe and Ellen Wartella (eds.), *Rethinking Communication: Paradigm Exemplars*. Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 75-87.

Using international examples, argues the need for a feminist analysis of the processes of knowledge production and control.

Kaplan, E. Ann. 1987. 'Feminist Criticism and Television'. In Robert C. Allen (ed.) *Channels of Discourse: Television and Contemporary Criticism*. London: Methuen, pp. 211-253.

Surveys feminist approaches to television over the past twenty years. Considers what feminist television scholars might borrow from film theory, and what must be reconsidered in the light of differences between the two media. Includes an analysis of the gender address in music videos.

McCormack, Thelma. 1986. 'Doing Feminist Research on Women in the Media'. Paper presented at Conference of the Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Contemporanea, Santiago de Chile.

Reviews and up-dates the author's path-breaking critiques of sexism in media research, arguing that feminist research is not a matter of putting a feminist 'angle' on research: it is women setting a research agenda, and controlling the means of intellectual production.

Robinson, Gertrude J. 1992. 'The Study of Women and Journalism: from Positivist to Feminist Approaches'. In Cees Hamelink and Olga Linne (eds.), *On Problems and Policies in Communications Research*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex (in press). Argues that the impact of feminism on communication studies in North America is still peripheral. Calls for a rethinking of the assumptions, methods and knowledge bases on which communication studies are founded.

Van Zoonen, Liesbet. 1991. 'Feminist Perspectives on the Media'. In James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.), *Mass Media and Society*. London: Edward Arnold, pp. 33-54.

A discussion of the main feminist approaches to media analysis - liberal, radical, socialist, cultural - and an assessment of how each relates to the overall political project of feminism. Concludes with suggestions for a feminist media critique in the framework of a cultural studies approach.

Access and Production

Baxter, Marilyn. 1990. *Women in Advertising*. London: Institute of Practitioners in Advertising. Findings and recommendations of a study commissioned by the IPA. Women are under-represented among senior staff and in creative departments in advertising. Working hours, lack of childcare facilities, the male ethos of agencies, client prejudice, male chauvinism in management - all impede women's progress.

Blonski, Annette, Barbara Creed and Freda Freiburg (eds.). 1987. *Don't Shoot Darling: Women's Independent Filmmaking in Australia*. Richmond, Australia: Greenhouse.

Examines achievements and limitations of affirmative action training schemes for women filmmakers; includes experiences of women filmmakers.

Bruckner, Jutta. 1985. 'Women Behind the Camera'. In Gisela Ecker (ed.) *Feminist Aesthetics*. London: The Women's Press, pp. 120-124.

A 'feminist aesthetic' cannot suddenly emerge simply because women are now behind the camera. Examines the tensions and conflicts facing women film-makers.

Eberhard, Wallace B. and Margaret Lee Myers. 1988. 'Beyond the Locker Room: Women in Sports on Major

Daily Newspapers', *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No. 3, pp. 595-599.

The difficulties faced by female journalists in entering the locker room as sportswriters, and the discrimination felt by most of them.

Fischer, Lucy. 1989. *Shot/Countershot*. London: British Film Institute and Macmillan.

Arguing that women's filmmaking is part of an ongoing 'intertextual debate' with works by men, this study is organised around analysis of films on similar topics - some made by men, some by women. Sets out to show how the latter critique, rewrite and even exorcise the former.

Gallagher, Margaret. 1987. *Employment and Positive Action for Women in the Television Organizations of the EEC Member States*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Examines the hierarchical and occupational distribution of women and men, their rates of career development, demographic differences, the role of women in management. Includes case studies of equal opportunities and positive action policies, and a set of recommendations for action.

Gallagher, Margaret (ed.). 1987. *Women and Media Decision-making: the Invisible Barriers*. Paris: Unesco.

Case studies from Canada, Ecuador, Egypt, India and Nigeria explore obstacles to women's career development in radio and television. These include perceptions of jobs 'suitable' for women, lack of personnel policy and child-care facilities, attitudes to women in positions of authority.

Halonen, Irma Kaarina. 1991. 'Women and the Public Sphere', *NORDICOM Review*, No. 1, pp. 9-14. Uses Habermas' notion of the 'public sphere' to analyse the situation of women in news institutions. In the context of news values, when women are allowed into the public sphere it is still on men's terms. Argues the need for 'news on women's terms'.

Hosley, David H. and Gayle K. Yamada. 1987. *Hard News: Women in Broadcast Journalism*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

The evolution of women broadcast journalists in the U.S., from the 1920s to the 1980s. Early chapters focus on individual pioneers, later ones touch on the challenges women still face: equal pay, equal opportunity, sexual harassment.

Kaunda, Josie, Winnie Ndulo and Muyunda Chilwesa. 1986. 'ZARD Research Pilot Project on the Survey of the Accessibility of Women to the Media'. In *Proceedings of an International Workshop on Research Methodologies on Women and the Media*. Lusaka: Association of African Women for

Research and Development (AAWORD)/Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD: PO Box 37386, Lusaka), pp. 12-17.

Questionnaire and interview study of women in Zambian mass media, the roles they play, constraints on women's participation. The results: female media workers are few, and in jobs with little chance of influencing media images of women; managers have negative attitudes towards female employees; women aspire to media careers, but few succeed.

Lock, Yut Kam. 1990. 'Access of Asian Women to Communication Education and Work in Journalism and Communication: an Overview of 6 Countries'. Singapore: AMIC (Unpublished report).

Findings from Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Sri Lanka. In all countries, a gap exists between the number of women with access to communication education, and the number working in journalism and communication. Socio-economic, institutional and personal factors contribute to the gap. Recommendations include measures to promote greater sharing of family and professional responsibilities.

Mrozowski, Maciej. 1991. 'The Socio-occupational Status of Male and Female Staff at Polish Television: Gender Stereotypes in Practice', *Pozekazy i Opinie*, Vol. 2. (In Polish: English abstract available).

A questionnaire to television staff in 1988 showed most believe that differences based on gender stereotypes predispose men and women to make programmes of different types or to be suited to specified jobs. Within the profession, women must compete 'on men's terms', and successful female broadcasters are regarded as exceptions that prove the rule.

