Pamela J. Creedon & Judith Cramer

MASS COMMUNICATION

THIRD EDITION



in MASS COMMUNICATION

THIRD EDITION

Pamela J. Creedon & Judith Cramer

The University of Iowa

St. John's University



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Acquiring Editors:

Margaret H. Seawell/Todd R. Armstrong Sarah K. Quesenberry

Editorial Assistant:

Astrid Virding

Project Editor: Copyeditor:

Carla Freeman

Typesetter:

C&M Digitals (P) Ltd.

Indexer:

Kimberly Merchant

Women in MASS COMMUNICATION

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—PC

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-IC

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PART I

Two Decades of Progress?

Introduction

We've Come a Long Way, Maybe . . .

Judith Cramer, St. John's University
Pamela J. Creedon, The University of Iowa

This should be a season of celebration. America has its first female in the Oval Office. Everywhere you look, there are women surgeons, police officials, hard-charging executives and even amazingly resourceful undercover operatives. So why aren't women across the country cheering? Well, perhaps because those role models—important as they are—are all fictional.

—Barbara Kantrowitz (2005)

hey are all characters on the 2005–2006 season's prime-time television programs: Commander in Chief, Grey's Anatomy, and Alias. And, with few exceptions, these women do not model values different from those of their male TV character predecessors.

4 Two Decades of Progress?

It has been 30 years since women began entering the workforce in significant numbers and 12 years since the previous edition of *Women in Mass Communication* was published, containing the hopeful writings of many feminist scholars and professionals. So much has changed . . . and yet, so little.

Play, Rewind, Fast Forward

Reformist Feminism

In 1989, George Herbert Walker Bush was president of the United States, the Tiananmen Square pro-democracy rally was held in China, and the Exxon Valdez spilled 11 million gallons of oil into Prince William Sound in Alaska. This is also the year Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values was first published. The book focused on the challenge of "re-visioning" gender values in mass communication.

In the first edition, we and 18 other feminist media scholars described issues and prescribed solutions to gender inequities in the mass communication professions. Our chapters reflected on "re-vision," a term borrowed from author Adrienne Rich (1979):

Re-vision is the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering a new text from a new critical direction. For women it is an act of survival because until we can understand the assumptions in which we are drenched, we cannot know ourselves. (p. 35)

Our treatment of gender embraced our understanding of "the other" in our assumptions about race, class, sexuality, and gender.

Many of the studies we reported about women in mass communication had never been amassed into one volume. While each author was knowledgeable about a specific media profession, such as newspapers, television, radio, magazines, public relations, or advertising, or a theory or a research niche, their findings had never before been assembled into the "big picture."

When we all viewed the big picture, it looked pretty dismal. We reported about the "glass ceiling" in promotions, the \$1 million penalty for being a woman in public relations (that's the salary gap between men and women over a career), sexist images in advertising, and the paucity of female full professors in our discipline. It was not a pretty picture in 1989, but we believed that bringing the issues into the light would make a difference.

Play, Fast Forward, Rewind

Transformist Feminism

Five years later, in 1994, Bill Clinton was president, and the Whitewater scandal investigations had begun. Nelson Mandela was the first Black president of South Africa, and the first terrorist act against the World Trade Center had taken place. We thought it was time to take another look at the issues related to women in mass communication, in a second edition of the book, and document what changes had taken place.

The second volume expanded to 28 feminist media scholars and included new chapters covering research in mass communication and women of color in academia. Unexpectedly, the authors—some from the first edition and some new ones—while preparing their chapters for the updated edition found that nothing had really changed. Feminist mass communication research and the increased number of women in the field had had little effect on the practice. The traditional structure of mass communication education remained largely intact, with males still dominating the ranks of full professors. We decided that reformist feminism, which we had been advocating, had done nothing more than open Pandora's box.

As author Shana Alexander (1988) put it,

When we decided to be equals, we meant, without thinking of it, equals in a man's world. We were still playing by their rules, or defining equality in their terms. We forgot that we are different from men; we are the other, we have different sensibilities. Today younger women across America are paying for our error. (p. 44)

When we realized what had happened, we argued in the second edition for transformative change. We wanted change that would address the basic issue: the gendered nature of the system. The second edition of the book updated the status of women in various media professions—but questioned the increased ghettoization of gender issues as "women's issues," an example of which would be the designation "Mommy Track," a term that reinforces the woman's role as primary caregiver.

Play, Fast Forward, Rewind

Twelve years later, in 2006, George Walker Bush is president, and terrorism has demolished the World Trade Center in New York and damaged the Pentagon. U.S. troops are in Iraq, Afghanistan, and beyond; a tsunami has

devastated numerous developing Asian countries; and Hurricane Katrina has wiped out New Orleans as we knew it. Germany recently elected its first female chancellor, while the American people have lost one of only two U.S. Supreme Court seats held by women.

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back?

The third edition of Women in Mass Communication (WMC3) includes 24 feminist scholars—some from the first edition, some from the first and second editions, and some new. Several authors in this edition suggest that "maybe" we have come a long way over the past few decades, but nearly all agree that transformative change has not happened. Where change has taken place, it has occurred in baby steps, not in long strides and only in some locations, and not universally across the media professions.

