

Bachelor Programme in Economy and Society

The Power of the Power Suit

How do the representations of women's work in American Vogue reflect the changes in the female labour force participation rate from 1900 to 2020?

by

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Abstract: The increase in female labour force participation rate can be considered as the most significant labour market trend taken place over the last 120 years in the United States. However, despite the drastic increase, women's labour participation has stagnated since the mid-1990s. There is a lack of research about the social aspects of FLFP including how anti-egalitarian views reinforced by media representations affect women's labour participation behaviour. Thus, in order to further understand a possible relationship between dress, social norms, and labour market trends, this paper will compare, and contrast theory and previous literature from the fields of labour market economics, fashion history and sociology. The paper aims to investigate how the representations of women's labour market positions presented in fashion magazines mirror the shifts taking place in the labour market in the United States during the twentieth century. To explore the portrayals of women's work over the last century, a content analysis of American Vogue magazines has been conducted.

Key words: Female Labour Force Participation Rate (FLFP), Fashion, Media Representation, United States, Economic History, Content Analysis, The Vogue Magazine

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Table of Contents

1.	Introduction.....		6
	1.1	Statement of the Problem	6
		1.2 Research Questions.....	7
		1.3 Outline of the Thesis.....	8
2.	Background.....		9
	2.1	Female labour force participation rate.....	9
		2.2 Fashion history.....	11
3.	Literature review.....		12
	3.1	Labour market economics and women's labour market participation	13
		3.2 Views on fashion and fashion journalism.....	15
4.	Theoretical	Framework	17
		4.1 Anti-egalitarian views affect FLFP negatively.....	17
		4.2 The Stereotype threat theory.....	18
		4.3 Fashion as a process of social communication	19
		4.4 The theory of wardrobe engineering.....	20
5.	Methodology.....		20
	5.1	Research Design and Method.....	21
		5.2 Data collection procedures.....	22
		5.3 Results	26
		5.4 Limitations	29
6.	Discussion.....		30
7.	Conclusion.....		36
8.	References.....		38
9.	Appendix.....		43

List of Tables

Table 1 Codebook example, (Vogue, 1980) 25

List of Figures

Figure 1 Labour Force Participation Rates (% of population) for men and women (United States
Census Bureau, 1975; The World Bank, 2022 and Goldin, 1994)
10 Figure 2 (The Vogue Archive, 2022).....

28 Figure 3 (The Vogue Archive, 2022).....

28 Figure 4 Labour Force Participation Rates (% of population) for men and women (United States Census Bureau, 1975; The World Bank, 2022 and Goldin, 1994)

..... 29 Figure 5 (Vogue, 1980)..... 34

1. Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The 1900s witnessed a revolutionary shift in the way women took part in Western society. At the beginning of the last century, the average American woman was reliant on a male breadwinner, had no voting rights and was unable to control her own finances. Today the average American

woman is an active part of the labour market, enjoys nearly equal legislative rights and is in control over her own economy. Moreover, the issue of gender inequality is finally being continuously addressed in academic research.

Despite drastic increases in the female labour force participation rate (FLFP), a significant gap still remains between men's and women's labour participation rates in most Western Countries. Previous studies have largely focused on looking at the reasons behind the increases in FLFP highlighting factors such as changes in wage developments (Becker, 1985), the expansion of the service sector and policy changes (Goldin, 1994). However, labour market economists have not been able to fully explain why the gender gap, although grown significantly smaller, continues to persist.

As there is a lack of knowledge about the social factors impacting the FLFP, the aim of this paper is to investigate how the portrayals of women's work presented in American fashion magazines reflect the changes that have taken place in the labour markets in the United States during the last 120 years. The paper focuses specifically on media representations as magazines and journals work as powerful transmitters of gender stereotypes. Traditional gender stereotypes and particularly anti-egalitarian views are found to negatively affect women's labour market participation as well as pay level (Fortin, 2005). In order to expand on the connection between FLFP and representations of women's work this paper will review established theories focused on women's labour market participation (Fortin, 2005), consequences of stereotypes (Appel & Weber, 2017), the idea of fashion as a process of social communication (Barnard, 2002), and wardrobe engineering (Molloy, 1977).

6

There is a wide agreement among fashion historians arguing that fashion trends tend to mirror the social shifts taking place in society. Therefore, this paper will use fashion magazines as a tool when looking at how the perceptions and attitudes concerning women's employment have changed over the last 120 years. By doing so the paper sets out to investigate how women's fashion trends as well as articles and advertising found in fashion magazines have portrayed the shifts in women's labour market roles during a period of powerful change. The paper provides a unique angle as previous literature in economic history tends to largely overlook media sources and specifically fashion magazines as a tool for analysing social change.

This paper focuses specifically on the United States as the fashion industry has had a prevailing presence in the U.S. throughout the twentieth century. There is a significant amount of data documenting the changes and major developments in women's fashion trends in the U.S. Moreover, the United States has also had significant cultural influence over Western culture as a whole. U.S.-based fashion magazines such as Vogue were distributed to dozens of other countries already at the beginning of the twentieth century. Furthermore, similarly to most Western nations, despite drastic increases in the FLFP, a gap still remains between men's and women's labour participation. The trends currently indicate that women's labour force participation rate appears to have plateaued at below 60% since the mid-1990s in the United States (The World Bank, 2020).

1.2 Research Questions

Two questions have been formulated in order to investigate how the portrayal of women's labour market roles has changed in the media:

1. How do the representations of women's work presented in American Vogue reflect the changes in the female labour force participation rate in the United States from 1900 to 2020?

2. How do the representations of women's work presented in American Vogue reflect the attitudes about women's work in the United States from 1900 to 2020?

7

The first research question focuses on how the different representations found in American Vogue magazines published during the last 120 years follow the major trends in FLFP. This research question aims to observe whether the portrayals of women's work have preceded or lagged behind the trends in FLFP during certain periods of time. The second research question puts emphasis on what kind of a tone is present in the images, text or advertisements representing women's work. Observing the manner in which women's work has been discussed will provide a clearer image of how the social attitudes about women's work have changed during the twentieth century. It should be emphasized that neither of the questions aims to imply causality between the representations and developments in women's labour market participation but investigate how the portrayals of women's work changed during a revolutionary shift in the

way women took part in the American economy. Both research questions will be answered through a qualitative research method by conducting a content analysis following a summative approach.

1.3 Outline of the Thesis

The structure of the thesis follows a standard academic structure. The background section gives context to the research question by providing information about developments in female labour force participation in the United States and a brief summary of twentieth-century fashion. The relevance of Vogue Magazine is also discussed in the background section. The literature review discusses previous research in the field of labour market economics, sociology and fashion history. The theoretical framework section presents four prominent theories used to help answer the research question. The theoretical frameworks used include the theory of wardrobe engineering, fashion as a process of social communication, the stereotype threat theory and how anti-egalitarian values negatively affect female labour force participation. Following the theoretical section there is a methodology section explaining how the content analysis was conducted. Finally, the results of the content analysis are explained with the help of the chosen theories and previous literature in the discussion section.

8

2. Background

The following section presents the context for the study by providing information about the current state of the female labour force participation rate in the United States as well as how it has developed throughout the twentieth century. Moreover, the background section provides some explanation for the drastic increase in FLFP. The drivers and consequences of the shift in FLFP, however, are discussed more in-depth in the literature review section. The background section also highlights how the drastic increase in FLFP began to slow down towards the end of the twentieth century. The second subsection provides a brief summary of fashion trends from the last 120 years as well as a description of the American Vogue magazine that is the primary source for the content analysis used to answer the research questions. The interplays between fashion, gender roles and labour force participation rate are discussed more in depth in the literature review as well as theory section.

2.1 Female labour force participation rate

The drastic increase in women's employment can be considered to be the most remarkable labour market trend taking place during the twentieth century. The significant increase in women's labour market participation is demonstrated in Figure 1 which depicts how the FLFP began converging with men's labour force participation rate during the first half of the 20th century. Overall the female labour force participation rate of women of all ages has increased approximately 39 percentage points from 1900 to 2022, climbing from 17% (Goldin, 1994) to 56%, (U.S. Department of Labour). The increase in labour force participation has been especially drastic for married women. At the beginning of the twentieth century under 5% of all married women in the U.S. were paid workers outside of their households, whereas at the end of the century over half of all married women were an active part of the labour market (Goldin, 1994).

9

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES

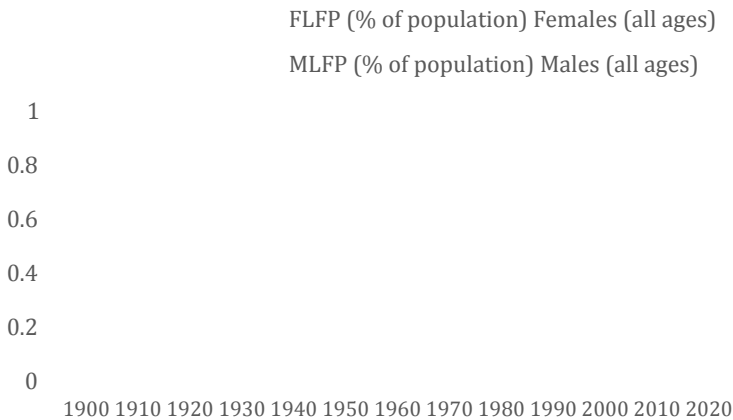


Figure 1 Labour Force Participation Rates (% of population, excluding children) for men and women (United States Census Bureau, 1975; The World Bank, 2022 and Goldin, 1994)

The composition of women participating in the labour markets also changed drastically during the last century. Before the 1940s a significant majority of the employed married women were from lower-income groups (Goldin, 2006). It is likely that work itself did not indicate increased

economic freedom, self-fulfilment or a feeling of independence for these women but rather was largely a necessity for providing a sufficient income. According to Goldin (2006), the stigma of working for middle-class, married women was not reduced until increases in secondary education lead to nicer jobs for women. Moreover, the reductions in weekly working hours, as well as the popularisation of part-time work outside the home, also made work more appealing for married women in higher social classes (Goldin, 2006). Further investments in human capital and college education also contributed to changing how women viewed their future projections. The gap between men's and women's college attendance and graduation was finally closed by the cohorts born in the mid-twentieth century (Goldin, 2006).

Despite the drastic rise in women's employment, the female labour force participation rate in the United States appears to have plateaued below 60% since 1994 (Lee, 2014). The stagnation is illustrated in Figure 1 which depicts a slowing down in the convergence during the 1990s and a slight dip in FLFP as we enter the 21st century. The plateau has led women from other high income countries to surpass those in the United States in terms of female labour force

participation rates (Blau & Kahn, 2007). However, as Figure 1 demonstrates men's labour force participation has also begun slowly decreasing from the mid-1900s onwards. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2021), the current trends indicate that the labour force participation rate of all is projected to continue to trend slightly downwards during the next decade.

10

2.2 Fashion history

According to Becker (2016), the decades of the twentieth century can be loosely divided into different sections that represent the varying fashion trends dominating U.S.-based fashion magazines. The beginning of the century saw the rise of the Belle Epoque era known for its bright colours, high-quality materials, and long hems. The 1920s were dominated by the emergence of the "Flapper" girl who after the first world war paved the way for more relaxed morality codes and personal freedom that was evident in shorter, more boyish dress silhouettes. The stock market crash of 1929 was followed by a return to longer hemlines and after the outbreak of the Second World War, fashion was largely controlled by rationing. 1950s fashion still leaned towards formality but particularly the emergence of a clearer distinction of fashion for youth began revolutionizing fashion. The 1960s and 70s paved the way for more unisex trends and broke boundaries by popularizing pieces such as the miniskirts, blue jeans and

pantsuits. The emergence of fast fashion and rapidly changing microtrends have complicated summarising the major trends of the first decades of the 21st century but in general, the trends have begun slowly shifting towards a more inclusive direction making it possible for all genders to explore their feminine and masculine qualities. Through making distinctions between the different fashion eras, this paper aims to look at how the changing sections presented in Vogue magazines follow or precede the changes in FLFP throughout the last 120 years.

Throughout the 1900s, the influence of American fashion magazines grew significantly as the United States went from closely imitating French and British trends to becoming a major fashion exporter towards the end of the century (Cunningham & Welters, 2008). Hill (2004) argues that the three driving forces of the fashion industry in late 19th century America including fashion journalism, ready-to-wear manufacturing and fashion advertising were finally realized to their

11

full potential in the early 1900s after the first issues of Vogue Magazine were published. The brand quickly expanded onto European markets as Vogue France and U.K. were introduced, respectively in 1922 and 1916. Today there are 26 international Vogue editions and the magazine reaches around 22.5 million monthly readers, while obtaining a social media following of 167.5 million social media users (Condé Nast, 2022).

The demographic of Vogue subscribers has somewhat varied throughout the last 120 years but the primary market segment group that American Vogue has targeted is middle to upper-middle class women. Particularly the early issues of the magazines were marketed as high society magazines catering to the social elites of New York City (Hill, 2004). During the mid-1900s, however, Vogue somewhat altered its strategy by consciously shifting the magazine into a new format that was more suitable for working middle-class women. The different editors-in-chief each left a mark on the magazine and out of the past editors particularly Grace Mirabella, hired in 1971, began pushing Vogue in a more modern direction that celebrated female empowerment and working women (Vogue, 2022).

In conclusion, the female labour force participation rate underwent a revolutionary increase during the last 120 years. The increase in the FLFP of married woman has been particularly drastic. However, women's labour force participation has somewhat stagnated since the end of the twentieth century and has not yet caught up with men's labour participation rate. Moreover, it must be highlighted working does not necessarily indicate a higher degree of independence and

self-actualization if it is purely a necessity for acquiring a sufficient income. Fashion trends have also undergone multiple transitions during the last century. Especially American fashion and fashion journalism rose to prominence in the last 120 years. The Vogue magazine, established in 1892, has also experienced a transition as changed its strategy in order to expand its readership from the high society of New York society to a larger demographic of upper to middle class working American women. The relationship between fashion, social change and women's labour force participation is discussed more in depth in the literature review and theory sections.

3. Literature review

12

In order to better explain some of the interplays of labour market behaviour, societal norms and representations found in fashion magazines, this literature review focuses on highlighting existing literature from economic history, sociology and fashion studies. There is a lack of literature focusing specifically on how changes in media representations found in fashion journals coincide with socioeconomic shifts. However, previous research has discussed whether fashion trends tend to coincide with socio-economic changes as well as how societal norms may influence the willingness of women to work.

3.1 Labour market economics and women's labour market participation

3.1.1 Neoclassical Approach

Differences in female and male employment patterns have been widely discussed by economic historians focusing on labour market developments such as Becker (1985) and Goldin (1994). Becker (1985) was one of the first to extend the discussion on family economics by introducing the idea of marriage as a market and the sexual division of labour. Becker's (1985) time allocation model suggests that specialization within marriage generated increased returns as it allowed for human capital to be used more intensively to explain why one of the spouses chose to stay home. He argues that from the two spouses, women tend to specialize in caregiving as they have the natural advantage in childbearing. moreover, according to Becker (1985), the major shifts in the FLFP witnessed during the 1900s can be largely attributed to the increased earning power of married women as well as the expansion of the service sector, which decreased the marginal utility of staying at home for mothers. However, Becker's analysis has been

criticized for relying largely on neoclassical assumptions. Specialization within a marriage does not necessarily lead to better outcomes particularly on the personal level as the breadwinner may struggle to develop meaningful relationships with their children. Moreover, if the primary caregiver is economically dependent on the breadwinner, a significant power imbalance is created within the marriage.

Goldin (1994) has done extensive research focusing specifically on the changes in the female labour force participation rate. Her findings suggest that the expansion of high school education

13

and the growth of the service sector were the first drivers of the increase in FLFP. Moreover, after the Second World War, the growing demand for female white-collar workers continued and the rising real wages of female workers encouraged them to enter the labour market. Decreases in fertility rates and later the emergence of the contraceptive pill also contributed to the increases in female labour force participation. In addition, Goldin (2006) emphasizes the role institutional changes that made part-time work a possibility played in lowering the barrier to work for married women. Goldin (2006) highlights that especially lower-class women have always worked. However, largely due to increases in the labour participation of middle-class women and increases in education there was a shift in the way women viewed their future projections as the idea of work shifted from a job to a career.

Lee (2014) focuses on the reasons behind the plateauing trend in the female labour force participation rate in the U.S. beginning in the 1990s. Her findings suggest the plateau is the most pronounced for birth cohorts from the 1950s on. Moreover, her findings suggest that the plateau appeared among both educated and uneducated women as well as both childbearing and childless women. Labour market economists including Becker (1985) have previously explained the growth in women's labour participation as a response to an increase in real wage growth. However, Lee (2014) points out that the plateau in FLFP has occurred simultaneously as real wages have grown. Some labour economists have aimed to explain the plateau in FLFP by presenting the idea of a natural rate of female labour force participation rate. Findings by Goldin (2006), however, indicate that the data does not support the natural rate of the FLFP hypothesis for most age cohorts.