Muir, Anne Ross. 1987. *A Woman's Guide to Jobs in Film and Television*. London: Pandora Press.

Based on the experiences of several hundred women already working in the media, combines facts and figures with women's personal accounts and gives practical advice on the problems women are likely to encounter.

Okigbo, Charles. 1988. 'Sex in the Newsroom: Male-Female Differences in Perceptions of Media Professionalism', *Communications: the European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 7-22.

Questionnaire-based attitude study of male and female journalists in Nigeria. No significant differences were found between men and women with respect to perceptions of media professionalism.

Okunna, Chinyere Stella. 1992. 'Female Faculty in Journalism Education in Nigeria: Implications for the Status of Women in the Society', *Africa Media Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 47-58.

The fact that only 6% of mass communication

lecturers are women has implications for what is taught, and thus for shaping the content of the media in which students will be employed. If issues of media portrayal are not included in the syllabus, there will be no change in newsgathering and reporting which currently marginalise or trivialise women.

Rambert, Catherine and Sylvie Maquelle. 1991. *Des femmes d'influence: pouvoirs et télévision*. Paris: Hachette/Carrère.

Journalistic account of the careers of some of the most influential women in French television.

Robertson, Nan. 1992. *The Girls in the Balcony: Women, Men and The New York Times*. New York: Random House Inc.

Journalistic history of women's professional progress at *The New York Times* over the past century. Greatest advances have been since 1972, when women working at the Times began a legal process accusing the paper of systematic discrimination. An out-of-court settlement in 1978 led to an affirmative action programme which helped the next generation of women.

Sanders, Marlene and Marcia Rock. 1988. *Waiting for Prime Time: the Women of Television News*. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Behind-the-scenes look at women in U.S. broadcast journalism from the 1950s to the 1980s. Based on personal experience of pioneer Marlene Sanders and interviews with other key women journalists, explores issues of discrimination in the television industry and describes the key legal battles which women have fought.

Van Zoonen, Liesbet. 1991. 'A Tyranny of Intimacy? Women, Femininity and Television News'. In Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks (eds.) *Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and the Public Sphere in the New Media Age*. London: Routledge, pp. 217-235.

An increase in the number of women newsreaders on Dutch television has coincided with a policy aimed at the 'intimisation' of Dutch television news. This development is explored in terms of the public-private sphere model of male-female identities, which is found unhelpful to a feminist perspective on journalism.

Content, Images, Representation

Advertising

Flick, Marian. 1990. *The Advertisement as the Generalized Other*. Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Sociology (Occasional Papers, no. 050090).

Part of a larger study of gender roles in advertisements in Norwegian weeklies from 1965 to

1985. The significance of advertising content is considered from the theoretical standpoints of symbolic interactionism and cultural studies.

Friedman, Michelle. 1990. 'The Social Construction of Gender: Historically Changing Meanings of (White) Femininity and Masculinity 1910-1980', *Critical Arts: a Journal for Cultural Studies* (University of Natal, Durban), Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 67-110.

A survey of the female image in the advertisements of the 'Natal Mercury', one of the oldest daily newspapers in South Africa.

Kervin, Denis. 1990. 'Advertising Masculinity: the Representation of Males in 'Esquire' Advertisements', *Journal of Communication Enquiry*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 51-70.

Preliminary observations from a larger research project seeking to map out elements of masculine representation in the fifty-year history of advertising in 'Esquire'.

Weller, Saulwick and Associates. 1987. *Sex Role Portrayal of Women in Advertisements: a Content Analysis*. Canberra: Office of the Status of Women, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

A survey of gender representation in television, radio and print advertisements in Australia in 1987. Findings confirm those of other studies regarding unsatisfactory portrayal of women.

Wernick, Andrew. 1991. '(Re-)imaging Gender: the Case of Men'. In *Promotional Culture: Advertising, Ideology and Symbolic Expression*. London/Newbury Park/New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 48-66.

Explores definitions of masculinity in advertising from the 1950s to the 1980s. The equalization of gender status which is beginning to occur in the sphere of consumption is merely an equality of self-absorbed and emotionally anxious personalities for sale.

Film

Bakoy, Eva. 1990. 'Feminism and Images of Children in Film', *NORDICOM Review*, No. 2, pp. 11-16.

Feminist study of the representation of children in films. The portrayal of children is not ideologically neutral: the image of the child in the Hollywood film is a rhetorical weapon, which promotes attitudes and feelings running counter to feminist goals.

Byars, Jackie. 1991. *All That Hollywood Allows: Re-Reading 1950s Melodramas*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Feminist film theory used to interpret film melodrama of the 1950s.

Kaplan, E. Ann (ed.). 1990. *Psychoanalysis and Cinema*. New York/London: Routledge.

Collection which demonstrates the insights generated

by a feminist psychoanalytic reading of film.

Krutnik, Frank. 1991. *In a Lonely Street: Film Noir, Genre, Masculinity*. London: Routledge. Examines how films in the 'film noir' genre deal with the ideological problematic of masculinity. Based on a psychoanalytic approach.

Rao, Leela. 1989. 'Woman in Indian Films: a Paradigm of Continuity and Change', *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 443-458.

Changing versions of idealised femininity are traced over 75 years in mainstream film, and since the 1960s in the 'alternative' (art) cinema. From goddesses to dream girls to the new woman, the heroine helps - or is used - to project the conventional structures of a patriarchal society.

Print

Fagoaga, Concepción. 1985. 'La imagen de la mujer en los medios de comunicación. Notas sobre la percepción selectiva de los medios', *SISTEMA*, No. 64, pp. 103-113.

Study of the representation of women in three 'quality' and two popular daily newspapers in Spain. In terms of both linguistic and visual references, the press conveys a masculine representation of reality.

Gallego, Juana. 1990. *Mujeres de papel: La prensa femenina en la actualidad*. Barcelona: ICARIA Editorial.

An examination of the recent development of the women's and the feminist press, including the penetration of this sector by international capital. Reviews contemporary portrayals of the sexes, with reference to images of the 'new man' and the 'new woman'.