The Third Edition

Women now constitute more than half of all college students and about 65% of all undergraduate and graduate student journalism and mass communication enrollments. In Part I of WMC3, "Two Decades of Progress?" Linda Steiner argues that after 30 years of feminism, today's journalism text-books still address only relatively simple issues such as the use of sexist language and sexist stereotyping. She further asserts that texts are out of touch with changing definitions and methods of delivering news. They do not provide sufficient insight about newsroom culture, sexism in assignments, balancing professional and domestic responsibilities, and gender issues in hierarchical, exploitative relationships. According to Steiner, "No textbook seriously considers what male-ness means for journalism practice or the newsroom culture."

Maurine Beasley updates her 1988 and 1996 "New Majority" reports and finds that while women journalists today are much less likely to suffer from blatant discrimination, they still have not reached parity with men in the newsroom. According to Beasley, women may be leaving journalism at a faster rate than their male counterparts partially because newsrooms are not especially welcoming or supportive places for women.

Part II, "Update on the Professions," explores the status of women working in the traditional media professions of newspapers, magazines, radio, television, public relations, and advertising, while recognizing that there have been changes in technology and the breadth and depth of women's involvement in mass communication. June Nicholson, Judith Cramer, Jannette Dates, Elizabeth Toth and Carolyn Cline, and Nancy Mitchell find little or no growth in their respective media professions and that where there

has been growth, women are working in lower-level and lower-paying positions and haven't earned salary parity with men. They conclude that the growth has not been as much as they had hoped 12 years ago. The lone exception to these conclusions is the magazine industry, which, Sammye Johnson finds, is still a good place for growth and stability for women despite the fact that salary parity has not been reached.

There is a mixed prognosis in the more specialized media professions of health communication, scholastic journalism, online journalism, and sports journalism, all new chapters in this third edition. Julie Andsager reports that women are playing an equal if not greater role than men in shaping the burgeoning field of health communication and promotion, but she cautions that because the field is so young, there are no data on women's job satisfaction, salaries, or managerial roles. Candace Perkins Bowen wonders "what is wrong with the picture" when women far outnumber men in scholastic media leadership positions and yet are extraordinarily underrepresented at the highest management-level positions in commercial media. Shavla Thiel Stern's research concludes that women online editors are leaving to find more rewarding careers and are being replaced by the White male "old guard." Pam Creedon and Roseanna Smith conclude in their chapter that despite more than two decades of Title IX, the overall hierarchy in sports coverage and sports beats has not changed. In rank order, major men's professional sports and men's collegiate football and basketball still come first-and "everything else," which may or may not include women's sports, comes after that.

As Part IV, "International Perspectives" reveals, women in journalism and mass communication have not fared much better overseas. Romy Fröhlich explores the status of Western European women journalists and finds they are working in lower industry positions and making less money than their male counterparts. She introduces us to the "friendliness trap," in which, sooner or later, the supposed highly prized feminine values, attributes, and behavior in women's journalism careers become associated with a lack of assertiveness, poor conflict management, and weak leadership skills. What was an apparent "head start" turns out to be what Fröhlich asserts is a "career killer."

Debra Mason examines the intersections of media, faith, and women across religions and concludes that women have been underrepresented or ignored in the coverage of religion since time in memoriam, despite the fact that women have long dominated religion journalism. She calls this area of research "fertile" ground and suggests that it could be an important tool in an effort to globally empower women of faith.

H. Leslie Steeves's research explores media and women in a global context and contends that the continuing absence and oppression of women in media content and women's economic disadvantages can be linked to the increasing power and concentration of multinational corporations and the associated values of global consumerism. She advocates for closer feminist scrutiny of this and the nation-state in its support of neoliberal economic dominance, growing militarization, and fundamentalism.

Part V of WMC3, "Building a Foundation for Further Study," attempts to do just that by examining racial and ethnic minority women and lesbians in relation to the construction and mediation of social reality in mass communication law, culture, language, and leadership. This section also explores the impact and contributions of feminist theory to the study and practice of mass communication. Diane Borden and Maria Marron examine court cases about free expression involving women's sexuality and social status that have largely reinforced cultural stereotypes and marginalized women. They argue that the current political climate and the changing composition of the U.S. Supreme Court may end up restricting the definition of equality and equity in First Amendment law, which will ensure the continuation of difference and dominance.

In constructing the concept of "Other," Carolyn Byerly finds that the media play a significant role in continuing the syndrome of "the Other." She suggests that this is accomplished through the production of images and messages of nationality, culture, religion, race, gender, and sexual dimensions. And through semiotic analysis, Meenakshi Gigi Durham demonstrates how girls arrive at definitions or understandings of what "beauty" is, which contributes to racial and cultural myths current in today's youth culture.

In her chapter about leadership, Linda Aldoory reports that research finds that women in mass communication leadership positions are described as "nurturing," "participative," and "supportive"—all characteristics consistent with transformational leadership. She believes that a "leadership-literate" audience of women and men in mass communication might break down barriers that are keeping more women from leadership positions.

Laura Wackwitz and Lana Rakow argue in "Got Theory?" that feminist communication theory does not just consider the images or absence of women in media content and the media professions but also provides a framework to examine difference, voice, and representation that can be used by anyone to build interpersonal and cultural coalitions and bridges for the purposes of change or transformation.

Twenty-four feminist scholars of varying races, cultures, and nationalities, spanning five decades in age, having lived and worked in a broad range of media positions in different parts of the United States and the world, have contributed to this third edition of Women in Mass Communication. And so, in the final chapter, we attempt to look ahead to offer a global perspective on the status, changes, and concerns for women entering the journalism and mass communication professions.