3.1.2 Role of culture and gender roles

Labour market economics focusing primarily on factors such as wages, education, and sectoral

changes has not been able to fully explain the existing disparities between men and women's labour force participation rates and thus, recent research has focused more on the role of culture and social environments. Neoclassical economists such as Becker (1985) and Goldin (1994) have often disregarded how the portrayals of women in popular culture and existing gender stereotypes have reflected the development of FLFP. Akerlof and Kranton (2000) suggest that

14

recruiting women into men's jobs during World War II required advertisements and propaganda portraying women working in male-dominated job positions without losing their femininity. Furthermore, findings by Fortin (2005), indicate that the anti-egalitarian views and stereotypical perceptions of women as caregivers are found to negatively affect female labour force participation rates. Her paper suggests that while the anti-egalitarian views have decreased among younger age cohorts, the perception of women as primary caregivers continues to persist in many cultures and age groups. Moreover, despite softening of the anti-egalitarian values, the Gender Social Norms Index indicates that globally 91 per cent of men and 86 per cent of women continue to carry at least one clear bias against gender equality in areas such as politics and the labour market (UNDP, 2020).

Traditional gender roles and identities are constructed through a variety of cultural influences including media content (Mazzarella, 2013). Media plays a particularly large part in the formation and sustenance of traditional stereotypes. Therefore, it is relevant to recognize the role of media in constructing traditional gender roles when discussing developments in women's labour market participation. Moreover, Tabassum and Nayak (2021) argue that the stereotypes transmitted through media promote largely harmful content leading to prejudice and discrimination. They further suggest that contemporary management and corporate cultures fail to engage with social theories based on gender studies that could reduce gender stereotyping taking place in contemporary workplaces.

3.2 Views on fashion and fashion journalism

The trends prevalent at a certain time and space tend to reflect underlying political and economic conditions (Solomon & Rabolt, 2008). Particularly the field of sociology has recognized the relevance of fashion trends while analysing social change and cultural identities. Simmel (1957) argues that to an extent gender is partially constructed through fashion. Similarly, Erner (2004) suggests that fashion is a major social process that can be used as a tool for comprehending

different social relations from identity formation to gender. Due to the strong relationship between fashion trends and social change, Mcdowell (2015) argues that both the visual and written content found in fashion magazines can be used as a tool for analysing culture and social

15

change. Thus, fashion magazines may function as relevant source material for exploring socioeconomic developments such as changes in women's labour market behaviour.

Despite the general consensus arguing that fashion trends tend to reflect changes taking place in society, observations about the relationship between social change and fashion have been criticized as speculative by authors such as Kelley and Robenstine (1981) who were unable to show a statistically significant causal relationship between dress and patterns of social change. However, other research by authors such as Nugent (1962) Haulman (2011), Hiner (2010), and Parkins and Sheehan (2011) all show connections between fashion, self-identity, and social change. Nugent (1962), in particular, focuses on looking at the relationship between women's dress trends and social change from 1850 to 1950 in order to test the hypothesis that fashion has worked as a behavioural reaction to shifts in socio-cultural environments. Her findings indicate that changes in fashion trends corresponded to the changes in the status of women as well as economic developments. Proving a statistically significant relationship between fashion and social change, however, continues to be difficult. According to Bell (1947) factors such as history, race, ideals and institutions all determine changes in fashion but none of them is alone sufficient in establishing causality.

The influence of fashion journalism has also been heavily discussed in the field of fashion history. Fashion magazines aim to influence the reader's personal style and demand for fashion as a commodity (Gick & Gick, 2007). When they first began appearing at the end of the nineteenth century, the critics argued that fashion journalism had a corrupting effect on women (Best, 2018). Fashion magazines significantly contributed to defining the new parameters of consumption and femininity and according to Butler (1990), fashion journalism has been central in teaching the readers how one becomes a woman with all the stereotypical roles attached. However, some feminist scholars such as Wilson (2003) have argued that fashion magazines have contributed to empowering women's independent and active identities. Wilson (2007) further argues that the influence of fashion magazines and fashion as a research topic is consistently looked down upon. She notes that particularly during the mid-twentieth century the academics discussing fashion were almost exclusively men and as fashion has been largely

In conclusion, the first part of the literature review summarizes how neoclassical economists have explained shifts in women's labour participation. It is highlighted that labour market economists have not been able to fully explain why the gap between men and women's labour participation persists, and thus the second section emphasizes social and cultural factors influencing FLFP such as media representations reinforcing anti-egalitarian ideas about women. Finally, the last section of the literature review discusses the role dress and fashion journalism play in the construction of cultural identities. Moreover, the fashion section concludes that fashion trends can be used a tool for investigating social change.

4. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical perspectives chosen aim to help in answering the research questions: "How do the representations of women's work presented in American Vogue reflect the changes in the female labour force participation rate in the United States from 1900 to 2020?" and "How do the representations of women's work presented in American Vogue reflect the attitudes about women's work in the United States from 1900 to 2020?" The four theories highlight the significance of anti-egalitarian for FLFP, consequences of stereotypes reinforced by the media, the idea of fashion as a form of non-verbal communication and the theory of wardrobe engineering. The interplays between the different theories will be further elaborated in the discussion section as the theories are compared with the results from the content analysis.

4.1 Anti-egalitarian views affect FLFP negatively

The hypothesis suggesting that anti-egalitarian views and traditional gender roles affect female labour force participation rate negatively has been discussed in many academic publications. According to Fortin (2005), particularly sociological literature has discussed the consequences of gender roles on labour market outcomes and family formation. It has been noted for example that the presence of a working mother affects the gender role ideals of the children (Burt & Scott, 2002). The female labour participation is thus, also affected by social factors such as anti egalitarian views and traditional gender roles.

Throughout the last 120 years media and magazines have been one of the most significant

channels constructing certain images of women that may have contributed to reinforcing anti egalitarian views and existing stereotypes. Thus, following this theory the results of the content analysis should indicate that during the decades where women's work was presented in a negative light and traditional gender roles were reinforced in the magazines, FLFP is lower than during decades where representations of women's labour market positions are positive.

4.2 The stereotype threat theory

The stereotype threat theory rooted in communication studies argues that when mass media reinforces existing attitudes and stereotypes about certain groups, members of the dominant groups in the society are not negatively impacted by it, whereas the already negatively portrayed groups such as immigrant groups, women or members of the LGQBT+ community are harmed by the stereotypical representations (Appel & Weber, 2017). Findings by Appel and Weber (2017) support the theory indicating that stereotypes reinforced by the media harm the most vulnerable groups in society most. Content analyses have found that when representations of women appear in the popular culture, they are often significantly younger than their male counterparts, presented in a sexualized manner and shown in a domestic environment rather than work (Aubery & Frisby, 2011; Tartaglia & Rollero, 2015). Appel and Weber (2017) further suggest that the stereotypes presenting women as submissive and as the primary caregivers contribute to influencing their career preferences.

If the stereotype threat theory is applied in helping to answer the research question, it would indicate that negative representations of women's work contribute to reinforcing negative attitudes about working women, which could then affect female labour force participation rate. Moreover, negative representations of minorities such as women of colour or openly part of the LGBTQ+ community would have stronger negative effects than negative representations of white middle-class women.

4.3 Fashion as a process of social communication

Whether clothes can be considered a form of non-verbal communication is a highly debated topic in the area of communications and fashion studies. Barnard (2002) sees fashion as a cultural,

communicative phenomenon that contributes to constructing and communicating the identity of a certain group or an individual. It is generally considered that communications has two main schools of thought that both subscribe to the idea that communication can be defined as “social communication through messages” (Fiske, 1990, pp.2-3). However, the two schools of thought understand the definition of communication slightly differently.

The process school of communication sees communication as a transmission of messages from a sender to a receiver. Thus, this school would consider clothing to be the medium or channel of communication in which one says something to another (Barnard, 2002). The second school of thought known as the semiotic school sees communication as an exchange of meanings where both the sender and receiver place their own meaning on the message (Fiske, 1990). In the semiotic model either the wearer, designer or spectator cannot be the sole source of intention providing the meaning to the piece of clothing as the meaning is a negotiation between the parties (Barnard, 2002). The semiotic model explains how certain items of clothing can be given multiple meanings. High heels for example can be viewed as both restricting and empowering.

If this theory is applied in answering the research question, it would indicate that also the clothes presented in the fashion magazines somewhat contribute to constructing images about women’s role in the society. However, due to the two schools of thought in communications as well as slippery essence of fashion, it is difficult to measure the extent of how fashion trends affect the general attitudes about women. It is apparent, however, that in the last 120 years the clothing trends have changed into a direction, which gives women far more room to express their individuality. As an example, the fashion worn by the upper-middle class women in the beginning of the century, such as corsets, made it very difficult for women to move or do any type of fast-paced or physical labour (Nugent, 1962). Moreover, according to Barnard (2002) clothing gives a strong indication of what type of work a person does. As an example, white collar workers are often required to wear a suit or a button-up shirt in the workplace.

19

4.4 The theory of wardrobe engineering

The theory of wardrobe engineering was first introduced in 1975 by John T. Molloy. Molloy (1977) argues that the majority of women do not dress for professional success but rather tend to follow trends or objectify themselves through their clothing. He claims that an unprofessional style of dress prevents women from accessing the most powerful positions in the corporate

world. Moreover, he argues that careful wardrobe engineering will help women gain more powerful positions in the workplace.

The traditional power suit includes a tailored skirt suit, which was popularized during the 1980s. However, Molloy's (1977) theory fails to take into account women working in blue-collar jobs that require standardized uniforms and continue to face gender-based discrimination. Moreover, the theory reinforces the idea that in order to be successful women must let go of qualities traditionally seen as feminine and adopt a more masculine look in working environments. Molloy (1977) also places the blame for not gaining access to positions of power on women rather than criticizing the patriarchal system. If the theory of wardrobe engineering is applied in answering the research question, the results should indicate that the women in higher labour market positions presented in *Vogue* should be portrayed in clothes similar to a traditional corporate pantsuit or a tailored skirt suit that reduces a women's sexuality and individuality.

To conclude, it can be seen that all the theories argue that to some extent either fashion trends of certain type of media representations influence attitudes about women's work. Ideals and attitudes about women and their labour market roles affect FLFP, and thus it is relevant to investigate the interplays between stereotypes, work, fashion trends and media representations. Moreover, as women's labour market participation has overgone a revolutionary transformation over the last 120 years, the last century provides an exceptionally interesting research setting.

5. Methodology

The following sections present the research design, method of inquiry and data collection procedures used to answer the two research questions:

1. How do the representations of women's work presented in *American Vogue* reflect the changes in the female labour force participation rate in the United States from 1900 to 2020?
2. How do the representations of women's work presented in *American Vogue* reflect the attitudes about women's work in the United States from 1900 to 2020?

The chosen method of inquiry is a qualitative analysis completed in the form of a summative

content analysis. The primary sources used are the Vogue Archive (2022), The U.S. Department of Labour (2022), Goldin (1994) and the World Bank (2022). Moreover, after explaining the processes taken in order to answer the questions, the results as well as their limitations are presented.

5.1 Research Design and Method

The paper follows a qualitative transformative worldview as it aims to expand understanding of a social issue related to gender inequality. The research questions aim to find out how changes in the FLFP and attitudes about women's work are reflected through the representations of women's labour market positions in fashion magazines in the United States from 1900 to 2020. Fashion trends and advertisements found in the magazines are used as a proxy for how societal perception of women's employment has changed throughout the last century. A qualitative approach allows for a more holistic and in-depth understanding of the loose relationships between the representations and the gender gap. Moreover, the findings can be contrasted with existing theories and literature on cultural persistence, female labour force participation, and fashion history.

Both research questions will be answered with the help of a content analysis following a summative approach. Content analysis is a widely used research method in social sciences but has been relatively underused in economics and economic history. The definitions of content analysis have somewhat varied depending on the school of thought but Mayring (2010) defines qualitative content analysis as a set of techniques used for the purpose of a systematic analysis of

21

texts of many kinds, highlighting not only the manifest of the content but also the topics and themes visible in the source material. In a qualitative content analysis instead of focusing only on the quantity of the chosen contents, the context is emphasized distinguishing the analysis from a quantitative method of inquiry.

While conducting the qualitative content analysis researches use coding in order to identify and describe the key findings found from the source material. Coding is also used to summarize the most relevant findings for answering the research questions (Drisko & Maschi, 2015). The research is conducted by identifying the main themes from the source material, which will most likely help in answering the research questions. These themes can be divided into different

categories and subcategories that aim to further elaborate on the meaning of the found content. After recognizing the main themes that are the topic of research, the data analysis continues with identifying certain words or contents from the source of analysis and understanding the context behind the usage of those contents. The relevant contents can then be sorted into the right categories.

5.2 Data collection procedures

The labour force participation rate data was retrieved from the U.S. Department of Labour database (2022) for the years available. Information about labour force participation at the beginning of the twentieth century that cannot be found in the U.S. Department of Labour database was collected as secondary data from Goldin (1994) and the United States Census Bureau (1975). The data has been previously used for discussing changes in the female labour force participation rate for various age groups, but few comparisons have been done with labour force participation rate data and media representations found in popular culture.

The data focused on fashion is collected from the Vogue Archive (2022), a database containing the entire run of U.S. Vogue magazine from 1892 to the present day. The data found on the Vogue Archive (2022) gives a comprehensive overview of U.S. fashion trends that have dominated over the last 120 years. In addition to having been the top-selling fashion magazine of the past decades, Vogue is also widely considered the most influential fashion magazine in the

22

world. In addition to fashion, the American Vogue has also focused on other relevant issues present in women's life including work, motherhood and lifestyle. In order to get a deeper understanding of fashion trends throughout the twentieth century, the research period was divided into 10-year intervals and specifically focused on one issue per decade. The selected issue was the first issue of the decade and the number of pages researched for each decade was 100. However, from the years 1900 and 1910 two magazines were investigated in order to get 100 pages worth of material.

A content analysis was conducted using the selected Vogue issues as a source. Information was collected from the cover, advertisements, text and images. In order to make the analysis more systematic codebooks were made for each decade. The major theme of the research is women's work and how the representations of women's labour market positions developed. Moreover, the

research also focuses on how the traditional caregiver – breadwinner -model is presented in the magazine, and thus the analysis also focused on mentions of mothers and fathers. Vogue is primarily fashion magazine and thus, office wear was also included in the search. The words and their contexts that were identified included work (and its synonyms: working, career, profession, occupation, job and labour), mother, father, (and their synonyms: mom and dad), office wear and office. The cover star and their occupation were also highlighted.

Below is a codebook for a Vogue magazine published January 1st, 1980 (Vogue, 1980). The codebook shows how the quantity of each research word is displayed, in addition to the context and the tone. The description explains in what kind of ad, article or picture was the word identified in while the tone aims to describe in what manner women’s work and phenomena connected to it are discussed. The description category aims to provide information for answering the first research question by providing information about in what context women’s work has been presented, while the tone category provides information for the second research question as it focuses on in which manner women’s work has been discussed. The other codebooks as well as their original sources are found in the appendix.