Grjebine, Lois (ed.). 1987. *Reporting on Prostitution: the Media, Women and Prostitution in India, Malaysia and the Philippines*. Paris: UNESCO (Documents on Communication and Society, No. 18).

Case studies of coverage of prostitution in the print media. Though journalists have considered aspects of the issue 'unnewsworthy' and have often handled stories as 'hot copy' to boost sales, there has also been some crusading journalism which has jolted public opinion and forced the authorities to take action.

Inoue, Teruko. 1989. *Reading Women's Magazines: Compareopolitan - Studies of Japanese, American and Mexican Women's Magazines*. Tokyo: Kakiuchi Publishing Company. (Published in Japanese. English review by Yasuko Hio in *Women and Language*, Vol. XIV, no. 1, p. 39).

Comparative studies of more than 200 women's, men's and general interest magazines, over an eight-year period. Traditional gender roles have not

changed, but have simply been reformulated. Women's magazines function as advertising media. The continual focus on cosmetics, fashion and cosmetic surgery is particularly damaging to women's self-esteem.

Klein, Marie-Luise. 1986. *Frauensport in der Tagespresse*. Bochum: Brockmeyer Verlag.

Analysis of sports reports and photographs in West German newspapers. Concludes that the press legitimises the marginal position of women in sport.

McRobbie, Angela. 1991. *Feminism and Youth Culture: from 'Jackie' to 'Just Seventeen'*. London: Macmillan.

Brings together previously published and new essays, including two studies of girls' magazines which illustrate how representations of femininity evolved between the 1970s and the late 1980s.

Sasinska-Klas, Teresa. 1989. 'Das Bild der Frau in polnischen Frauenzeitschriften'. In *Frauen in den 80er Jahren*. Wien: Bundesministerium für Soziale Verwaltung.

Overview of content and messages of women's magazines in Poland.

Valdivia, Angharad. 1990. 'Prensa, mujer y revolución', *Chasqui*, No. 34, pp. 45-47.

How the participation of women in the Nicaraguan revolution was reported in four newspapers (1979-1980), representing the 'establishment vs. left' divide in the U.S. and Nicaragua. Geographical and ideological variables affected the quality and quantity of material published. One factor was similar to all coverage: its scepticism of the relevance of feminism.

Van Zoonen, Liesbet. 1992. 'The Women's Movement and the Media: Constructing a Public Identity', *European Journal of Communication* (forthcoming). Study of the interaction between the Dutch media and women's movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The media constructed a particular public identity for the movement, suggesting that: 'emancipation' is legitimate; 'feminism' is deviant; movement activists are not like 'ordinary' women; the movement is hostile to men.

Wersall, Britt-Louise. 1989. *Veckotidningsnovellen 1950-1975. En sociologisk analys* (The Magazine Short Story from 1950 to 1975. A Sociological Analysis). Lund: University of Lund. (In Swedish. English summary available).

Analysis of almost 750 stories, interviews with magazine editors, and social statistics were used to describe stability and change. The stories reflected some social changes, but not women's increased employment rate. Depiction of male-female relationships evolved, with solidarity and partnership stressed more often by the 70s. Female characters

became more active, though the ideal man remained tender and protective.

Television

Behra, Sunil K. 1989. 'Gender Role Biases on Indian Television', *Media Asia*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 119-124.

Analysis of television news, fiction and advertisements carried out in 1988. Men are cast as masters, doers and intellectuals with women as their supporters, admirers, caretakers and entertainers. The notion of male superiority is particularly apparent in commercials. Concludes with recommendations for change.

Buonanno, Milly. 1991. *Il Reale è Immaginario: La fiction italiana, l'Italia nella fiction*. Rome: Nuova ERI.

Analysis of 600 hours of televised fiction 1988-90. The protagonists are predominantly male. A few strong female characters exist, mainly in the private sphere. Despite a tendency towards the depiction of female protagonists in the public sphere, and towards portrayal of male 'anti-heroes', the main focus is male-centred and success-oriented.

Chaudhary, Manisha. 1987. 'Images of Women Through Television', *Communicator*, pp. 29-31.

A number of purportedly 'women-oriented' serials ran on Indian television in 1987. An episode of one of these is analysed. At the end of a programme full of anti-women images, the heroine miraculously overcomes her repression and mouths a few sentences about her power and independence. Women must question the impact of such material.

Kader, Soha Abdel. 1986. 'Images of Women in Drama and Women's Programmes on Egyptian Television'. In *Proceedings of an International Workshop on Research Methodologies on Women and the Media*. Lusaka: Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD)/Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD: PO Box 37386, Lusaka), pp. 18-19.

Study of 14 serials, 12 short plays and 40 women's programmes. Confirms findings of other studies: female characters younger than males; shown as mothers, wives and lovers, whereas men were portrayed as professionals.

Kaplan, E. Ann. 1987. *Rocking Around the Clock: Music Television, Postmodernism and Consumer Culture*. New York/London: Methuen.

Feminist study of the cultural context of MTV and its relationship to the history of rock music, focusing particularly on gender representations and modes of address. Explores the relationship between the discourse of MTV and postmodernism, arguing that

the latter attracts some theorists because it seems to render feminism obsolete. Feminists must confront this postmodernist challenge.

Kodama, Miiko. 1989. *Women in Modern Journalism*. Tokyo: Gakubunsha. (Published in Japanese. English translation of Introduction and Chapter V available from the author: address listed in 'Research in Progress').

Chapter V analyses women's appearance in the main evening news of NHK (Japan) and CBS (U.S.A.) in 1974 and 1984. Women newsreaders (Japan) and reporters (U.S.A.) increased, as did the number of women appearing as subjects of the news (both countries). But few women featured as news subjects were dynamic, decisive actors. However, these developments may indicate that news values are changing to include issues previously considered 'unnewsworthy'.

Krishan, Prabha and Anita Dighe. 1990. *Affirmation and Denial: Construction of Femininity on Indian Television*. New Delhi/Newbury Park/London: Sage Publications.

Study of wide range of programmes screened in India in 1986. The output is biased in favour of male elites. Masculine and feminine genders are constructed as polar opposites. A few 'heroic' women are shown, but usually cast as redeemers of patriarchy. The trend to commercialisation creates new contradictions. Calls for widespread media education.

Michielsens, Magda. 1991. *Women in View*. Brussels: Belgische Radio en Televisie Nederlandse. Study of the image of women as projected in 1990 by the two television channels of the Belgian broadcasting organisation BRT. Programmes were watched and evaluated by a panel of viewers. Television appears to be lagging behind reality in the picture it presents of both sexes.

Mrozowski, Maciej. 1989. 'Male and Female Images in Polish Television Programming', *Pozekazy i Opinie*, Vol. 1. (In Polish: English abstract available).

Content analysis carried out in 1986. Found that differences between male and female images in Polish television are so marked and coherent that portrayal can indeed be regarded as stereotyped. This misrepresents reality and contradicts the tenets of socialism.

Rakow, Lana F. and Kimberlie Kranich. 1991. 'Woman as Sign in Television News', *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 41, No. 1, pp. 8-23.

Analysis shows that when women do appear as sources and subjects in news, they represent 'women' in a ritualised role, and feminist voices are usually mainstream designees of a seemingly homogeneous female viewpoint.

Multi-media

- Azarcon-dela Cruz, Pennie S. 1988. *From Virgin to Vamp: Images of Women in Philippine Media*. Manila: Asian Social Institute, in cooperation with World Association for Christian Communication. A 1985 analysis of advertisements, newspapers, weekly magazines, 'komiks' and pornographic magazines, television, radio and film. Filipino women are portrayed either as meticulous housewives, mothers or domestics, or as busy secretaries, models or mistresses. Some recent initiatives are cited as sources of optimism.
- Betterton, Rosemary (ed.). 1987. *Looking On: Images of Femininity in the Visual Arts and Media*. London: Pandora. Focuses on the still image and its diverse contexts of production and consumption in advertising, fine art, photography and pornography.
- Davies, Kath, Julienne Dickey and Teresa Stratford (eds.). 1987. *Out of Focus: Writings on Women and the Media*. London: The Women's Press. Almost forty brief articles analyse images of women in the British media - television, radio, newspapers and magazines - taking up issues of race, class, disability, sexuality and age. Final chapter provides practical advice on how stereotyped images can be challenged and changed.
- Easthope, Antony. 1986. *What a Man's Gotta Do: the Masculine Myth in Popular Culture*. London: Paladin. A collection of essays on the ways in which masculinity is represented in films, television, newspapers, pop music and pulp novels. One of the earliest attempts to explore images of men in Western popular culture.
- Ghadially, Rehana (ed.). 1988. *Women in Indian Society: a Reader*. New Delhi/Newbury Park/London: Sage Publications. Includes three chapters on mass media: mistreatment of women in Hindi films, shortcomings of films regarded as feminist or which give women a central role, and portrayal of women in popular soap operas.
- Halonen, Irma Kaarina. 1988. 'The Image of Women in Finnish Mass Media', *NORDICOM Review*, No. 1, pp. 41-43. Reports on studies of the representation of women in television news and current affairs programmes, and in Finnish newspapers. There are still many 'black holes' in feminist critiques and studies of gender imagery.
- Longo, Gioia. 1985. *Immagine Donna: Modelli di donna emergenti nei mezzi di comunicazione di massa*. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale per la Realizzazione della Parità tra Uomo e Donna. Analysis of Italian daily and weekly press, women's magazines, television news and cultural programmes, and advertising, in late 1984. Finds no evidence of a genuine cultural response to new policies of equality for women and men. Stereotyping persists, through images which though apparently new and modern simply reformulate or adapt old values.
- Mattelart, Michèle. 1986. *Women, Media, Crisis: Femininity and Disorder*. London: Comedia. Essays written between 1971 and 1982, brought together for the first time, raise two basic questions. What image of women do the media 'naturally' promote? What change occurs in the universe of symbols during periods of crisis, compared with times of relative stability? A global perspective on media representations of women, with mainly Latin American examples.
- Modleski, Tania (ed.). 1986. *Studies in Entertainment: Critical Approaches to Mass Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. The relationship of gender to popular culture is at the heart of many of the essays in this collection, which also includes a specific section on feminist studies, with articles on advertisements, popular novels, and fashion.
- Mort, Frank. 1988. 'Boys Own? Masculinity, Style and Popular Culture'. In Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford (eds.) *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, pp. 193-224. Young men are being sold images which rupture traditional icons of masculinity, encouraging pleasures previously branded taboo or feminine. Are these in fact progressive texts? And if so, progressive for whom?
- Ogundipe-Leslie, Molare. 1990. 'The Image of Women and the Role of the Media in a New Political Culture in Nigeria', *Africa Media Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 52-59. The mass media portray women and issues affecting them in a manner that is predominantly negative and 'special' as though women were not part of 'normal' society. Women in the media must lead the struggle to change this stereotyped treatment.
- Stewart, Lea P. and Stella Ting-Toomey (eds.). 1987. *Communication, Gender and Sex Roles in Diverse Interaction Contexts*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex. Covers interpersonal, organisational, applied interaction and cultural contexts. In the latter, one chapter analyses women's images in popular songs, and another explores gender stereotypes in comic strips.

Audience, Reception, Consumption

Ang, Ien and Joke Hermes. 1991. 'Gender and/in Media Consumption'. In James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.) *Mass Media and Society*. London: Edward Arnold, pp. 307-328.

Critiques the use of gender as a fixed category in studies of media consumption. This should be conceptualised as a set of intersecting and contradicting cultural practices, in which the adoption of 'male' and 'female' subject positions depends on specific contexts.

Brown, Mary Ellen (ed.). 1990. *Television and Women's Culture: the Politics of the Popular*. London/Newbury Park/ New Delhi: Sage.

Collection of essays which exemplify a specific, culturalist, strand of feminist television criticism. The underlying theme of the book is that the various television genres offer women opportunities for negotiation of their own meanings and their own aesthetic appreciation.

Camera Obscura. 1988. No. 16, 'Television and the Female Consumer'.