Category	Obs.	Hits.	Description	Tone
Cover	-	-	Model: Nancy Donahue, American model and actress, pink colour tones, some text	80s aesthetic, texts on the cover promotes, more makeup than in previous issues, the model’s name does not appear in the cover,

<p>Work</p>	<p>90</p>	<p>14</p>	<p>Blouse Ad</p> <p>New priorities for American women:</p> <p>Article about trade-offs women face,</p> <p>Women as consumers</p> <p>YSL article, interview with Yves Saint Laurent</p> <p>Jehan Sadat profile, (wife of Egypt's leader)</p> <p>Women and cars article, tips for driving during the winter</p> <p>How the Barbie doll has changed article</p> <p>How can a woman take care of her finances? Article about investing,</p>	<p>Blouse for office wear, white-collar</p> <p>Article discussing how to have a work - life balance, life as a woman in the 80s, assumes that woman still has the responsibility of the home but day care etc are options,</p> <p>Uses the concept of "new woman" argues that you have to make a trade-off between a successful career + being a good mother (still somewhat relevant today)</p> <p>Women's economic independence, consumers, earners, investors</p> <p>"YSL clothes turn women into heroines" Yves Saint Laurent surrounds himself with female designers</p> <p>Powerful woman in the middle east, refuses to fit into the traditional role of a middle eastern leader's wife</p> <p>"Winter used to be the time devoted for home, but most women don't live like that anymore, there's work, meetings and commitments and snow can't be on the way of that" new roles for women</p> <p>Barbie went from nurse + hostess costumes to superstar costumes, shows what an American woman dreams to be</p> <p>An example of a woman who had no idea to handle her finances</p> <p>Women working full-time, part-time at home etc. have to have a flexible investment plan</p>
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			<p>Letter to the editor stating that it is arrogant to assume that all working women can afford to hire help</p> <p>Letter to the editor applauding an article about women in politics</p> <p>Article discussing what job positions are good for a woman</p> <p>Vogue's view on versatility as the new trend in fashion</p>	<p>Social class debate, high class vs working class, working mothers</p> <p>Role of women in high-power positions highlighted, white-collar work</p> <p>“Is marine biology good for a woman?, oh yes half the fish are female” humoristic approach, introduces newer work positions for women, others discussed are franchising if you're too scared to start your own business, (women not seen as risktakers), psychologist introduced</p> <p>Some retailers cater specifically to the working woman</p>
Mother	21	1*	Article about Jane Fonda, mother of two who is a successful businesswoman	Business related to fitness, obsession with thinness, female entrepreneur
Father	13	-	-	-
Office + Office wear	27	4	<p>Versatility - the key to fashion</p> <p>Vogues point of view: what changes in fashion</p> <p>Show ad for women going to the office</p> <p>Beauty and health: well-being for the active woman</p>	<p>A woman seen walking to an office used as an inspiration for designing clothes, white collar work</p> <p>Colour what works for the office, white collar work</p> <p>White-collar work: How to stay slim when working at an office</p>

Table 1 Codebook example, (Vogue, 1980)

5.3 Results

The results from the content analysis conducted indicate that the frequency of positive mentions of women's works has increased over the last 120 years. Figure 2 indicates that the quantity of overall mentions has somewhat varied but the context in which the discussion occurs as well as the tone of the discussion is more significant for the purpose of this research. Each mention has been analysed and sorted into three categories, which give an indication of whether the mention has a positive, indifferent or negative view of women's work. The negative mentions carry a misogynistic tone, or they reinforce traditional stereotypes about women's role as the primary caregiver. The indifferent category signifies words that have related directly to women's work but do not necessarily carry a feminist or misogynistic tone. As an example, while mentions of pink-collar work, meaning care-oriented work traditionally done by women such as nursing, teaching or secretarial work, do normalise women working but they may reinforce traditional gender roles by confirming the idea of a woman as the caregiver. The results from the categorization can be seen in Figure 3, which depicts how zero negative mentions concerning women's work were found from the magazines published during the twenty-first century.

The positive mentions as well as overall mentions of women's work peaked during the 1980s. Figure 4 depicts how female labour force participation rate in the United States peaked highest during the 1990s. The growth in FLFP was fastest during the 1980s, which indicates that the rapid growth in FLFP occurred during the decade when largest emphasis was placed on highlighting women's work in Vogue magazines. The figures 2 and 4 also indicate that the positive mentions of women's labour market positions as well as FLFP were significantly lower during the beginning of the twentieth century. The only decade which showed zero positive mentions of women's work was 1900, which coincides with the decade when FLFP had its lowest peak at 18%.

The Vogue issues chosen from the 12 different decades all showed some type of discussion about women's labour market positions, which indicates that fashion magazines such as Vogue

contribute to constructing images about women's work to our social imaginary. Women's issues such as voting rights, balancing career and family as well as gender inequality were brought up

26

in different issues of the magazines. Particularly articles from the 1970s and 1980s largely highlighted how the American woman's role in the society was going under a powerful transformation. Moreover, the type of job ads advertised for women changed during the twentieth century. Some of the magazines from the beginning and mid-1900s included a job search page in the magazine. Particularly, the jobs presented in the earlier years were mostly secretarial or hostess work which would fit into the pink-collar category. However, during the later years job positions such as fashion designer, film director, marine biologist, activist and diplomat were highlighted.

As Vogue is a fashion magazine no-collar work has been largely over-represented in the magazine. The most frequently mentioned occupations include models, actresses, fashion designers and singers. The over-representation of no-collar work does not correspond with the most common professions women filled during the last 120 years. However, the manner in which no-collar work done by women is written about does change throughout the decades and thus, looking at more unusual job positions does also provide knowledge about representations concerning women's labour market representation. During the earlier years, the models and actresses presented in the magazine were often not interviewed and when they were, the interview was heavily cantered around their beauty or fashion tips, whereas from the 1990s onwards, the models and celebrities were often interviewed about social topics they were passionate about, important life events, creative projects, pressures of the modelling world as well as combining work and motherhood. Moreover, the names of the cover models were included in the issues published towards the end of the century unlike in the magazines before.

Other notable mentions from the results include how the tone of the magazines shifts from strongly catering towards upper-class women to aiming to reach a more universal audience. The magazines from the beginning of the twentieth century carry an elitist approach, whereas after the 1980s, the tone of the magazines strongly indicates that working has become the norm for women, which is supported by the labour market trends. More information about the exact use and context of the representations of women's work is found from the appendix.

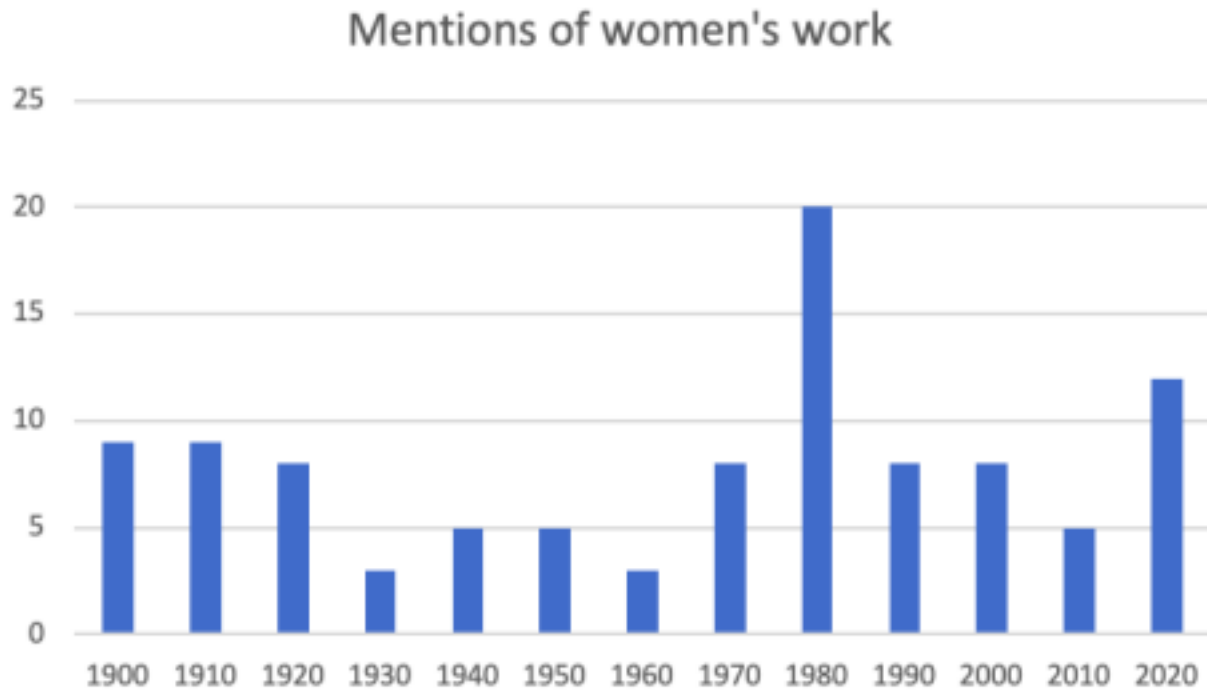


Figure 2 (*The Vogue Archive*, 2022)

Figure 2

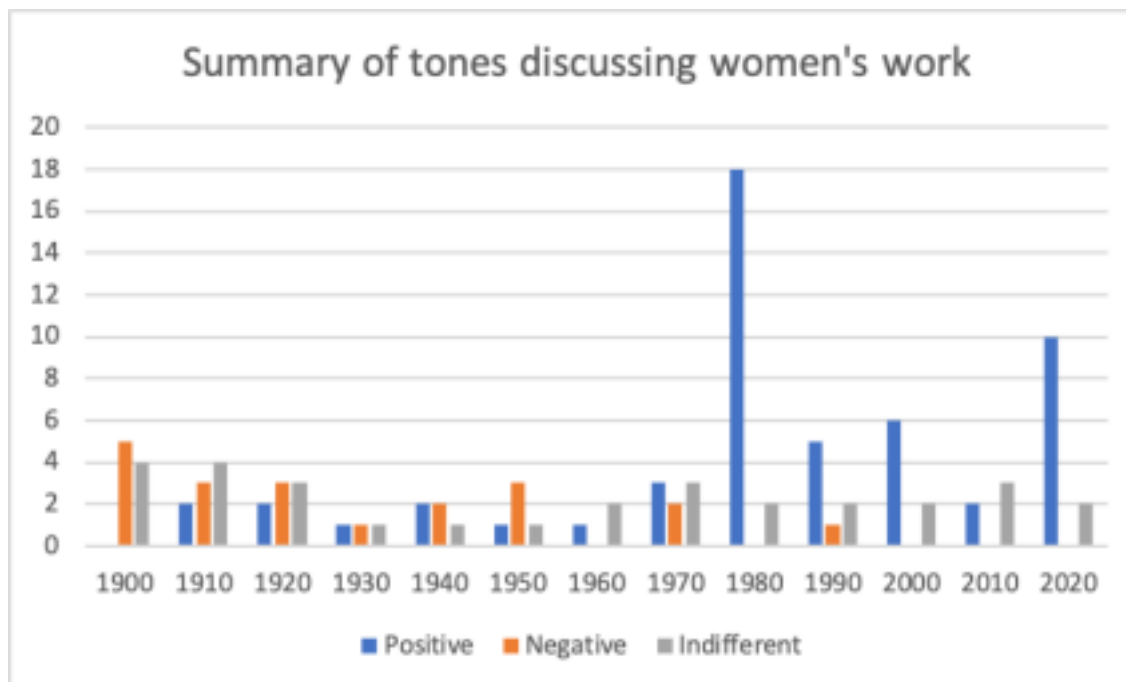


Figure 3 (*The Vogue Archive*, 2022)

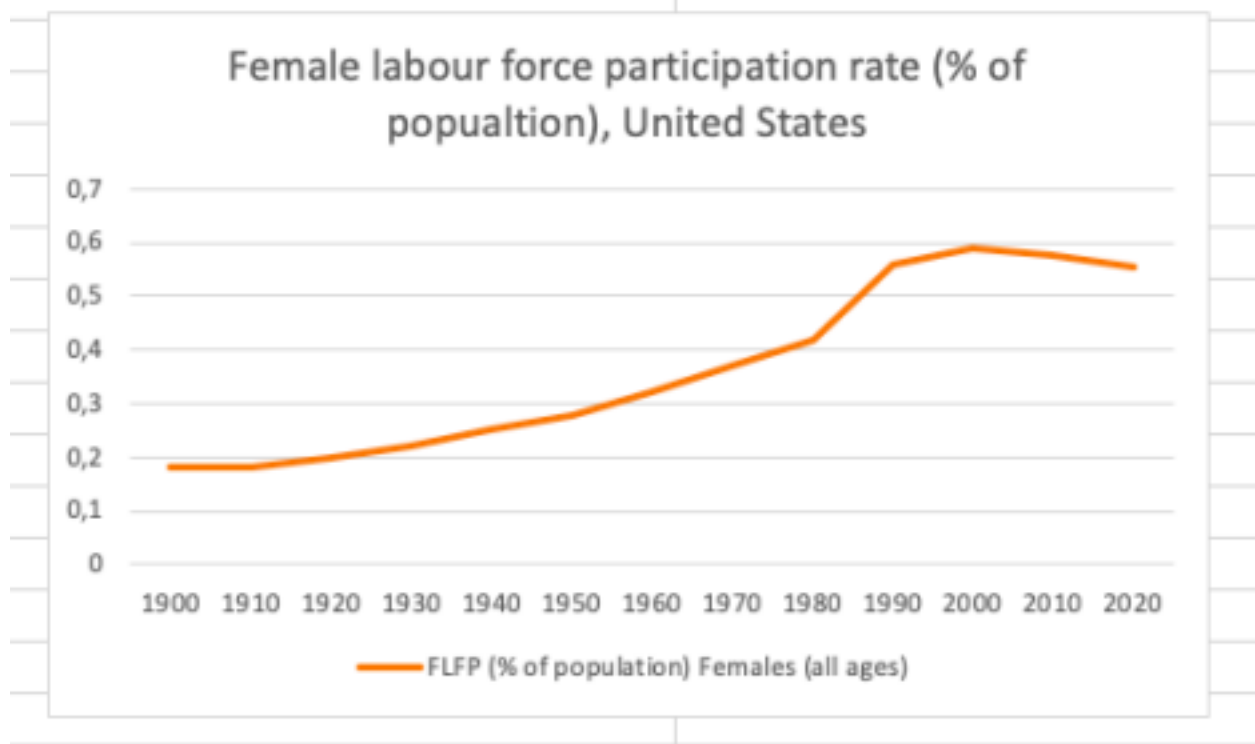


Figure 4 Labour Force Participation Rates (% of population) for men and women (United States Census Bureau, 1975; The World Bank, 2022 and Goldin, 1994)

5.4 Limitations

The method of research is a qualitative content analysis, and thus the chosen method may be considered to carry more bias compared to a quantitative content analysis. However, in order to avoid bias, the analysis also included numerical observations, rather than only focusing on in what manner women's labour market roles are discussed in the magazines. The results can also be compared with existing research focused on the relationship between fashion and social change. Moreover, it would not be possible to collect information about the changing attitudes about women's labour market positions without investigating the tone and context of the numerical observations. Therefore, it is necessary to follow a qualitative method of inquiry. In addition, the study does not claim to prove causality. It must be also highlighted, that is not possible to compress an entire decade into 100 pages of a fashion magazine and thus the analysis only aims to provide a description of how the representations of women's labour market positions found in fashion magazines react to the trends in women's labour market participation

29

during a period of dynamic change in the labour markets.

The American Vogue is primarily targeted to upper middle-class women and thus, it can be

argued that the discussion and depictions about working-class women working blue-collar jobs is most likely under-represented in the analysis. However, according to Goldin (2006) the entering of middle- and upper-class women into the labour force was the significant driver of the shift in the change of perceptions about women's work as women began seeing their work as a professional life-long career rather than a job. Moreover, as mentioned above, a shift occurred in Vogue strategy during the 1970s as it started to cater towards more working women.

In conclusion, the chosen method of inquiry was qualitative, and the research questions were answered with the help of conducting a summative content analysis. The results of the analysis broadly suggest that there is some indication of the fact that the representations of women's work in fashion magazines tend to somewhat follow the major labour market trends. It can be seen that the growth rate of FLFP was highest during the decade where there were most positive mentions of women's work. The lowest peak of FLFP also coincides with the decade where there were no positive mentions of women's work. However, it must be further emphasized that the goal of the analysis was not to prove causality.

6. Discussion

The study set out to assess how the representations of women's work portrayed in American Vogue reflect the attitudes about women's labour market roles and changes in the female labour force participation rate in the United States from 1900 to 2020. This section aims to summarize the general trends found from the American Vogue magazines as well as compare and contrast how well the trends correspond with trends in women's labour market participation. Moreover, in order to expand on why it is relevant to look at the interplays between the major trends in FLFP and fashion magazines, the four theories and previous literature will be used. The theories and previous literature also help in providing possible explanations for the different trends witnessed in the magazine or in the labour market.

30

The idea and concept of a high society is strongly prevalent in Vogue particularly during the first half of the twentieth century. Thus, some of the articles from the beginning of the century discussing women's pink or blue-collar work positions carry a tone that comes across as highly elitist. As an example, an article discussing life in Paris mentions how French maids and servants are eager and willing to be used in "degrading capacities" (Bromfield, 1930, p.102). Other

articles also mention how miserable life must be for unmarried women who do not have a breadwinner to take care of their financial matters. The articles showing a negative tone towards working women somewhat correspond with the trends in FLFP as women's labour market participation was relatively stagnant up until the 1930s. Moreover, the trends correspond with Fortin's (2005) theory about anti-egalitarian views as during the decades when a misogynist tone about women's work was commonly used, the FLFP was lower. However, after the mid-1900s there is a clear shift in Vogue strategy as it begins to cater to a wider audience of women

The background section discussed how Vogue made a conscious, strategic decision in hiring Grace Mirabella in 1971 as the editor-in-chief who could better appeal to a working middle-class demographic. With the change of the editor-in-chief Vogue began highlighting stories with working women. This change in target group indicates that fashion magazines do follow the demographic trends taking place in the society. The results seem to suggest that the rise in FLFP occurred first and Vogue followed suit as it did not want to lose its readership.