Six articles which explore how television attempts to attract women consumers. Consumption is conceptualised in two ways: television's display of commodities and lifestyles; the consumption of the text itself - how audiences understand television programmes, and how television defines femininity and female desire.

Communication. 1987. Vol. 9, Nos 3-4, 'Intersections of Power: Criticism-Television-Gender'.

Articles explore the thesis that gender is a socially and historically constructed category, produced in televisual texts through specific representations. The assumption that viewers may find ways to challenge and resist these gendered texts underlies most of the essays. Examples are drawn from U.S. television.

Eriksen-Terzian, Anna. 1988. *Télévision et Sexisme: la rencontre des jeunes avec les personnages proposés dans des émissions télévisées*. Cousset (Fribourg), Switzerland: Editions DelVal.

Study of programme preferences of 7 to 18 year-olds in Paris, 1984. Male characters outnumbered females by 5 or 6 to one; both girls and boys were more likely to admire male than female characters; this preference was significantly more marked among boys, especially older boys; boys identified strongly with the aggressive 'superman' hero; the restricted range of role models does not reflect the diversity of social reality.

Fiske, John. 1987. *Television Culture*. London/New York: Methuen.

Includes two chapters on 'Gendered Television'. One looks at soap opera as a 'feminine narrative', the other takes the popular action series as an example of 'masculine narrative'. Argues that the latter is less polysemic than 'feminine texts' because masculinity's relationship to patriarchy is less resistive than that of femininity.

Gamman, Lorraine and Margaret Marshment (eds.). 1988. *The Female Gaze: Women as Viewers of Popular Culture*. London: The Women's Press.

A collection of essays which explore 'possibilities and pitfalls of intervention in popular forms in order to find ways of making feminist meanings a part of our pleasures'.

Geraghty, Christine. 1991. *Women and Soap Opera: a Study of Prime Time Soaps*. Cambridge: Polity Press and Basil Blackwell Inc.

Examines the relationship between the narratives of British and U.S. soaps and their women viewers. Links the central themes of soaps to broader social divisions between women and men, arguing that soap operas question and develop these as a source of pleasure for the audience. The utopian possibilities of soaps can be used not just to maintain the status quo, but to promote change and influence attitudes.

Gledhill, Christine (ed.). 1987. *Home is Where the Heart is: Studies in Melodrama and the Woman's Film*. London: British Film Institute.

Collection tracing the development of critical writing on melodrama from the early 1970s to the mid 1980s. Addresses issues of pleasure, fantasy and ideology and their role in popular culture, particularly in relation to women as protagonists in, and spectators of, the genre.

Hartnett, Sally and Associates. 1988. *The Portrayal of Women in Advertisements. Stage 2: Women's Views about the Ways they are Portrayed in Television Advertising*. Canberra: Office of the Status of Women, Department of the Prime Minister.

Telephone survey of women, and interviews with advertising agency personnel in 1988. Found major dissatisfaction among Australian women about the ways in which women are shown in advertisements, despite the research effort being made within the advertising industry.

Hermes, Joke and Veronique Schutgens. 1992. 'A Case of the Emperor's New Clothes? Reception and Text Analysis of the Dutch Feminist Magazine *Opzij*', *European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 7, No. 3.

The content and reception of the magazine is analysed, to show how feminism and a feminist identity are constructed both by the text and its readers. This combined analysis leads the authors to express concern about the fate of feminism in the 1990s.

Kimball, Meredith M. 1986. 'Television and Sex-Role Attitudes'. In Tannis MacBeth Williams (ed.) *The Impact of Television: a Natural Experiment in Three Communities*, pp. 265-310. New York: Academic Press.

Research carried out in three Canadian towns in the mid-1970s, pre- and post introduction of television in one of the towns. Findings showed that beliefs about appropriate and typical behaviour for girls and boys were more strongly sex typed in the presence than in the absence of television.

Koch, Gertrud. 1985. 'Why Women Go to Men's Films'. In Gisela Ecker (ed.) *Feminist Aesthetics*. London: The Women's Press, pp. 108-119.

Argues that the decrease in female cinema attendance is linked with neglect of female viewers' need for narcissistic and voyeuristic identifications. The vamp stereotype has given way to a vague image of woman which distinguishes merely between comrade and sex partner, a polarisation which only roughly corresponds to the ambivalences and fragmentation of roles in the female condition.

Lewis, Lisa A. 1990. *Gender Politics and MTV: Voicing the Difference*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Examines the videos and careers of female musicians and their appeal to female audiences, arguing that these artists have appropriated music video as a vehicle of feminist expression. By appropriating elements of gender-typed culture as symbols of female empowerment, female rock stars have created a significant new audience for MTV among teenage girls.

Livingstone, Sonia. 1988. 'Viewers' Interpretations of Soap Opera: the Role of Gender, Power and Morality'. In Philip Drummond and Richard Paterson (eds.) *Television and its Audience: International Research Perspectives*. London: British Film Institute, pp. 83-107.

Analyses the ways in which the television audience interprets fictional characters in 'Coronation Street' and 'Dallas'. Audience interpretations emerge from a blend of what is 'in' the programmes and the knowledge and biases of viewers themselves.

Morley, David. 1986. *Family Television: Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure*. London: Comedia Publishing Group.

Detailed study of television viewing which, it is argued, is situated firmly within the politics of the living room and the structure of power relations within the family. The one structural principle working across all families interviewed is that of gender.

Press, Andrea L. 1991. *Women Watching Television: Gender, Class and Generation in the*

American Television Experience. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Based on interviews with women about their viewing experiences. Working-class women are much more likely to find television characters 'real' than are middle-class women. However, their evaluations of realism reflect their wishes about reality, rather than a detached assessment of the accuracy of television's depictions of their experiences.

Pribham, E. Deidre. 1988. *Female Spectators: Looking at Film and Television*. London and New York: Verso.

Collection of essays which explore various aspects of film and television criticism, from U.S. and European perspectives. Includes readings of individual films and television programmes, as well as insights from women directors.

Seiter, Ellen, Hans Borchers, Gabriele Kreutzner and Eva-Maria Warth (eds.). 1989. *Remote Control: Television, Audiences and Cultural Power*. London and New York: Routledge.

Issues of gender are taken up in many of the chapters, which approach the study of television audiences from a variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives. Contributions from Europe, the U.S., Australia and Israel.

Walkerdine, Valerie. 1986. 'Video Replay: Families, Films and Fantasy'. In Victor Burgin, James Donald and Cora Kaplan (eds.) *Formations of Fantasy*. London and New York: Methuen, pp. 167-199.

Analysis of one family's viewing of the video of *Rocky II*. Aims to show how aspects of filmic representations are incorporated into the domestic practices of the family. The question of how gender and class enter into these practices is central to the analysis.

New Communication Technologies

Drotner, Kirsten. 1989. 'Girl Meets Boy: Aesthetic Production, Reception, and Gender Identity', *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 208-225.

Observational study of Danish adolescents making a video. Gender differences were noted in control of hardware, preferences for genre and story-line, and in behaviour in shooting situations. Argues that making video opened a safe place in which contradictory experiences could be acted out and negotiated. The new media thus have the power to change perceptions in an aesthetic as well as a social sense.

Franquet, Rosa. 1988. 'La mujer en el hogar tecnológico', *TELOS: Cuadernos de Comunicación, Tecnología y Sociedad*, No. 13, pp. 110-115.

In the labour market, the home and the media of social communication, the introduction of new information technologies has improved neither the

situation nor the social image of women.

GRANITE (Gender and New Information Technologies). 1990. *For Business Only*. Amsterdam: SISWO (PO Box 19079, 1000 GB Amsterdam).

Collection of papers presented at the first GRANITE seminar (October 1989), including an extensive bibliography and a report of themes emerging from the seminar. Outlines the genesis of GRANITE, and presents a tentative agenda for future research activities.

Gray, Ann. 1992. *Video Playtime: the Gendering of a Leisure Technology*. London: Comedia/Routledge (in press).

Focuses on the domestic video cassette recorder and in particular how women use and perceive this piece of entertainment technology. The author sets out to investigate the extent to which social and cultural contextual factors determine the ways in which women use the VCR and how, if at all, this technology disrupts existing social and cultural patterns.

Jansen, Sue Curry. 1989. 'Gender and the Information Society: a Socially Structured Silence', *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 196-215.

Debates on technology have ignored the question of gender because established categories and conventions of Western languages and thought direct attention away from this issue. New feminist epistemologies offer a renaissance in the ways we conceive, create, code, use and theorize technologies.

Kramarae, Cherie (ed.). 1988. *Technology and Women's Voices: Keeping in Touch*. New York, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Explores the impact of technological change on women's communication, primarily in the United States but also in Canada and the United Kingdom. Technological processes have hitherto been studied from the (usually implicit) vantage point of men's experiences. Putting women at the centre of analysis, these essays clarify male biases and masculinist ideologies, throw up new questions and suggest fresh approaches to old ones.

Martin, Michèle. 1991. "Hello Central?", Gender, Technology and Culture in the Formation of Telephone Systems. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Examines the relationship between political-economic interests of the telephone industry, including the role of female workers, and the cultural practices of women consumers in the development of the Canadian telephone system.

Media, Culture & Society. 1992. Vol. 14, No. 1,

'Gender and Technology'.

Four essays examine aspects of gender relations and new information technologies: a feminist critique of gender and technology interactions, the deficiencies of research in this field when viewed from a feminist perspective, telephone usage among women in Australia, and the use of the French Minitel in a feminist communication experiment.

Pérez-Vitoria, Silvia. forthcoming. *Impact des nouvelles technologies de la communication sur les femmes en tant qu'utilisatrices et productrices des moyens de communication*. Paris: UNESCO (Reports and Papers on Mass Communication No. 107).

Synthesis of studies which cover gender differences in mobile telephone usage in the United States, the use of video in a popular communication project for women in Bolivia, cable television viewing among middle-class women in India, a feminist videotext experiment in France.

Rakow, Lana F. 1991. *Gender on the Line: Women, the Telephone, and Community Life*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Examination of the gendered nature of the telephone as it is used in the construction of community, family and social life. The study is less concerned with how women and men use the telephone differently, than with how use of the telephone is an instance of the social construction of gender.

Communication, Development, Alternatives

Brown, William J. and Michael J. Cody. 1991. 'Effects of a Prosocial Television Soap Opera in Promoting Women's Status', *Human Communication Research*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 114-142.

Effects of *Hum Log*, India's first long-running television soap opera. Exposure did not make viewers more aware of women's status issues, but the programme paved the way for greater audience involvement with subsequent Indian prosocial television programmes.

Development Communication Report. 1990. No. 70, 'Communicating with Women'.

Includes articles on women and development support communication, communication strategies for women's development and empowerment, funding communication for women in development.

Joshi, S.R. and Hansa Joshi. 1986. 'Women and Television: ISRO Experiences'. In Binod C. Agrawal, S.R. Joshi and Arbind Sinha (eds.) *Communication Research for Development: the ISRO Experience*, pp. 22-33. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co.

Experiences in the Kheda community television project 1975-1985. Includes discussion of women as audience members, portrayal of women's issues in programmes, role of women in programme production.

Lewis, Peter (ed.). forthcoming. *Alternative Media Impact: a Global Study*. Paris: UNESCO (Reports and Papers on Mass Communication No. 108).

Includes three chapters on women's use of alternative media for development: street theatre and other group media in India, the Sistren theatre collective in Jamaica, and a journal for women's emancipation in Morocco.

Mlama, Penina. 1989. 'Culture, Women and the Media'. In S. T. Kwame Boafo (ed.) *Communication and Culture: African Perspectives*. Nairobi: Africa Church Information Service, pp. 11-18.

Limited participation of women in African mass media arises from the top-down model of the modern communication system, and from cultural factors. If women are to be involved as communicators and as audience, the mass media should be combined with indigenous media such as popular theatre, dances and story-telling.

Steeves, H. Leslie. 1992. 'Women, Rural Information Delivery, Social Equity and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa'. In Luke Uka Uche (ed.) *Communication and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Lagos, Nigeria: Longman (in press).