Despite being primarily a fashion magazine, particularly the magazine issues from the first half of the twentieth century tend to somewhat mimic regular newspapers. The magazines include sections such as book and play reviews, school ads, marriage announcements, columns about other topics than fashion as well as opinion pieces. Social issues are discussed in the opinion piece section and Vogue does partake in important discussions about women's rights. The suffragette movement and right to unionize are discussed in the issue from 1910 (Vogue, 1910). However, the tone is not necessarily positive but rather patronizing in some of the columns discussing the movement. Despite that there are more positive mentions about women's work in the magazine from 1910 than 1900.

31

Other large societal issue clearly visible in the magazine is the Second World War. Vogue partook in the movement encouraging women to volunteer in order to help with the war efforts from the home front. As mentioned in the background section, propaganda was used in order to convince Americans that working and especially jobs traditionally associated with men did not make the women lose their femininity. However, the elitist tone does carry on even in the war issues. The war magazine issue includes an article about life of famous French fashion designers and celebrities living in the Ritz, a luxury hotel, in the midst of the Second World War (Vogue,

1940). While the article does mention that the celebrities have done charity work, the tone comes across as superficial and out-of-touch. On the other hand, as a fashion magazine Vogue perhaps aimed to provide a form of escapism for American women during the second world war.

Especially from the 1950s onwards, the Vogue magazines begin to acknowledge the drastic transformation women's role in the society is going through. There is a clear shift in tone after the emergence of the pill and sexual revolution of the 1960s-70s is heavily noticeable in the magazines. Particularly, the magazine from the 1970s carries an overall highly liberated tone and subjects such as drugs and sex are topics of discussion in the magazine issue from 1970. There is also a job ad about an interior design position for women (Vogue, 1970). The job is described as a new type of job for a woman where she is able to reach a high pay level and use her creativity. The ad also mentions a possibility for part-time work, which fits well with the trends in upper middle class women's labour behaviour from the 1970s. As previously mentioned, according to Goldin (2006) the normalisation of part-time work was one of the drivers of FLFP particularly for married women. The new type of job ads for women indicate that reporters and employers of the time were aware of the historic labour market shift that was taking place as majority of American women became an active part of the labour market.

Particularly the magazine from the 1980s includes multiple columns and articles about the changing role of a woman and advice about how to adapt to the new roles offered for women. As an example there is an article about driving during the winter discussing how winter used to be "devoted to home but women don't live like that anymore, there's work meetings and commitments and snow can't [sic] be on the way of that" (Borgeson (in Vogue), 1980, p,82).

Trends in women's labour participation also indicate that working women start slowly becoming the norm in the United States as the FLFP begin to slowly reach 50% by the 1980s. The results also show that overall mentions of women's work significantly increase during the second half of the century peaking during the 1980s. Moreover, the magazine includes discussion about part time work as well as combining career and motherhood.

The vogue issue from 1980 advertises clothes for women specifically meant to be worn as office wear (Vogue, 1980). The clothing visible in the ad seen in Figure 5 fits into Molley's (1975) definition of a power suit as its relatively conservative and mimics office wear worn by men in corporate environments. Interestingly the growth in FLFP is at its most rapid during the 1980s,

which would support Molley's (1975) theory of wardrobe engineering arguing that women's will reach more and better job positions if they dress for success. However, most likely the growth in FLFP has just occurred at the same time as power suits were popularised. The magazine from 1990 also mentions the concept of a power suit in an article that claims the 1980s to have been a decade where every woman was working and thus fashion followed. However, another article from the 1990 issue argues that women should not be forced to dress androgynously in order to be taken seriously in the workplace. An article also argues that the 1980s were the decade when women began defining themselves through their career rather than their relationships.



Figure 5 (Vogue, 1980)

As mentioned in the results section, no-collar work is heavily overrepresented in the magazine already from the beginning of the twentieth century. The presence of celebrities and models becomes even stronger towards the twenty-first century. However, particularly the magazine issues from the twenty-first century also present women in work positions that are traditionally associated with men. In the Vogue issue from 2020, three female directors are interviewed, which can be considered relevant as directing continues to be heavily male dominated. Moreover, as mentioned in the results the articles and profile pieces interviewing models and actresses take a different tone as the interviews began focusing more on the ideas, work and life of the interviewee rather than only discussing their looks.

Throughout the decades it is apparent that the women portrayed in higher working positions are predominantly white women. The lack of female representation is already a negative factor impacting attitudes about women's corporate skills but there is even less representation of women of colour in high-paying job positions. Only the magazines from the twenty-first century

34

onwards highlight career success stories of women of colour. This follows the labour market trends as minority women are more underrepresented than white women in leadership positions. In 2020 white women held 32% of total management positions in the United States while black

women held only 4.4% of all positions (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020). This corresponds with the stereotype threat theory as women of colour are hit harder than white women when there is a lack of representation of successful female leaders. Zero or very little representation can be also considered to be negative representation.

The positive mentions of women's work as well as representations women working in male dominated fields while expressing themselves freely increase towards the end of the research period. As mentioned in the results the FLFP peaks in 1990 while there are many positive mentions in the magazine. However, the positive representations of women's work continue into the twenty-first century, while the FLFP begins to stagnate. This indicates that the representations in fashion magazines do not perfectly mimic the trends in the labour market. Barnard's theory of fashion of a process of social communication enforces the idea that while fashion trends can be considered to be a form of non-verbal communication the interpretation of the message cannot be fully controlled by the sender. Moreover, as mentioned in the literature review section Bell (1947) argues that the sum of factors determining clothing trends includes multiple aspects, which are difficult to separate. Working patterns is definitely one of these factors but it is not strong enough to alone explain shifts in fashion trends.

Due to the slippery essence of fashion trends this dissertation did not set out to prove causality between FLFP and representations of women's work as there is a significant number of factors impacting the developments in FLFP. However, the results do broadly indicate that the positive representations of women's work do tend to correspond with decades where FLFP experience powerful growth, whereas the negative representations of women's work do tend to concede with years of low FLFP. On the other hand, the representations do not correspond with the current stagnation of the female labour force participation that began during the 1990s as the positive representations have increased while FLFP has begun to stagnate.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation has been to investigate whether the representations of women's work found in the American Vogue respond to changes in female labour force participation in the United States from 1900 to 2020. After generating a comprehensive overview of the portrayals

of working women in fashion magazines during the past 120 years through conducting a summative qualitative content analysis, the distinguished patterns were compared and contrasted with female labour market trends in order to form a new outlook on the relationship between the perceptions of women's labour market positions and changes in FLFP. This study has particularly focused on the social aspects influencing FLFP as it has emphasized the role media representations in fashion magazines play in constructing ideas and attitudes about women's work.

The twentieth century was a revolutionary century in terms of women's rights and labour market participation and, thus an interesting time setting for researching female labour market participation. The dissertation focused on investigating the developments in women's labour force participation and changes in the representations of women's work in the United States as it is one of the countries that has experienced stagnation in FLFP towards the beginning of the twenty-first century. Fashion trends have also had a strong presence in the U.S. throughout the last 120 years. It can also be argued that the U.S. has a drastic influence on Western culture as a whole, which indicates that trends from the U.S. tend to spread elsewhere. Moreover, the *American Vogue*, which was used as the primary source material for the content analysis, can be considered to be the most influential fashion magazine in the world.

The study has demonstrated that the media representations of women's labour market positions tend to somewhat mirror the trends witnessed in the labour markets. This may be the cause of change in strategy as magazines do not wish to lose their readership, but it may also indicate that general attitudes about women's work are changing with the labour market trends. However, the results also indicated that attitudes reinforced by representations are not powerful enough to solely explain the labour market trends as the stagnation of FLFP was not represented in the results of the content analysis.

36

Despite some shortcomings, including the overrepresentation of no-collar work and an upper middle class reader demographic, the *Vogue* issues contained social debate about women's labour market positions. Moreover, all of the magazine issues researched included some form of content representing women's work or labour market positions. Thus, the *Vogue* magazines were able to provide valuable information about how the attitudes and descriptions of women's work changed throughout the last 120 years. Information about the tone of discussion about women's work could then be compared to trends in the labour markets.

This dissertation contributes to the existing literature by having investigated how the portrayals of working women in popular culture adapt to the revolutionary shift taking place in the labour markets. Moreover, the paper emphasizes the relevance of researching the role of social aspects influencing women's labour market participation rather than only focusing on economic factors. For further research, it would be interesting to draw comparisons between other countries and regions in order to see whether they have developed similarly to the United States. Furthermore, despite the slippery essence of fashion it would be interesting to measure how certain fashion trends such as corsets, jeans, miniskirts or tailored skirt suits have correlated with female labour force participation rate in the United States.

Media outlets, including fashion magazines, are one of the most powerful transmitters of gender stereotypes and thus, it is meaningful to investigate how representations of women found in fashion journals have developed over the last 120 years. In addition to the articles and ads where women's work is represented, fashion magazines also offer a look into how the certain clothing trends, such as women's power suits, are created as a reaction to a shift in the labour markets. The manner in which women's work is portrayed gives information about the prevalent ideas and attitudes concerning women's labour market roles, and as long as inequalities persist in the labour markets, it is relevant to research where these disparities root from by investigating factors such as, what part anti-egalitarian attitudes reinforced by media representations play in women's labour market decisions.

37

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9. Appendix

The appendix includes all the codebooks made during the content analysis stage. The codebooks also include pictures of the found representations.

Vogue 1900 part 1

Cat.	Obs.	Hits	Description	Tone
Cover	-	-	Drawn woman wearing a long dress + fur	Upper class, high society

Work	9	6	<p>2 hits about teachers</p> <p>4 hits → work by female authors highlighted</p> <p>Beliefs: should working men doing x partake in the sabbath</p>	<p>Female-dominated field, pink-collar? Not negative or positive but the assumption about the profession chapter emphasizes men's work</p> <p>No-collar work</p> <p>Men's work emphasized</p>
Mother	2	1	Weekly pattern	Assumption that mother dresses the child
Father	9	1	Religious belief, expression "man of the streets vs woman of the home" used	Assumption about the division of labour
Office wear	0	0		
Office	4	1	Short story → his office	His office



Column about beliefs



Vogue's weekly pattern:

NUMBER 12. 4 1887, 1900. V light blue and pink patterns as a set. The pattern is one pattern as such as described is found on this page. Vogue pattern copies are from any issue of Vogue must be sent with the pattern.

This pattern for this week is for a child's afternoon frock to be made of silk, wool, or fine white muslin. This gown is not considered appropriate for young children, it being better only to make this last gown of fine white muslin over a silk slip of Brussels cloth of a fine quality, and in light colors or even silk satin. Some mothers, however, like to have silk frocks for their children, or often want to make over a gown of their own here a child's gown, and if the silk is in a fine color, a thin silk or one with a small figure, it could be made after this model, covering the bust at the bottom of the skirt, using three half-inch pinned collars of silk. The collar would be given made of fine muslin, or lace, and cut and finished with below necklaces. Three collars of double silk, flow in front of children to match the silk or of velvet like the belt and neck. Like black or a dark shade matching the silk. This gown for evening is given made of French muslin over a slip of light blue silk. Besides knots, bow in back, and belt of light blue velvet. Coquettish of trimmed, edged with lace at the throat and cuffs. Sometimes children say to the mother wear these gowns with short puffed sleeves and no buttons, but after all, they are much prettier than such a gown.

Another pretty combination would be to make the gown of light blue cashmere with collar of pinned fine ribbon. The neck collar of white lace, edged with a collar of lace under which is one of pinned ribbon. Some collars of cashmere, lace and lace of blue velvet. This pattern is suitable for a child of seven years or younger.

the fingers well and be clean in a glass case. Do not simply put them off your table then into a basket, as so many young girls do. Fine lace handkerchiefs, collars, neckties, etc., may be easily washed or done by washing them in a tub of pure soap and rinsing them carefully in the boiling-water or water before putting.

If you have one or two plain gowns and several dresses, gowns collars, gloves, shoes, cravat, gaiters, etc., many changes can be made.

We publish in this number an illustration of a gown which is most useful to wear with a long-sleeved shoulder gown, reaching to high, so that it may be worn in the evening, a convenient dress, etc. Of course the material chosen depends upon the gown, although

or silk, and get it out in silk or possible with the pattern laid, breaking the silk as little as possible over the mouth with the tongue, pressing it down evenly with a heated iron, stitching the edges with your fingers, and on the inside side fill the tongue in quite fully, then slip the blade of a small knife between the sides of the tin and the tongue, and lift the latter out. Three months can be filled with correct, elegant cravat, both masculine, or anything the you please.

Washes or Blouses, etc.—Black, red, and do in the even one panel of even-shoulder and four corners of pinches, white, brown, allowing them to stretch, and black and like five pieces of slacks to a



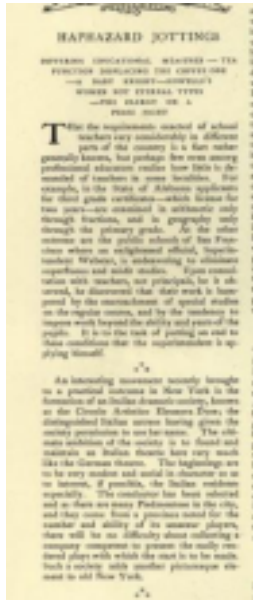
Book reviews

A page from a magazine featuring a portrait of a woman in the center, surrounded by columns of text. The text appears to be a short story or a collection of articles. The layout is typical of late 19th-century periodicals.

Short story

A page from the magazine 'VOGUE' containing a short story. The text is a dialogue between Mrs. Lee and Mrs. Kipp. Mrs. Lee says: "Oh, Molly, how do you do! Isn't Christmas shopping just a nightmare!" Mrs. Kipp replies: "Why, do you know, I've seldom spent a happier day. But then I've been having Archie's present." Mrs. Lee asks: "Archie's?" Mrs. Kipp says: "Oh, I always forget you don't know my husband. I'm not like most wives—just giving back their husbands their own money in some sort of a present. I earn Mrs. Lee: "What is it?" Mrs. Kipp: "A pincushion for his room. Baby blue satin, trimmed with real lace, and embroidered with violets, the loveliest, Frenchest thing. I'm going to borrow it daylight, while he's at his office, for my dressing-table." Below the text is a decorative border and the heading "WHAT SHE WEARS". Underneath, it lists: "SATIN, VELVET AND PINK VELVET POPULAR FABRICS—TAILOR GOWNS TO BE MODISH MUST BE ELABORATE—WHITE POULT DE SOLE WRAP—ENGLISH ART VELVET BODICES—SILK A".

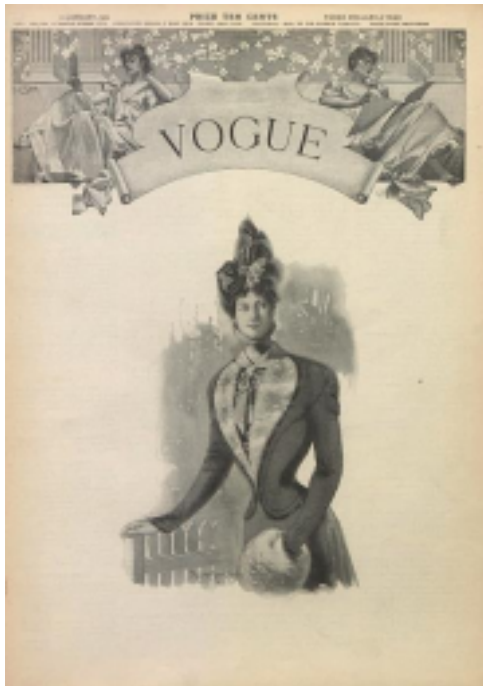
Educational measures – opinion piece



Vogue 1900 part 2

Cat.	Obs.	Hits	Description	Tone
Cover	-	-	Drawn woman wearing a long winter dress	Upper class, high society
Work	12	1	Article about individualism in American girls	Misogynistic tone, argues that American girls cannot pursue an artistic career, mentions of the "dependent sex"
Mother	0	0	-	-
Father	3	0	-	-
Office wear	0	0	-	-
Office	5	0	-	-

Cover:



Individualism in American girls

to be a distinctively repellant attribute in a woman. The European cries out that the American girl regards men as comrades and not as potential Romeos; that her frankness, which is positively boyish in its straightforwardness, destroys the halo of mystery with which men love to surround the dependent sex. Lombroso has registered his emphatic disapproval of the American type in learned volumes, and lesser foreign critics have agreed, in the main, with his findings.