Reviews literature on women and development communication including research on women and mass media, case studies of development communication projects, research on women and extension. In all cases emphasis is on information transmitted to women, rather than women's access to communication means. A combination of strategies, together with more integrated critiques and analyses, would enhance women's empowerment.

Valdivia, Angharad. 1989. 'Some Dangers in Conducting Third World Feminist Communications Research', *Women and Language*, Vol. XI, no. 2, pp. 44-45.

Raises questions about the ethnocentrism of feminist research as conducted in the West, the inaccessibility of its language and terminology, and the irrelevance of certain contemporary approaches (for example 'postmodernism') to the experience of Third World populations.

Strategy and Policy

Abrahamsson, Ulla B. 1988. 'Pa vagen mellan ideologi och verklighet. Om TV och jämställdheten' (On the Road from Ideology to Reality. About Television and Equality Between Women and Men), *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift*, No. 3, pp. 28-39.

Based on four reports (1983-1988) from the author's project 'The TV-World and Reality' which examines what happens to the television medium, to programme content, and to the audience in the

context of introduction of the ideology of gender equality in Swedish society. Interactions between these various aspects of the process are explored.

Abrahamsson, Ulla B. 1990. *Are We Nearing the Top of the Hill? Notes from a Decade of Working Toward Equality in Swedish Broadcasting*. Stockholm: Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, Audience and Programme Research Department.

A summary and progress report on efforts to promote equality through personnel and programme policy. In some respects the record inspires optimism, but 'equal opportunity' is not enough to change ingrained sex-role patterns: the covert forces militating against change are far too effective.

Balasubrahmanyam, Vimal. 1988. *Mirror Image: the Media and the Women's Question*. Bombay: Centre for Education and Documentation.

The women and media relationship has become a complex one, as the media have responded to the mood created by activities of the women's movement during the United Nations Decade for Women. These complexities are examined primarily with reference to examples from the English language print media in India; television, cinema and advertising are briefly covered. Includes suggestions for changing media content.

Bartos, Rena. 1989. *Marketing to Women: a Global Perspective*. Oxford: Heinemann Professional Publishing Ltd.

Analysis of demographic and attitudinal differences among women in ten countries - in North America, Western Europe, Asia and Latin America - and their effect on consumer behaviour. The intention is to show that marketers who cling to outmoded stereotypes of women 'have overlooked a great opportunity'. An advertiser's viewpoint, and of interest as such.

Chester, Gail and Julianne Dickey (eds.). 1988. *Feminism and Censorship: the Current Debate*. Bridport, Dorset: Prism Press.

Approaches to the elimination of media sexism and pornography outlined by feminists with varying perspectives and political opinions.

Commission of the European Communities. 1991. *Equal Opportunities in European Broadcasting: a Guide to Good Practice*. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities, Directorate-General Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs. A compendium of suggestions for good practice, based on experience in European radio and television. Covers policy, working conditions, programme content.

European Broadcasting Union. 1991. *Women and Men in Broadcasting: Equality in the 90s?* Geneva, EBU.

Report on EBU/EC Conference held in Athens 1990, covering employment and programme content. Contributions from Canada, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy and U.K. Includes action proposals adopted at the Conference.

Gallagher, Margaret. 1990. 'Shifting Focus: Women and Broadcasting in the European Community', *Studies in Broadcasting* (NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute), No. 26, pp. 61-82.

Examines the increasing commercialisation of broadcasting in Europe, and the implications of this for women. Examples of women's action strategies are given, and the policy of the European Community to promote equality in the media is described.

Holtz-Bacha, Christina. 1990. 'Wenn Frauen den Journalismus erobern oder: Was bringt die Quotierung?', *MediaPerspektiven*, Vol. 8, pp. 497-503. Discusses the advantages of establishing equality policies and quotas, and the question of whether better representation of female journalists is likely to change media content.

InterMedia. 1989. Vol. 17, No. 5, pp. 25-29, 'Women and the Media'.

Reports on the conference 'Media and Women in a North-South Perspective' held in conjunction with the 1988 International Institute of Communication Conference, and on follow-up discussions at the 1989 IIC Conference. Presents summary data from Ghana, Mexico, the Philippines and the Pacific, and touches on strategies for change.

Muramatsu, Yasuko. 1990. 'Of Women by Women for Women?: Japanese Media Today', *Studies of Broadcasting* (NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute), No. 26, pp. 83-104.

Explores three problems and their inter-relationships: women as a target audience of the commercial media; limitations in information for and about women provided by the media; subordinate status of women working in the media. After a period of critical research, recent work has taken a more practical and positive direction in an effort to promote change.

Robinson, Gertrude J. 1992. 'Women and the Media in Canada: a Progress Report'. In Helen Holmes and David Taras (eds.) *Our Own Reflections: Mass Media and Canadian Identity*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehard and Winston (in press).

Traces two decades of development in women's access to the media professions, the portrayal of women in the media, and the achievements of media activists. The broadcast media demonstrate a 'stalled revolution' in both personnel and programme policies, where female and male perspectives are not

yet valued equally.

Toronto Women in Film and Television. 1991. *Changing Focus: the Future of Women in the Canadian Film and Television Industry*. Toronto: Toronto Women in Film and Television.

Fourteen essays analyse why women are under-represented in film and television in Canada, concluding that the industry - like other social institutions - has been developed by and for men. Contains a plan of action, with sixty-five recommendations, drawing on consultations with women and men in the industry and in government.

General Interest Journals: Recent Special Issues

Chasqui: Revista Latinoamericana de Comunicación. 1990. No. 34, 'Mujer, Desafíos de la Comunicación' (published by CIESPAL, Apartado 584, Quito).

Covers women, communication and development, women's communication networks and organisations, images of women in the press, sexist language, the situation of women working in the media in Ecuador, interviews with women communicators.

Connexions. 1991. No. 37, 'Image Re-Vision' (published by People's Translation Service, 4228 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609).

Thirty contributions from Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, Caribbean, North America explore media images of women and steps women have taken to revise those images.

Extra! 1991. Vol. 4, No. 2, 'Missing Voices: Women and the Media'. (published by FAIR: Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, 130 West 25th Street, New York, NY 10001).

Articles on women's representation in the news, rape coverage, abortion coverage, portrayal of lesbians, advertising, gender bias in televised sports, teen magazines, women in radio, feminism as seen by *Newsweek*, women media workers.

Index on Censorship. 1990. Vol. 19, No. 9, 'Women: Breaking the Silence' (published by Writers & Scholars International Ltd, 39c Highbury Place, London N5 1QP).

Confronts the issue of the censorship of women, presenting articles and items from around the world which set out women's views on how this censorship operates and affects their work and lives.

Media & Values. 1989. No. 48 'Men, Myth and Media', and No. 49 'Redesigning Women' (published by the Center for Media and Values, 1962 South Shendoah, Los Angeles, CA 90034).

Each issue covers a wide range of topics, building up a picture of the facets that contribute to media constructions of masculinity and femininity. Part of the Workshop Package 'Break the Lies that Bind' (see

Resources section).

Mujer/Fempress. December 1989. 'Violencia en los Medios' (published by Fempress, ILET Casilla 16-637, Santiago 9).

Draws links between violence against women in society and imagery in various types of media output, including advertisements, fotonovelas, the press, telenovelas, objectification of women on television, denigration of women in humour. Suggests strategies to improve media content.

Refractory Girl. 1991. Issue 38, 'On the Media' (published by Refractory Girl, PO Box 648, Glebe, NSW 2037, Australia).

Articles from Australia on women and television news, violence and pornography, working in the media, television advertisements, and 'handy hints for using the media'.

The Tribune: a Women and Development Quarterly. 1989. Newsletter 41, 'Women Using the Media to Effect Change' (published by the International Women's Tribune Centre, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017).

Analyses the problem of women's portrayal and absence in the media, shows how to monitor media content, how to use the media to move women's issues onto the agenda, and includes profiles of women's media networks around the world.

VIVA. 1986. Vol. 3, No. 8, 'La mujer y los medios de comunicación' (published by Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristan, Parque Hernán Velarde No. 42, Lima 1).

Covers objectification of women in the press, images of women in television, women's alternative communication, interviews with women working in radio, television and the press.

AFTERWORD

The Editor

The questions raised in the debates about feminism and about the various roles and images of men and women vis-a-vis the mass media are difficult, and probably, in the final analysis, can never be answered definitively. They nevertheless contain serious moral implications which all--not least those who work professionally with the media--must take as seriously as they do other vital moral issues. Even if we cannot grasp their full and final implications, we cannot ignore these questions in day-to-day decision making.

The changes of the past few decades have created new social contexts in which we have to live and make practical judgements. Our perceptions of what constitutes 'human dignity', for ourselves and for others, change with changing times. And the love of neighbour--which combines with love of God as the most fundamental of moral principles (Mt. 22:34-40)--begins with full respect for that neighbour's dignity and her or his fundamental rights. The basic moral principles of yesterday remain the same, but their practical applications must take account of the new shapes human relationships have assumed.

Every residue of sexism in our behaviour, like residues of racism, gnaws away at the dignity we owe to other human beings--and even more so now, when equality has come to be understood as intrinsic to dignity. Feminist scholarship has been trying to signal us that things have changed and that the rules of fairness and justice which may have applied in the past simply do not work any more. The new configuration of social roles requires a new and

transcendent moral perspective. Integrity demands that we think through what is really required--now, not just in the past--to act as fairly and justly as possible.

An examination of conscience for the media professional might include the following points:

-Do I examine closely enough the media contents for which I am responsible to ensure that they are not dominated by ingrained assumptions about the sexes which have become caricatures of today's social realities?

-Do the media contents for which I am responsible treat members of both sexes as human beings, equal, made to the likeness of God; or do they encourage audiences to treat others as objects, to be coveted like merchandise, bought and sold, used and discarded, or otherwise degraded?

-Do I hire, fire or promote employees on the basis of intrinsic merit or on some prejudgement that they 'won't fit in' because of accidents of sex, race, or other factors the individual cannot control, and which are irrelevant to the job?

-Do I listen to others and judge their ideas on their merits, regardless of the sex, race or other irrelevant attributes of the individual?

-Do I recognize that the differing perspectives I can gain from the opposite sex and from other groups might open my eyes to values I have not previously appreciated?

-Do I, as a member of the audience, take too much for granted--tacitly consenting to them--programmes or films which are exploitative or condescending?

The list could be extended, but these points are

enough to indicate that the research reviewed in this issue has broad practical significance.

The responsibilities these new perspectives uncover are not one-sided. Women have as much duty as men to think through their own roles, the roles of others--male or female--and the ways their decisions influence the images we have of one another. 'Dialogue' and 'sensitivity' may be overused words, but the attitudes they represent are essential if the 'battle of the sexes' is to be resolved in a 'just and lasting peace.'

W. E. Biernatzki, S.J., Ph.D.

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Erratum

Under 'Italy' in the 'Current Research' section of Vol. 11, No.1 (pg.27) our description of the study of the presentation of the Catholic Mass on television contained an error about its sponsorship. The study is being spearheaded by the Institute of Social Communication Sciences (ISCOS) of the Salesian Pontifical University, in collaboration with several other Catholic universities in Italy.

Clarification

In the same issue (Vol. 11, No. 1, pg. 17), the full description of 'the CELEP study' of televangelism in Central America is as follows: The CELEP study was conducted by the Latin American Center for Pastoral Studies (CELEP--Aptdo. 1710, 01901 Guatemala City, Guatemala), under the direction of Adolfo Ruíz and Dennis A. Smith, in 1985. The most complete statistical report of the study was published in Spanish, in *Pastoralia* (San José, Costa Rica--Vol. 9, No. 18 [1987]). A more interpretative study by Dennis A. Smith was published in English as 'The Gospel According to the United States: Evangelical Broadcasting in Central America,' in *American Evangelism and the Mass Media*, edited by Quentin J. Schultz (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1990), pp.289-305.

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