* * *

And now along comes Madam Marchesi with a quiver-full of objections to the maid from the States. Says the great teacher, "The American girl, in common with all others of her sex, is lacking in force and in stability of purpose." Then follow additional reasons why the American is disqualified for an artistic career. The whole training is at fault; the girl absorbs a knowledge of practical affairs, but of art or of any tongue but her native one, the average New World girl knows

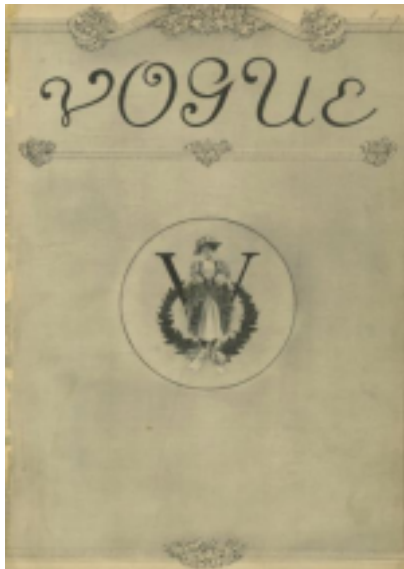
Vogue 1910 part 1

Cat.	Obs.	Hits	Description	Tone
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Cover	-	-	Young girl/child wearing a dress	Traditional clothing, upper-class, high society
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Work	14	2	Discussion about female actresses + actors, male directors Life at Buckingham palace	No-collar work, Traditional roles in terms of actress + director Traditional female labour roles, pink collar work
Mother	5	1	Wedding announcement, mother of the bride + groom presented as wives of working men (man's profession told)	Traditional division of labour between sexes
Father	2	0		
Office wear	0	0		
Office	7	0		

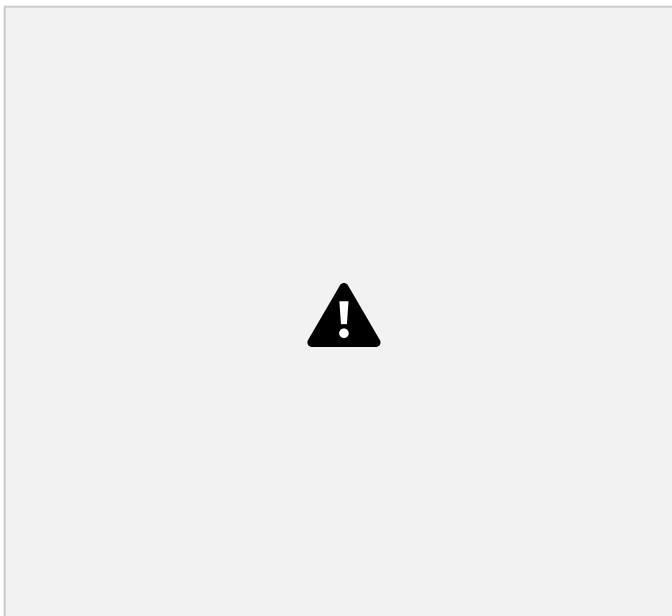
Cover:



Play review



Buckingham palace maids:



Wedding announcement:

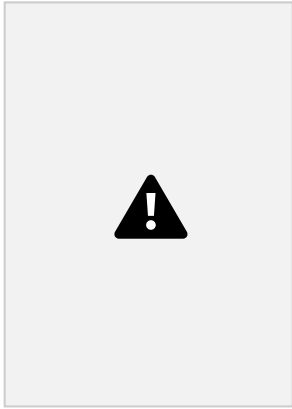


Vogue 1910 part 2

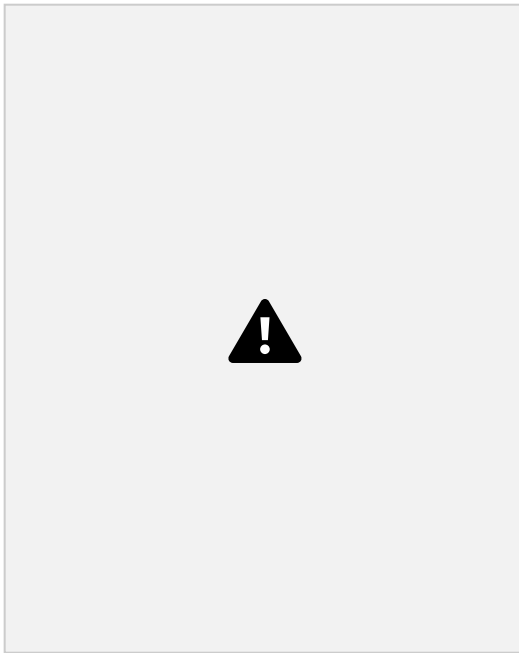
Cat.	Obs.	Hits	Description	Tone
Cover	-	-	A photograph of 2 men sledding down a hill	Interesting that there are two men on the cover
Work	17	2	Book review by a female author discussing her work Society and shirtmakers strike, urging women to join a labour union	No-collar job Progress?, discusses whether women should unionize in order to get better rights, pro women's voting rights, explains pros and cons
Mother	4	1	Article discussing the suffrage movement, discussing why girls of today refuse to stay home unlike their mothers	Positive towards women gaining more independence
Father	4	1	Same as above	Same as above .. argues that if the woman does not marry, she becomes a burden to the father
Office wear	0	0	-	-

Office	4	0	-	-
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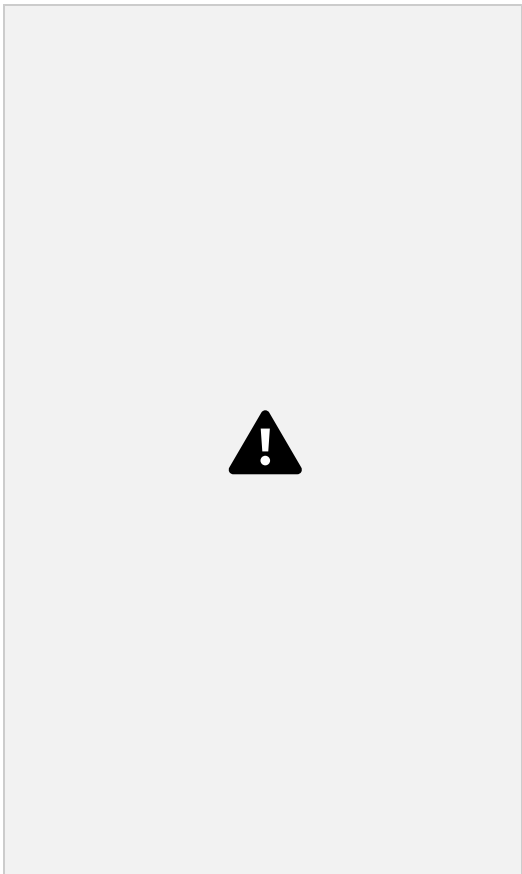
Cover:



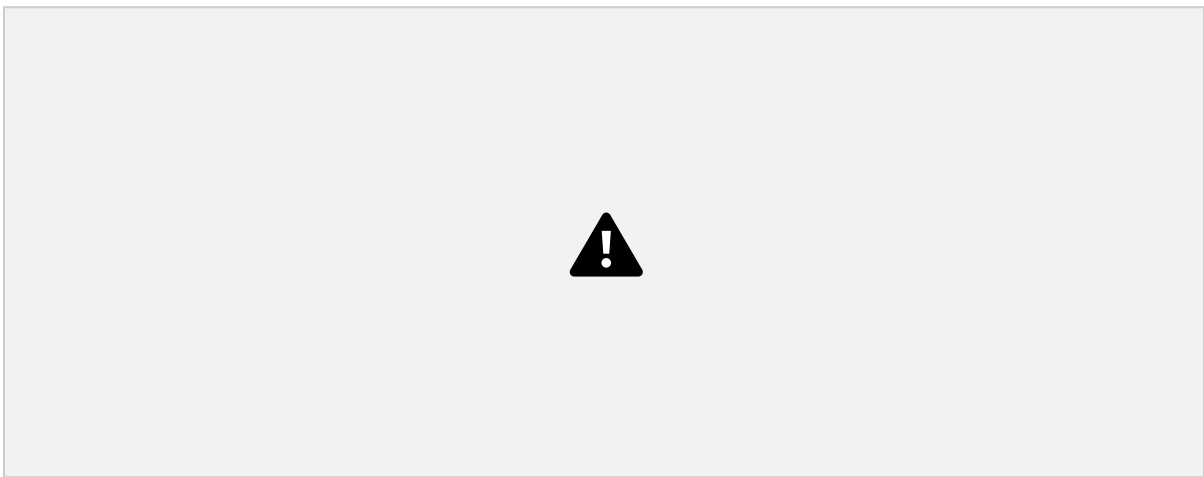
Book review:



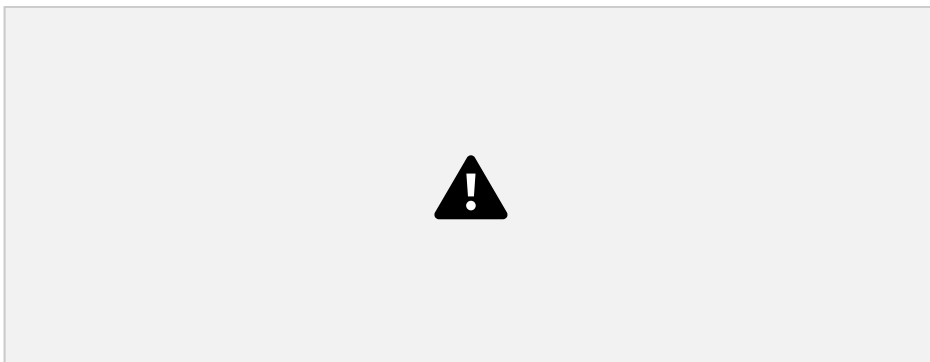
Women's labour union:



Girls not content to stay home: mother + father



52



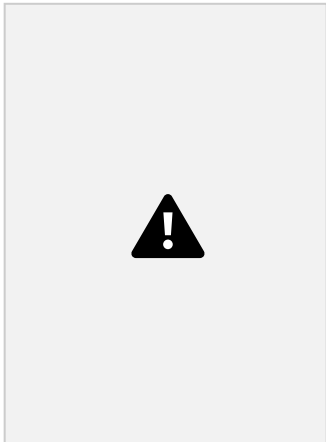
Vogue 1920

Cat.	Obs.	Hits	Description	Tone
Cover	-	-	2 Drawn women, now with colours, a white explorer woman in the front, a black woman in the back, women is active rather than passive	A colonial tone, the woman is active so maybe progresses but only from a white feminist perspective, romanticising exploitation,
Work	56	6	<p>“Oriental needlewomen” ad for dresses</p> <p>Learn costume design → business opportunity for women,</p> <p>Play review, actresses</p> <p>Wedding announcement</p> <p>Article encouraging for the revival of industrial</p>	<p>Social class - otherness - oriental woman vs society woman</p> <p>Work advertised to be good on the side of housekeeping, so man still the main breadwinner, but also presents the idea of a dual-earner household</p> <p>No collar work</p> <p>Brides mother presented through the profession of his husband</p> <p>Only discusses men’s labour</p>

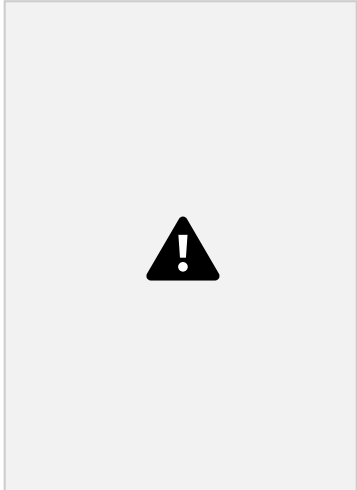
			<p>art such as shoemaking rather than chain production</p> <p>Secretarial training ad</p>	Pink collar work
Mother	18	0	-	-
Father	8	0	-	-
Office wear	1	1	Dressing on a limited budget	Pink collar work, Maid or laundress the only jobs presented

Office	11	0	-	-
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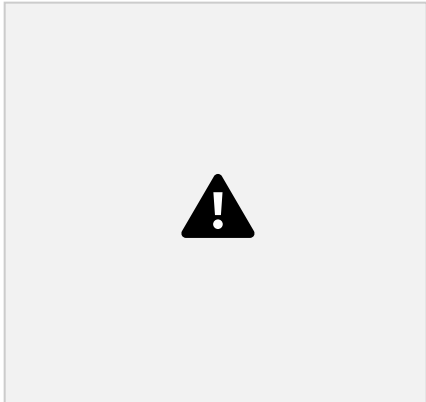
Cover:



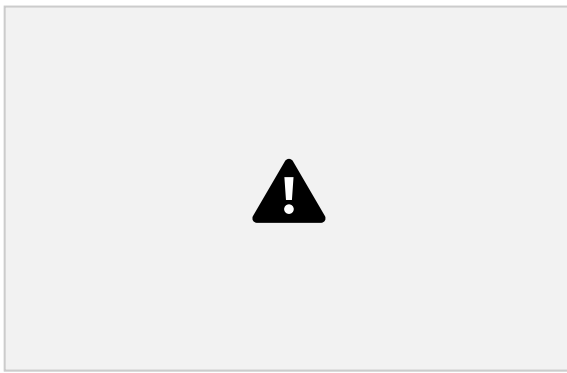
Lingerie ad



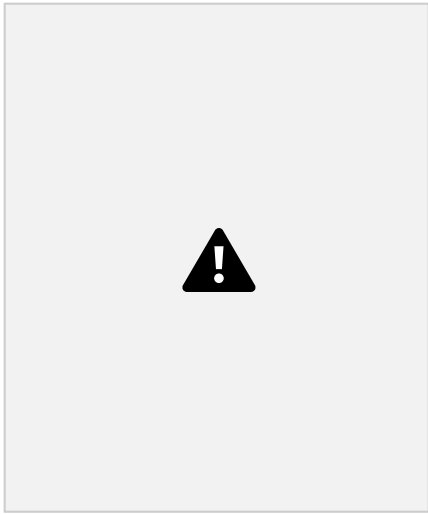
Business opportunity for women:



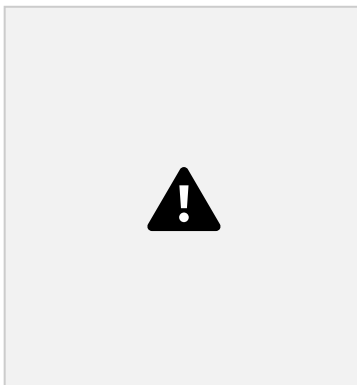
Actresses



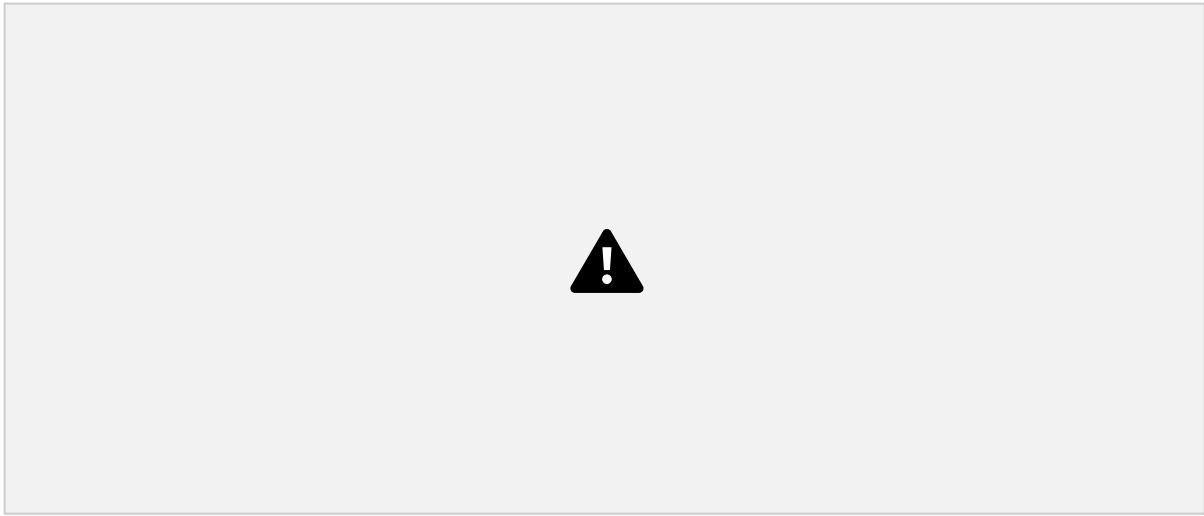
Wedding invite, mother of the bride presentation



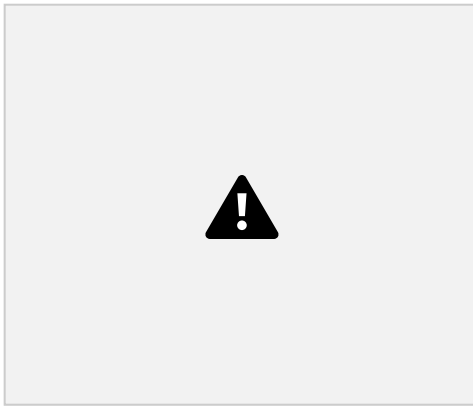
Career of a shoemaker



Secretarial training



Dressing on a limited budget

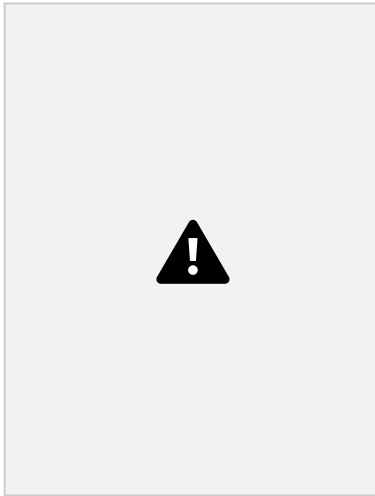


Vogue 1930

Cat.	Obs.	Hits	Description	Tone
Cover	-	-	Drawn woman, wearing a scarf, text about southern fashion	Upper-class?, minimalistic, artistic elements
Work	20	2	Description of life in Paris, housekeeping section Elizabeth Arden ad, the profession of beauty	How household workers are in Paris, elitist tone, “can be used in the same degrading capacities, pink-collar work Female entrepreneur, global business, in the beauty industry though
Mother	4	0	-	-

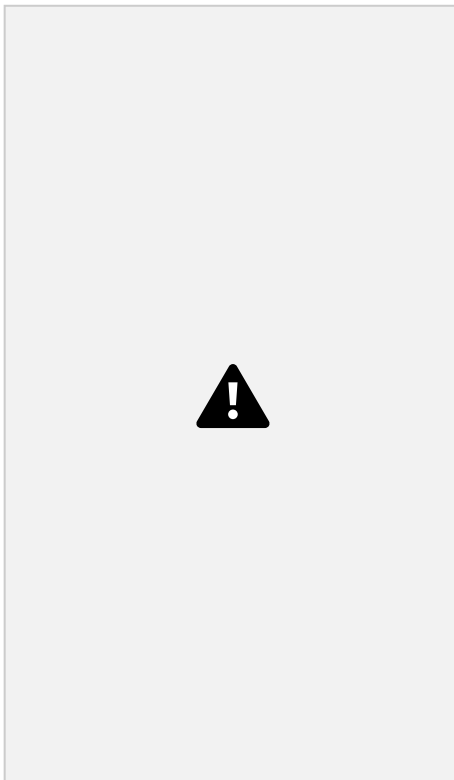
Father	3	0	-	-
Office wear	0	0	-	-
Office	7	0	-	-

Cover:

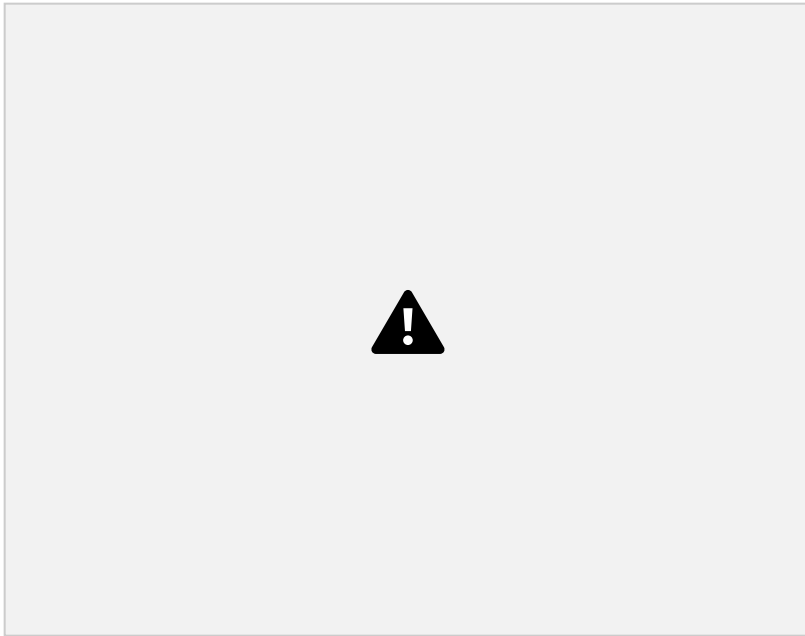


57

housekeeping section:



Elizabeth Arden



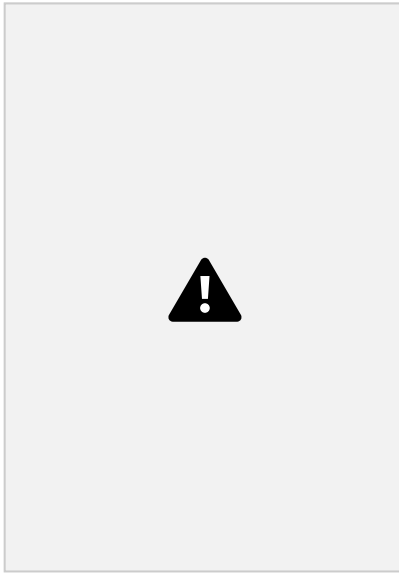
Vogue 1940

Cat.	Obs.	Hits	Description	Tone
Cover	-	-	White blonde slim woman, a lot of skin showing compared to previous ones	Sexier tone, less artistic than the ones before, more similar to modern vogue,

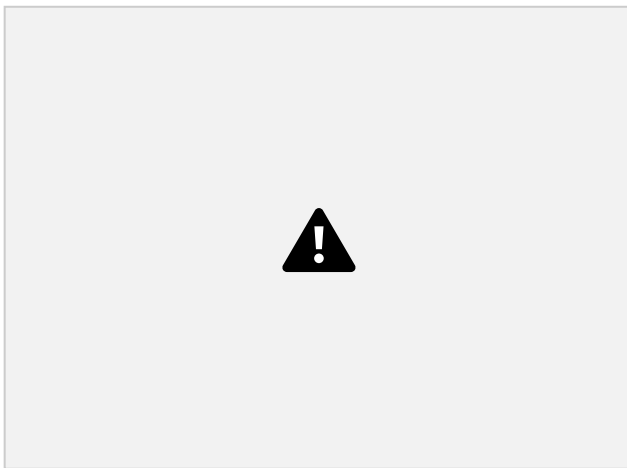
Work	15	4	<p>Photography competition that has a career prize → internship at Conde Nast</p> <p>Another career contest for college students</p> <p>Life in Paris now -column, descriptions of upper-class women's life during the war-era living in the ritz "highly civilized refugees", designer highlighted: Elsa Schiaparelli + Coco Chanel, duchess of Windsor</p> <p>Plantation life, Finca farming story</p>	<p>One male and female winner, progress compared to the 1910 "women are no suitable for artistic work" bit, only one of the 10 established photographers listed in the ad is a woman</p> <p>Shift in vogue strategy?</p> <p>he writer lives in the Ritz, elitist lens, happyish tone which makes the article quite eerie considering WWII is going on, out-of-touch, the author herself writes that her mood is superficial,</p> <p>Upper class, not the women doing the work,</p>
Mother	6	0	-	-
Father	5	0	-	-
Office wear	0	0	-	-

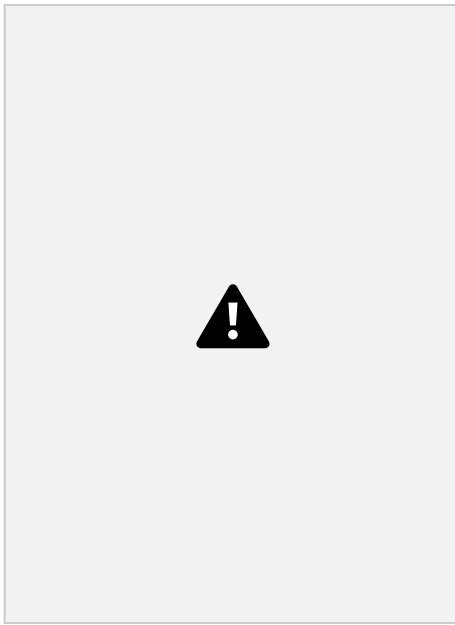
Office	8	0	-	-
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Cover:

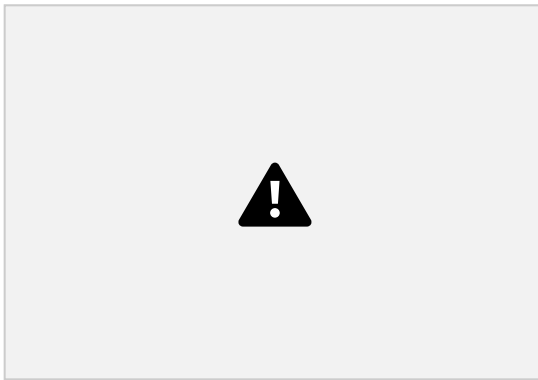


Career prize

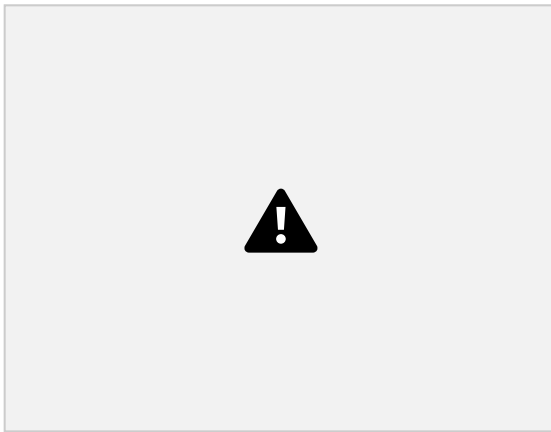




Life in paris now:



Life about a couple living on a farm

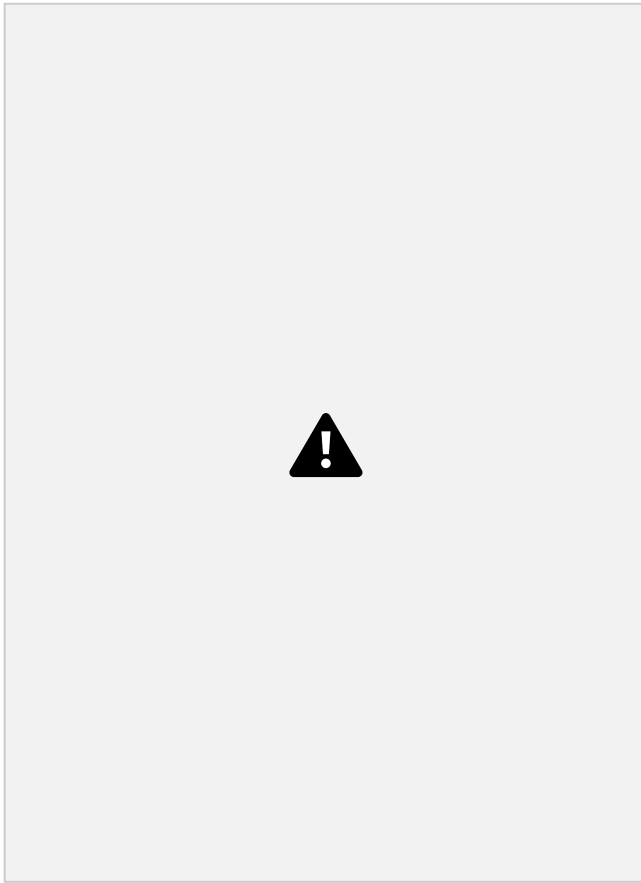


Vogue 1950

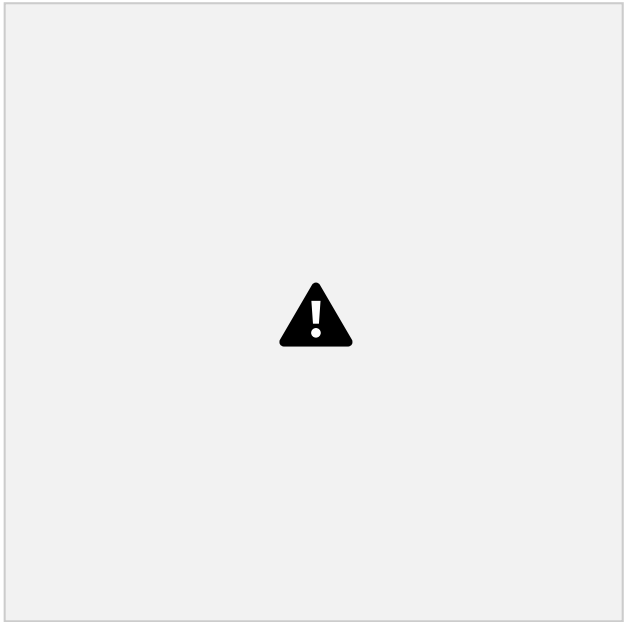
Cat.	Obs.	Hits	Description	Tone
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Cover	-	-	Anonymous, face focused on makeup, model: Jean Patchett	Minimalistic,
Work	15	3	Beauty ad how to bring your husband home at night An article discussing what fashion of the past 50 years says about society/women, what the Gibson girl cares about Job ads for careers in fashion	Gives the assumption that man is working and woman is at home and man has the power in the relationship Misogynist in tone, argues that men care about interesting things while women are superficial Many of the career ads in fashion specifically address women
Mother	4	1	Beauty ad	Ad only addresses mothers if their teens have an oily skin, assumes that the mother is the caring guardian
Father	2	0	-	-
Office wear	0	0	-	-
Office	13	0	-	-

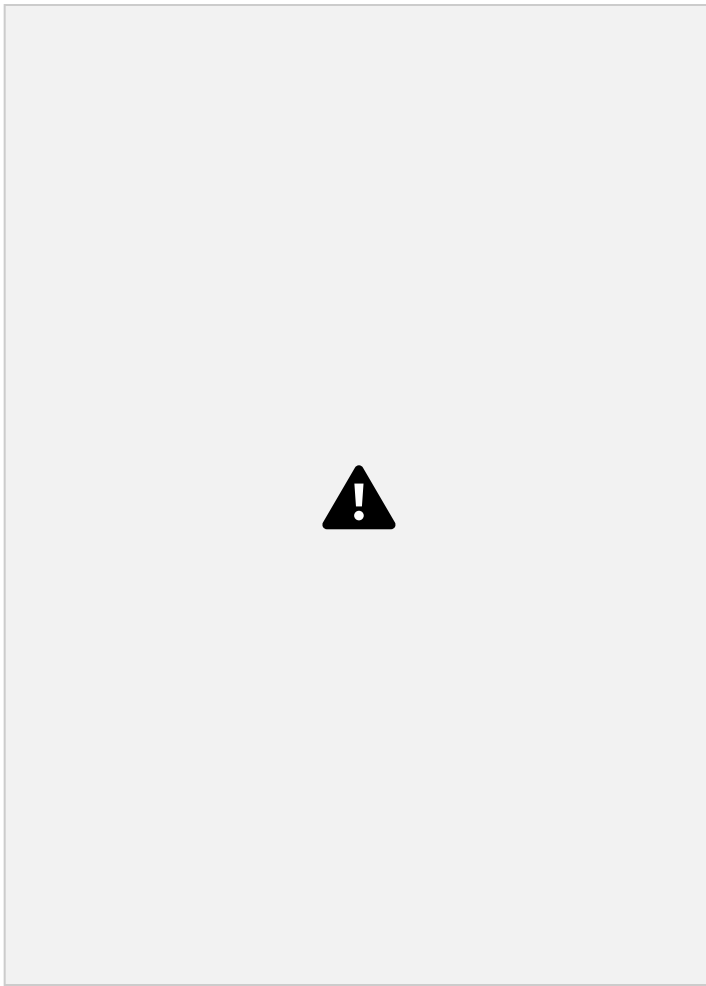
Cover:



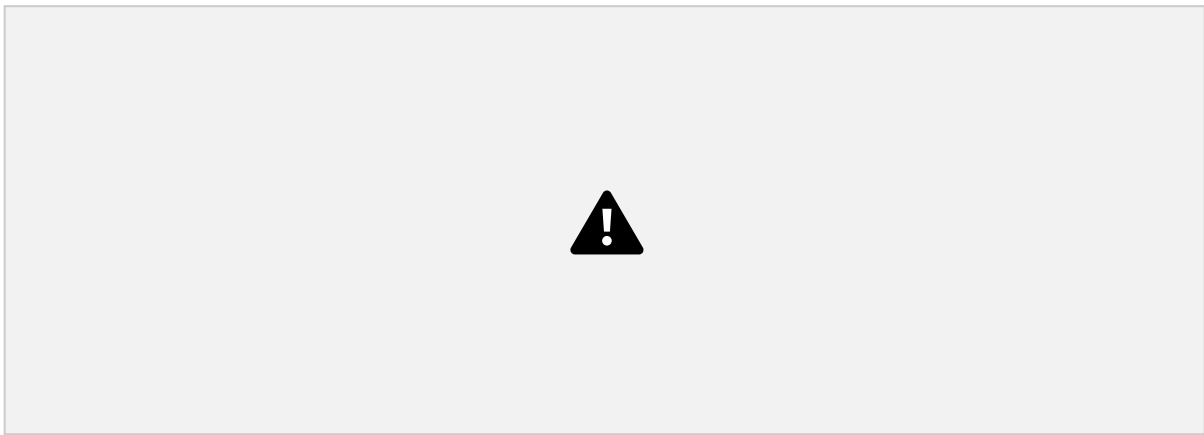
Beauty ad



Gibson girl:



Job ad



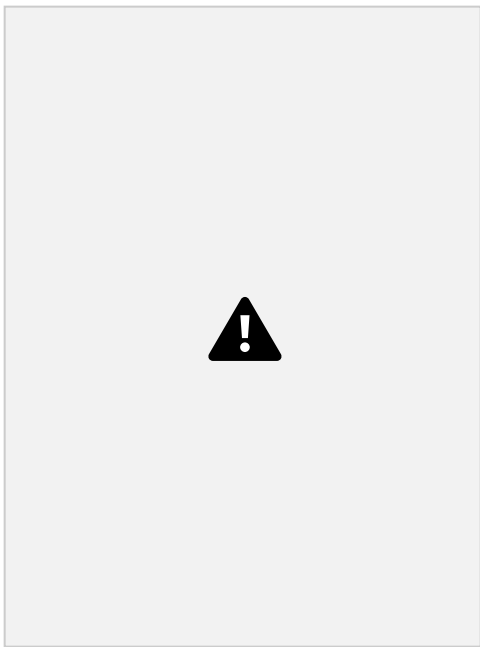
Beauty ad



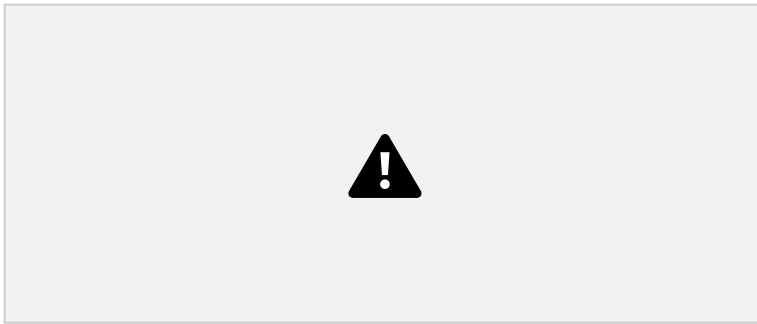
Vogue 1960

Cat.	Obs.	Hits	Description	Tone
Cover	-	-	Smiling blonde woman, model: Jane Fonda, name not on the cover, model, activist	Traditional beauty but a bit more fun tone, green pearls, blue eyeshadow etc.
Work	22	2	College ad for career women Interview with –Mrs. William Rhinelanders Stewart,	Advertising for “career women”, separates career women and non career women Upper class, She works as an assistant to a Broadway produce, pink collar job
Mother	5	0	-	-
Father	3	0	-	-
Office wear	0	0	-	-
Office	6	0	-	-

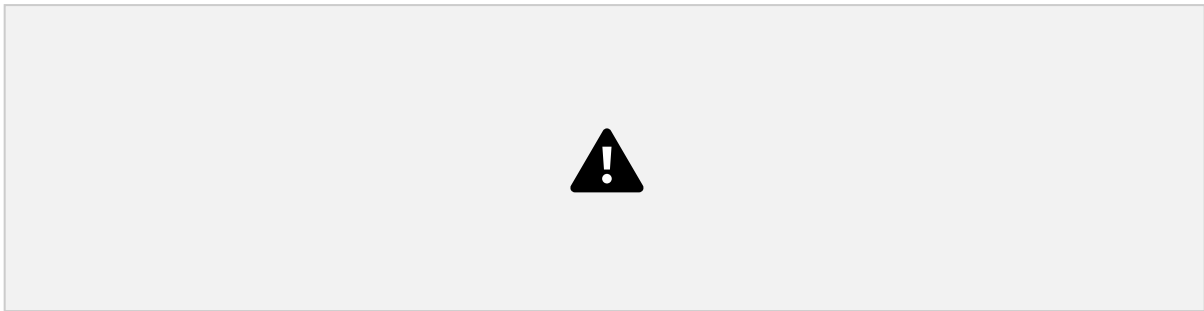
Cover:



Career ad



interview



66

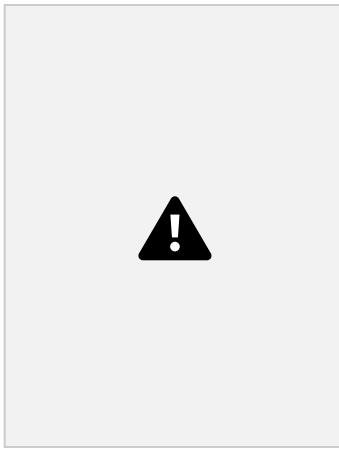
Vogue 1970

Cat.	Obs.	Hits	Description	Tone
Cover	-	-	Model: Jane Birkin, actress + singer, natural makeup, beachy glow, a lot of text,	More modern natural look, not as artistic / avant-garde as previous decades, make-up and fashion advertised, parents and drugs on a large font → 60s,

<p>Work</p>	<p>28</p>	<p>4</p>	<p>Professional interior designer AD, long ad</p> <p>Article: Four famous doctors talk about the health and beauty of the new young body, the bosom, the contraceptive pill is mentioned</p> <p>Karen Wymann’s career as a singer, part of a long article presenting rising stars + two other woman presented with men</p>	<p>Ad presenting a “new job alternative” directed to women, brings pleasure to a woman. “Natural love of beauty” . speaks about income “a high-income field where a woman is in her glory” part-time work mentioned in the intro paragraph,</p> <p>Article fully focused on boobs, bold, Sexual liberation movement, all the doctors are men, “we consulted four distinguished medical men” one with a special interest in breast surgery” → problematic tone, doctors argue that women in their 20s of the 70s are more active and working more than their mothers, birth control mentioned,</p> <p>No collar work, one of the only women next to 10 men, her picture is a lot smaller, another singer, + an actress and her partner she is described as “thin, tall blonde but not</p>
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			Vogues book of etiquette and good manners ad,	<p>exactly lovely” rude tone, Also a comment about her not going to UCLA cause she couldn’t find parking → misogynistic tone</p> <p>“Dramatic changes in equality → women’s life are complicated than before, more independence the book gives advice on etiquette in whatever role a woman chooses: wife, mother, career-..., shows progression</p>
Mother	5	1	Parents and drugs	Female mother who is an executive director
Father	6	2	<p>Parents and drugs</p> <p>Article about British travellers</p>	<p>Argues that the father is a crucial example → he should be seen at work, his dignity is important, he should be a hero</p> <p>Mentions of a controlling father, patriarchal culture,</p>
Office wear	0	0	-	-
Office	7	0	-	-

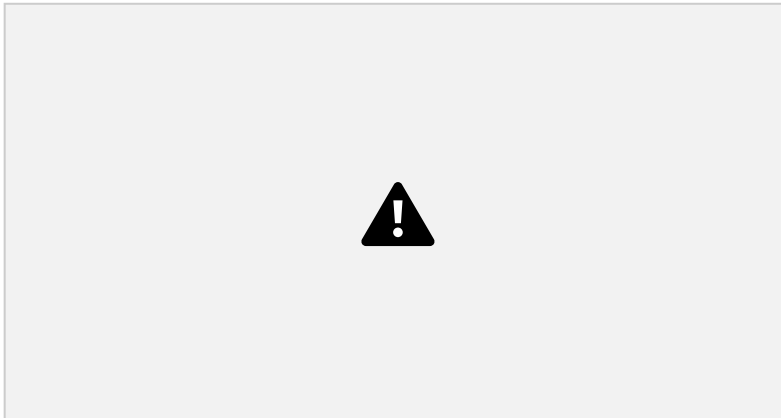
Cover:



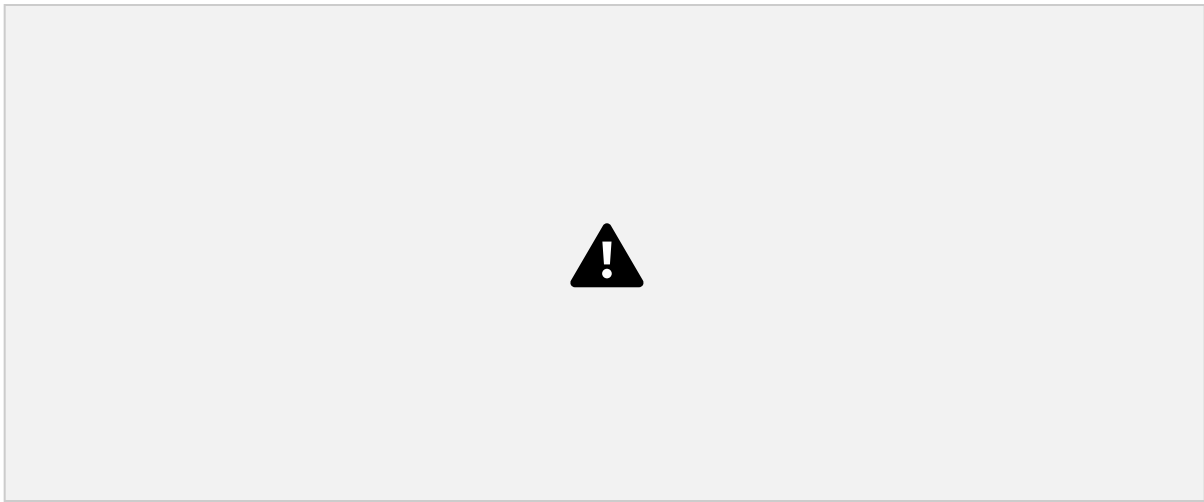
ID



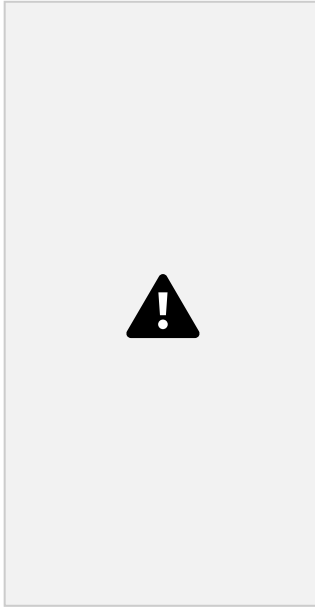
doctors



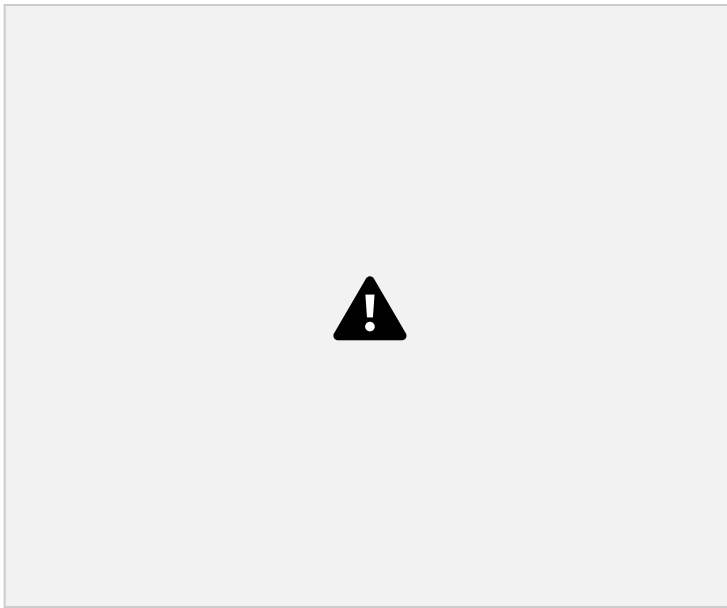
Father as an example



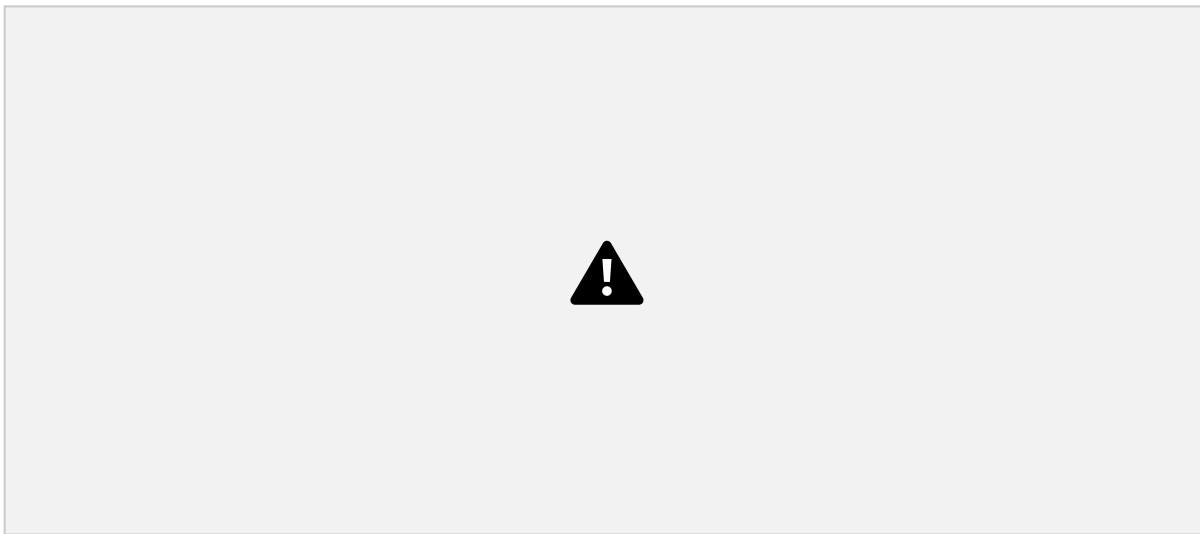
Karen Wymann's career as a singer:



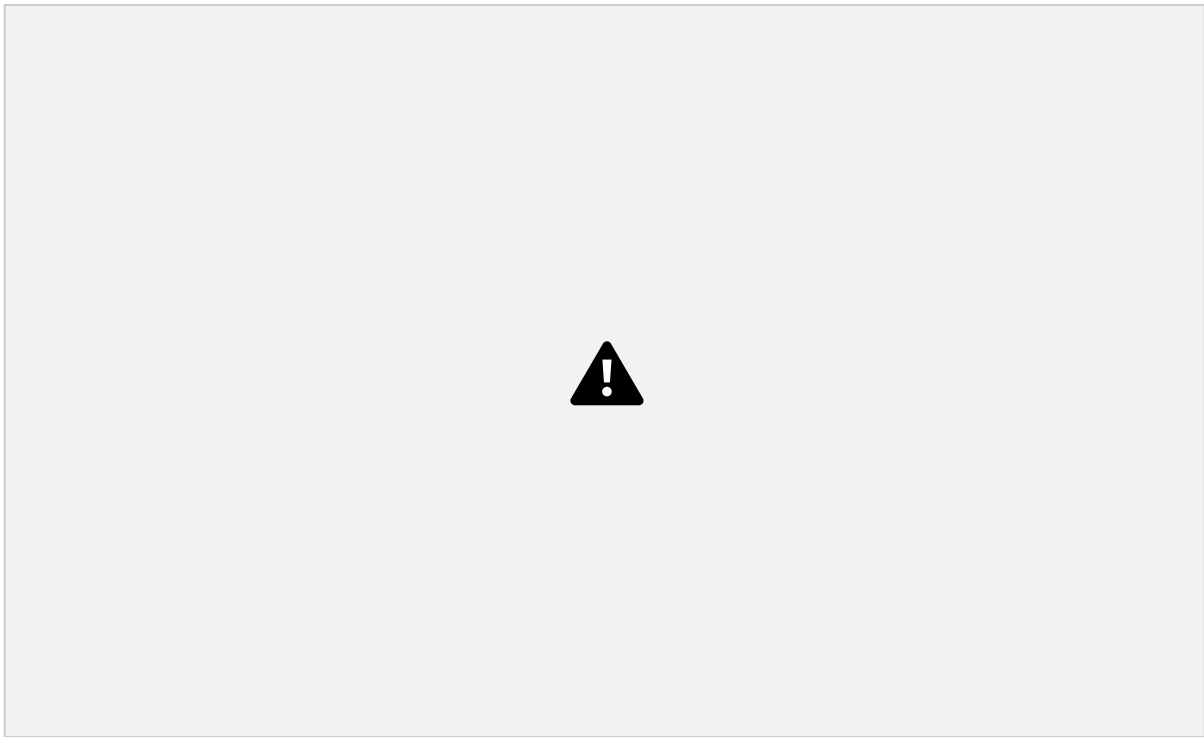
photographer



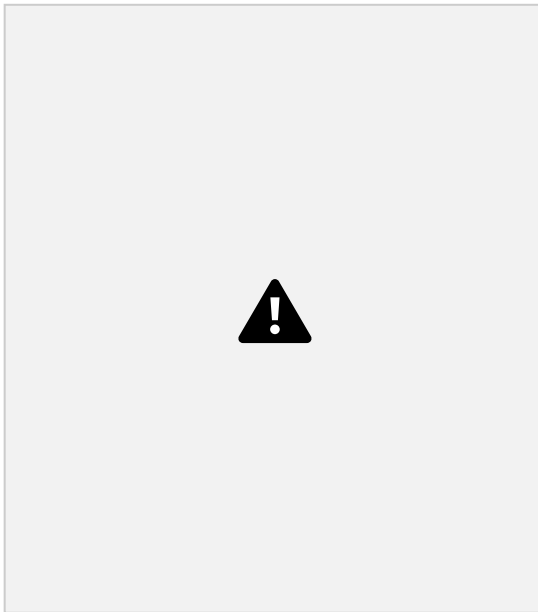
Vogues book of etiquette and good manners:



Female mother executive director:



British travellers article:



Vogue 1980

Cat.	Obs.	Hits	Description	Tone
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72

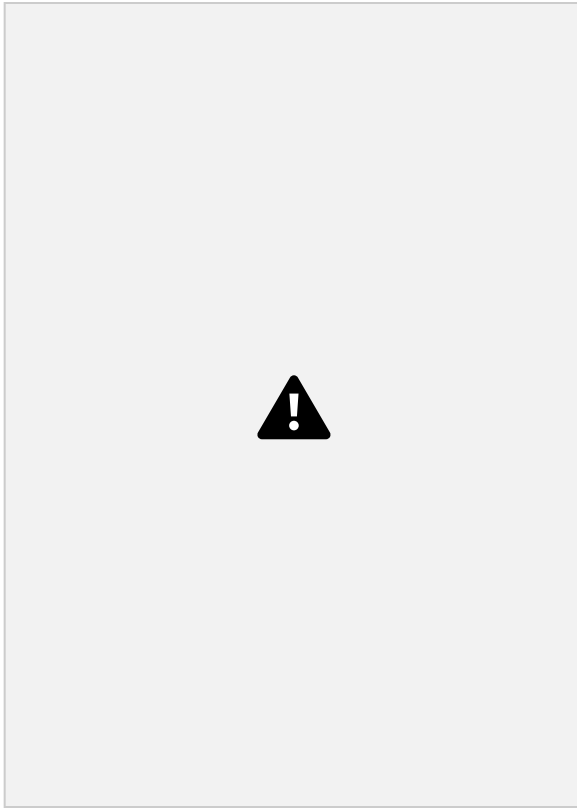
Cover	-	-	Model: Nancy Donahue, American model and actress, pink colour tones, some text	80s aesthetic, texts promote health + “confidence, go!” more makeup than in previous issues, the model’s name does not appear in the cover
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Work	90	14	<p>Blouse Ad</p> <p>New priorities for American women:</p> <p>Article about trade-offs women face,</p> <p>Women as consumers</p> <p>YSL article, interview with Yves Saint Laurent</p> <p>Jehan Sadat profile, (wife of Egypt's leader)</p>	<p>Blouse for office wear</p> <p>Article discussing how to have a work - life balance, life as a woman in the 80s, assumes that woman still has the responsibility of the home but day care etc are options, however, women face more options + choices</p> <p>Uses the concept of "new woman" argues that you have to make a trade-off between a successful career + being a good mother (still somewhat relevant today)</p> <p>Women's economic independence, consumers, earners, investors</p> <p>"YSL clothes turn women into heroines" Yves Saint Laurent surrounds himself with female designers</p> <p>Powerful woman in the middle east, refuses to fit into the traditional role of a middle eastern leader's wife, "daughter or a doctor and English mother, was not raised to be submissive or helpless"</p>
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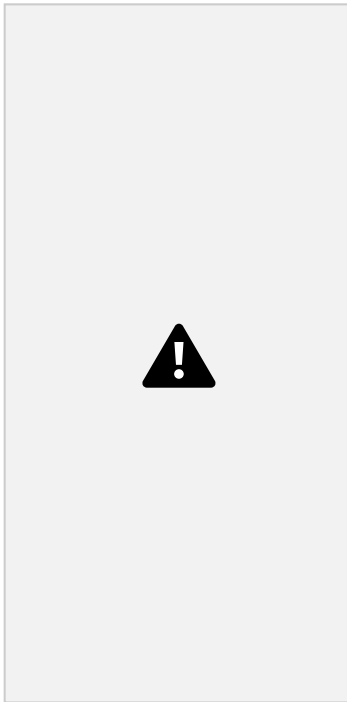
		<p>Women and cars article, tips for driving during the winter</p> <p>How the Barbie doll has changed article</p> <p>How can a woman take care of her finances?</p> <p>Article about investing, explains how investing works</p> <p>Letter to the editor stating that it is arrogant to assume that all working women can afford to hire help</p> <p>Letter to the editor applauding an article about women in politics</p>	<p>“Winter used to be the time devoted for home, but most women don’t live like that anymore, there’s work, meetings and commitments and snow can’t be on the way of that”</p> <p>Barbie went from nurse + hostess costumes to superstar costumes, shows what an American woman dreams to be</p> <p>An example of a woman who had no idea to handle her finances after her husband died</p> <p>Women working full-time, part-time at home etc. have to have a flexible investment plan</p> <p>Social class debate, high class vs working class, working mothers</p> <p>Role of women in high-power positions highlighted, white-collar work</p>
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			<p>Article discussing what job positions are good for a woman</p> <p>Vogue's view on versatility as the new trend in fashion</p>	<p>“Is marine biology good for a woman?, oh yes half the fish are female”</p> <p>humoristic approach, introduces newer work positions for women, others discussed are franchising if you're too scared to start your own business, (women not seen as risktakers), psychologist introduced</p> <p>Some retailers cater specifically to the working woman</p>
Mother	21	1*	<p>Article about Jane Fonda, mother of two who is a successful businesswoman and</p>	<p>Business related to fitness, obsession with thinness</p>
Father	13	-	-	-
Office	27	4	<p>Versatility - the key to fashion</p> <p>Vogues point of view: what changes in fashion</p> <p>Show ad for women going to the office</p> <p>Beauty and health: well-being for the active woman</p>	<p>When designing clothes. “She sees a woman walking to the office”, white-collar work</p> <p>Colour what works for the office</p> <p>White-collar</p> <p>How to stay skinny when working at an office</p>

Cover:



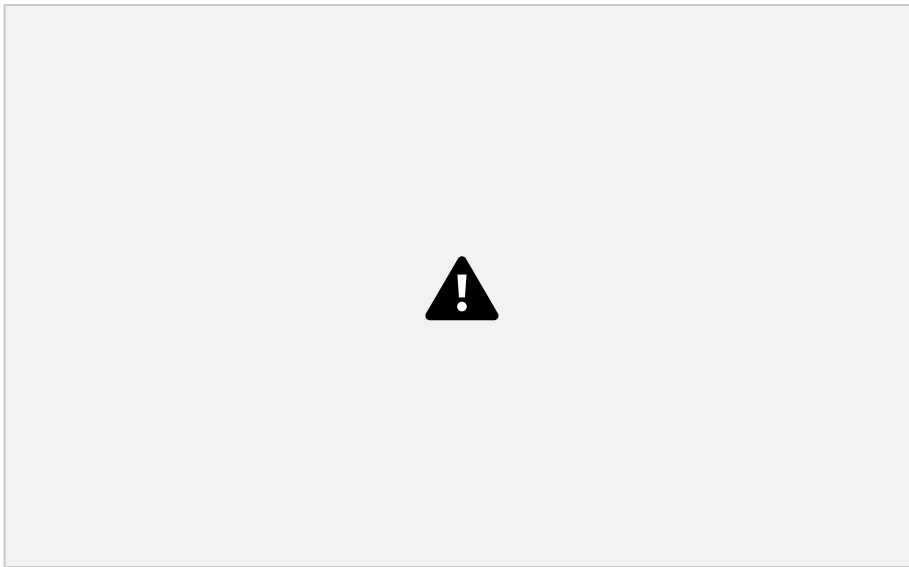
Blouse for office wear



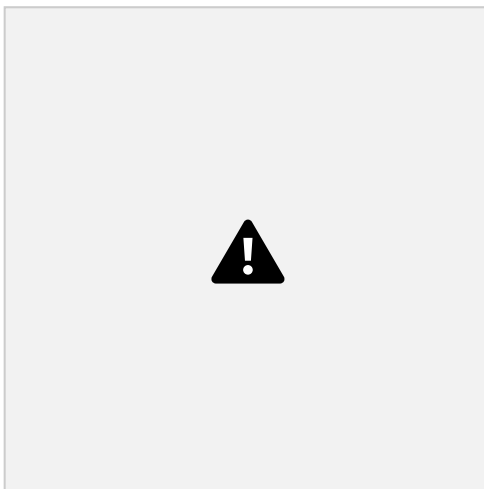
Changes in fashion for women:



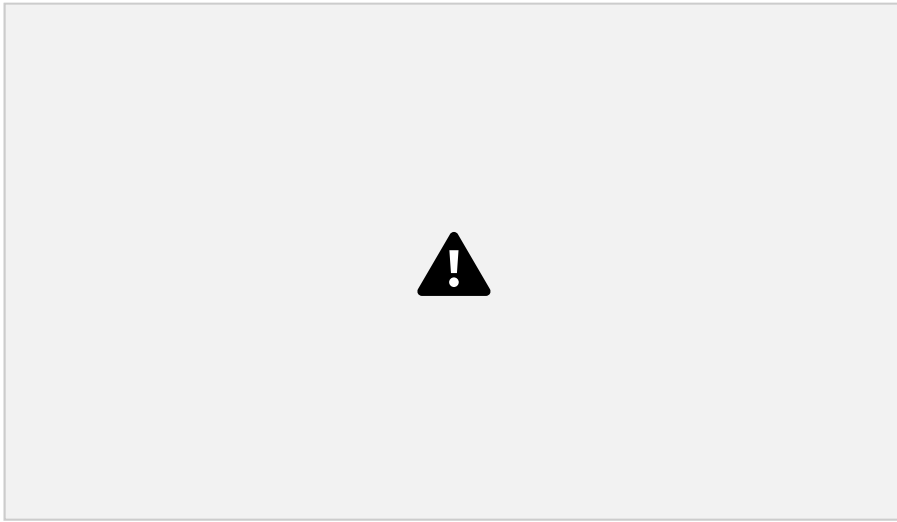
Trade-offs women face:



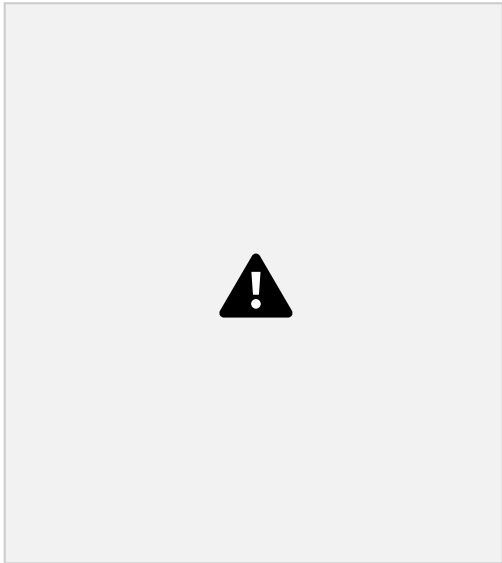
Women's financial independence:



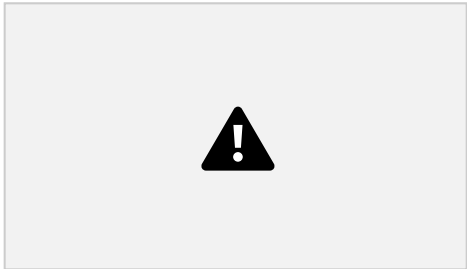
YSL:



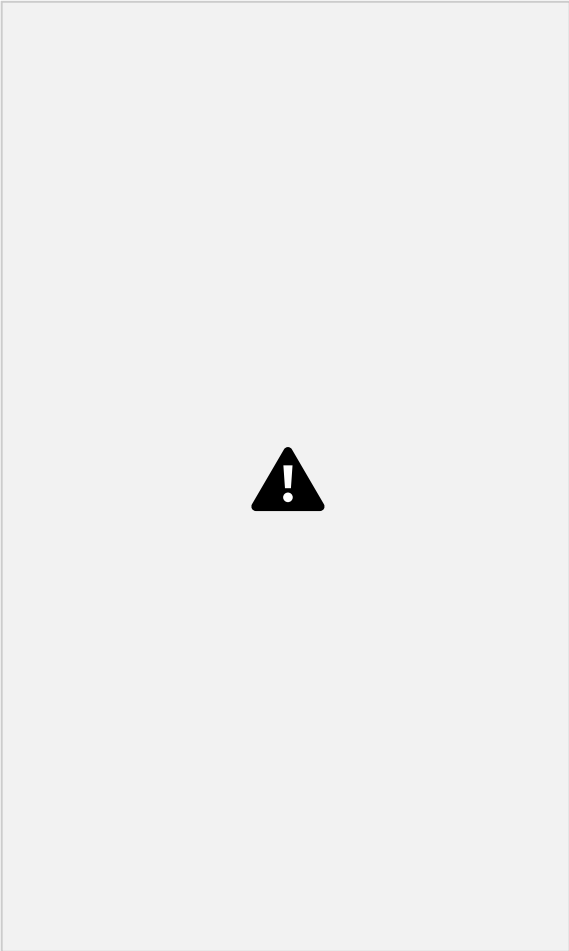
Mrs. Sadat:



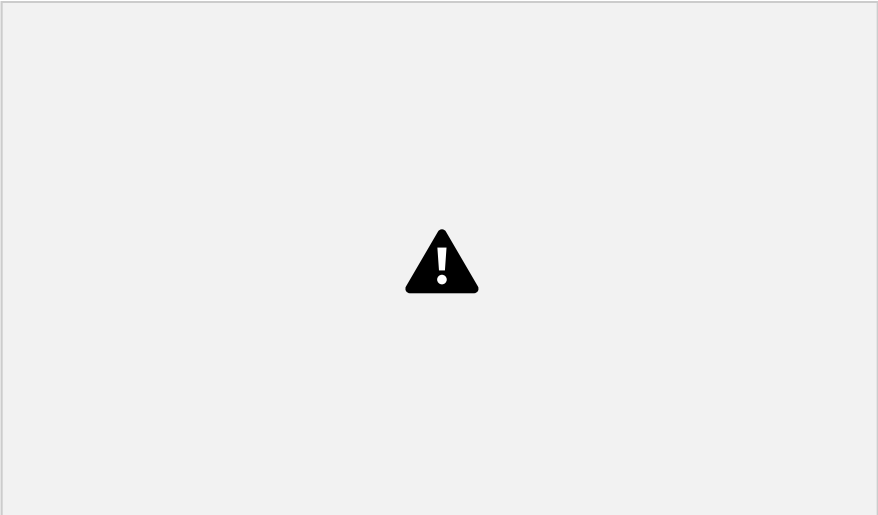
Driving during winter



Barbie:



Women's finances:





Women's finances:



Womanpower in politics:



Marine biology for women: