Messages to Homemakers as Consumers Regarding Food Preparation as Conveyed by Women's Magazines 1947-1986

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MESSAGES TO HOMEMAKERS AS CONSUMERS REGARDING FOOD PREPARATION AS CONVEYED BY WOMEN'S MAGAZINES 1947-1986 by Carmen Dobson Steggell

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE in Home Economics and Consumer Education

Approved:

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY Logan, Utah 1988
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I express appreciation to my grandmother, parents and siblings, who have been my models, and to my husband, Leonard, and our children who have provided support, patience, and understanding. To all, I convey my sincere thanks.

Carmen D. Steggell
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ABSTRACT

Messages to Homemakers as Consumers
Regarding Food Preparation
As Conveyed by Women's Magazines
1947-1986

by

Carmen Dobson Steggell, Master of Science
Utah State University, 1988

Major Professor: Dr. Jean M. Lown
Department: Home Economics and Consumer Education

The purpose of this study was to define the messages related to food preparation that are conveyed by women's magazines to homemakers as consumers during the post-World War II period, and to analyze any changes of those messages over time. A content analysis of food related articles and advertisements in representative issues of Ladies' Home Journal and Good Housekeeping magazines from 1947 to 1986 was conducted. Both manifest and latent content were coded and agreement between the two measures was analyzed.

Of eighteen messages defined, five were found to account for 78.9% of the messages conveyed. The five
messages, listed in descending order, were (1) taste and visual appeal, (2) convenience and versatility, (3) nutrition, (4) quality, and (5) expertise in homemaking and hostessing skills. Using a test of chi-square, no significant difference in the distribution of the messages conveyed from year to year was found. Nevertheless, changes in presentation of the messages were found. Changes were geared to changing technological orientations, economic conditions, and gender roles.
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

In American families, the wife and mother has traditionally decided on and made most household purchases (Lovingood & Firebaugh, 1978). The influence of magazines on consumer behavior, particularly of women, has been widely recognized. In his study of American magazines, Wood (1971-b) declared that the magazine is one of four major forces affecting and controlling national public opinion. A magazine audience "is influenced in education, beliefs, and . . . [toward] individual or social action" (Wood, 1971-b, p.304).

Women's magazines, in particular, have been principally responsible for influence wielded by advertising departments on homes and families of the middle class. They have to some extent standardized housekeeping tools, widened the variety of cookery, [and] introduced or popularized certain habits. . . . (Wolseley, 1965, p.364).

The image of women as consumers "... is greatly reinforced by advertisers in their advertising messages" (Brimm, 1983, p.9).
Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to define the messages related specifically to food preparation that are conveyed by women's magazines to homemakers as consumers. Food preparation, a task performed predominantly by women (Lovingood & Firebaugh, 1978; Nichols & Metzen, 1978; Sanik, 1981; Wheeler & Arvey, 1981; McCullough, 1981) has long been a primary function of the home and represents a common denominator over time and across cultures. Therefore, articles and advertisements relating to food were studied in two major women's magazines, the Ladies' Home Journal and Good Housekeeping, to determine what messages are conveyed and how those messages have changed over the time period under study.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Consumer Behavior

The specialized study of consumer behavior is a fairly recent development, even though the subject of buyer motivation has been of interest as long as marketing has been practiced. In fact, consumer behavior courses have been taught in universities only since the 1960's, and the first major textbook in consumer behavior appeared in 1968 (Williams, 1982).

Broadly, theories of consumer behavior fall into two major categories, either "rational" or "emotional". Rational (substantive) theories suggest that consumers approach the buying process with adequate information (or the capability and ambition for acquiring adequate information) to make logical choices. The consumer carefully uses all relevant information to select purchases rationally from among the alternatives that meet his/her needs. Emotional (non-substantive) theories, on the other hand, suggest that complete information is not always available to consumers and that most consumers do not go to the trouble to evaluate and compare alternatives. These theories stress the emotional make-up of consumers whose behavior is influenced by social and cultural affiliations,
unconscious motivations, and impulses (Hitt, 1969; Williams, 1982).

The Growth and Influence of Women's Magazines

As far back as Colonial times there have been magazines in America. The American Magazine and the General Magazine, published by Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin respectively, claim to be the first magazines in the United States, beginning publication in January, 1741. They contained government documents and editorial comments, and were intended to influence "homeland" opinion in British America. Though short-lived, these magazines were followed by nearly one hundred other publications by 1800. These were edited by men now widely regarded as literary figures. The publications sold little advertising space, and were largely dependent on subscriptions. Circulations rarely exceeded five hundred copies, although hand-to-hand circulation of single copies produced greater readership than the figures imply. Few of these magazines lasted more than a year, but were quickly replaced by others (Wolseley, 1965; Wood, 1971-b).

By the mid-1800's, magazines had forged an important place in American life and such long-lived and influential publications as The Saturday Evening Post and the North American had begun to borrow less and less in appearance and content from newspapers and to take on the image that
we associate with magazines today. In 1900, according to Peterson (1956), the combined monthly circulation of all 3,500 magazines in the United States was 65,000,000 per issue.

As circulations increased, magazines began to specialize. Literary magazines and farm-oriented magazines were among the most common. Louis A. Godey began his Lady's Book in 1830, later buying out Sarah Josepha Hale's Ladies' Magazine to form the unforgettable Godey's Lady's Book. As editor of the combined monthly, Mrs. Hale proceeded to make the magazine one of the most successful, both financially and in influence, of the seventy-year period it covered. Godey's Lady's Book printed stories, articles, poems, editorials, fashion, cooking, and sewing guidance, but ignored political and social problems; the result was a circulation of 150,000 (Wolseley, 1965).

By 1890, both Sarah Josepha Hale and L. A. Godey were dead, and Godey's Lady's Book had faded away. Nevertheless, the pattern pioneered by Godey's, a mixture of amusement, instruction, and service, was followed by many of the women's magazines born in the late nineteenth century. Of particular interest to the study is the founding and development of the Ladies' Home Journal and Good Housekeeping magazine.
In 1879, Cyrus H. K. Curtis began *The Tribune and Farmer*, a four-page weekly with a subscription rate of fifty cents a year. The magazine included a department devoted to subjects of interest to women. Noting the popularity of the department, Curtis decided to publish it as a separate monthly supplement to his magazine. The first issue of the *Ladies' Journal and Practical Housekeeper*, consisting of eight pages of domestic articles written by Mrs. Louisa Kapp Curtis, appeared in December 1883. It was immediately successful, and built a circulation of 25,000 by the end of its first year. Curtis relinquished his interest in *The Tribune and Farmer* and devoted all his attention to the new magazine (Wood, 1971-a).

By 1889, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, as the magazine was by then called, had a circulation in excess of 700,000, a one-dollar-a-year subscription rate, and had an advertising budget of more than one-half million dollars. Edward Bok, who replaced Mrs. Curtis as editor that year, believed in establishing the closest possible relationship between the editor and his readers and in making himself well-known, in contrast to the anonymity of most magazine editors of the time. "The method of editorial expression in the magazines of 1889," he wrote years later,
was distinctly vague and prohibitively impersonal. The public knew the name of scarcely a single editor of a magazine; there was no personality that stood out in the mind. . . . The time had come. . . for the editor of some magazine to project his personality through the printed page (Bok, 1923, p.162).

Bok's editorial policy was intended to "lift" his readers. He moved forward in his aims along three paths: first, he set about to improve the taste of America; second, he broadened the contents of the magazine by using more articles of public interest; third, he embraced "causes", frequently risking losses in circulation and advertising (Woodward, 1960). The strong influence of the Ladies' Home Journal was apparent as early as 1897 when plans for "The Model Suburban Home" were shown in the magazine. Although it was actually a "model of discomfort, bad lighting, and close, shrugging lines" (Woodward, 1960, p.70), the home was built exactly as shown by hundreds, and thousands more adapted the plans as "entire colonies of Ladies' Home Journal houses sprang up" (Woodward, 1960, p.70). Subsequent efforts were directed at "improving" interior furnishings, wall hangings, and the decoration and cleanliness of Pullman (railroad) cars; at removing roadside billboards; at cleaning up "Dirty Cities"; and at eliminating false advertising claims (especially patent medicines). Bok's campaigns later became known as "Keeping up with the Joneses."
Bok's policies resulted in big sales; by 1891, only two years after he took over as editor, the Ladies' Home Journal had the largest circulation of any magazine in the world. By 1904, circulation had reached 1,000,000 at a time when the entire population was only a little over 76,000,000. Although Bok used the magazine to preach, to exhort, to order, to improve taste and to clean up slums, he realized that women were paying for subscriptions on the basis of the information the magazine provided about cooking, fashion, and running a household.

Following Bok's retirement in 1920, the Ladies' Home Journal began to lose readers and influence. It ran antiquated household tips and shopgirl fiction, and by 1935, when Bruce and Beatrice Gould assumed editorship, it was obvious that a complete overhaul was needed. The Goulds strove to make the magazine contemporary by covering the widened field of women's interests and activities. They targeted women interested in politics, community affairs, education, business, and the professions. At the same time, they made the Ladies' Home Journal more "feminine". They told women that they were different; they lavishly used the seductiveness of flattery, telling women they were fashionable, charming, and intelligent. The Journal hinted of intimacy with wealth and aristocracy. One of the first "celebrity" stories was published by the Journal: "This Is My Story" by Eleanor Roosevelt. Later,
Mrs. Roosevelt was enlisted (at $2,500 a page) to do a monthly column for the Journal, "My Day". In February, 1940, the Ladies' Home Journal began a series of articles on the lives and homes of typical American families entitled "How America Lives", later changed to "How Young America Lives". Superficial love stories and advice on marriage, health, child raising, household organization, and food continued to be the foundation of each issue. The slogans "Never Underestimate the Power of a Woman" and "The Magazine Women Believe In" had become household phrases (Wood, 1971-a).

Bruce and Beatrice Gould resigned as editors in 1962. Prestige slipping, the Ladies' Home Journal began to slim down as advertising declined. Hoping to build a new image, the word "JOURNAL" was printed in huge block letters on each cover, making "Ladies'" and "Home" almost invisible. The distressed Curtis Publishing Company, in financial difficulty, sold the Journal to Downe Publishing, Incorporated in 1968. The Ladies' Home Journal is currently (1987) published by the Meredith Corporation.

Good Housekeeping Magazine

In 1885 at Holyoke, Massachusetts, Clark W. Bryan founded Good Housekeeping. Bryan's stated aim was "to produce or perpetuate perfection, or as near to perfection as may be obtained in the household" (Wood, 1971-b, p.118). The new magazine followed the formula, but gave much more
space to food, believing "in good times or bad, people have to eat" (Woodward, 1960, p.125.) Nevertheless, the magazine was only moderately successful until 1912 when it was purchased by Randolph Hearst. Hearst's first act was to highlight the food pages.

At that time, there was one man in the United States who was recognized as The Authority on food: Harvey A. Wiley, M.D. Dr. Wiley had been Chemist for the Department of Agriculture and had crusaded for years for clean, pure foods and against fraudulent drugs. Several states had passed laws to insure purity in foods, but the public had not been enthusiastically supportive. In 1902, Dr. Wiley got a sensational publicity idea: he organized a group of twelve healthy young men and for five years fed them small doses of the then current food preservatives. The group, which became known as "The Poison Squad", began to show the effects of even small doses, and the public became indignant at the food industry. Newspapers and magazines joined the battle, and finally in 1906 Congress passed Dr. Wiley's Pure Food and Drug Act. Food processors and manufacturers sued and public sentiment became heated. President Taft and Congress stood by Wiley, but Dr. Wiley felt that government service was too wrapped up in red tape for his aims and he resigned from the Bureau of Chemistry in 1912. He was immediately deluged with offers; the one with the smallest salary came from Good Housekeeping. He
took the position because he felt that the freedom associated with the job was complete. He became contributing editor, Director of the Good Housekeeping Bureau of Foods, Sanitation, and Health, and head of the Good Housekeeping Institute.

The Institute was inaugurated in 1901 as an editorial department which could provide accurate information on most home economics subjects. It developed laboratories and kitchens for the testing of household appliances, textiles, home cleaning products, and similar consumer products. Under Dr. Wiley's direction, the "Seal of Approval" was developed. In the June, 1919 issue of Good Housekeeping the Seal of Approval was explained:

Good Housekeeping guarantees its advertisements. Good Housekeeping maintains laboratories where all food products are tested and all household appliances are tried out before they are admitted to our advertising pages. Good Housekeeping will not accept the advertisement of any kind of a product in which it does not have full confidence. Good Housekeeping will not knowingly advertise a good product for a wrong purpose (p. 14).

Later wording of the guarantee was more cautious, and since 1941 the magazine has substituted "consumer guarantee" and "guarantee seal" for "Seal of Approval". But in the beginning, it was "the most remarkable shot in the arm ever received by an American magazine" (Woodward, 1960, p.129).

Good Housekeeping continued to devote more space to food than any other magazine. In 1919 a series of labor-
saving meals was featured and recipes began to include calorie and protein measurements. One successful formula that Good Housekeeping has continued to use was developed early; that is the step-by-step method of food preparation which lists raw ingredients, the utensils to be used, and last, the completed meal. From the beginning, Good Housekeeping has remained close to the early definition of women's magazines with service departments dominating the magazine (Woodward, 1960).

Magazines in Social Science Research

Communications scholars and practitioners know that "the data of communications are prime social data" (Duncan, 1968 in Brimm, 1983, p.7). "The mass media's growing influence on our perceptions of reality is a shift from family and church as chief molders of... personal images" (Brimm, 1983, p.4). Members of society who have been raised in an environment of constant exposure to media are increasingly influenced by mass media messages. As the number of electronic and print transcripts increases, society becomes more and more dependent upon them to provide necessary information on what life should be like (Brimm, 1983). In essence, "the media actually begins to operate as perpetrators and guardians of culture" (Buzzie, 1968).
Two contrasting theories which attempt to explain the relationship between literature and society are "reflection" and "influence". Wolseley (1973) supports the reflection theory, which suggests that changes in literature over time indicate external changes in both societal norms and values in society. Practically speaking, magazines must reflect the dominant contemporary ethos in order to sell. Those supporting the influence theory hold that literature confirms and strengthens cultural norms, attitudes, and beliefs; i.e., literature "shapes" society. Wood (1971-a), in his review of the history of Ladies' Home Journal, has illustrated how major women's magazines have influenced homes and communities through general content and campaigns they have sponsored.

Although women's magazines have been used extensively in social science research, the focus has been the portrayal of women's roles. An early study was "An Objective Approach to the Relationship Between Fiction and Society" (Inglia, 1938). Friedan (1963) gained widespread attention in her study of women's roles in women's magazine fiction. More recent studies have included: "Then and Now: Women's Roles in McCall's Magazine, 1964 and 1974" (Silver, 1976); "Female Roles in Non-Fiction of Three Women's Magazines" (Newkirk, 1977); "The Female Role in Middle Class Women's Magazines from 1955 to 1976: A Content Analysis of Nonfiction Selections" (Geise, 1979); "From
Pumps, Pearls and Pleats to Pants, Briefcases, and Hardhats: Changes in the Portrayal of Women in Advertising and Fiction in Ladies' Home Journal, 1960-62 to 1974-76" (Roberts, 1980); "The Occupational Role Portrayal of Women in Magazine Advertisements" (Brimm, 1983). An exhaustive list of such research would include several pages of titles; nevertheless, a glaring omission in such research is the identification of implied and explicit messages sent to women as consumers. The entire marketing industry is based on the ability to predict what messages will sell products. Extensive research has focused on identifying the values, goals, and expectations of consumers, but there have been few attempts to categorize changes in messages over time or to record the relative frequencies of such messages.

Research conducted by the marketing industry, which results in advertisements and other marketing strategies, is not accessible to consumers. The profit incentive requires that successful strategies be closely guarded so that individual companies can gain an advantage in the market. Marketing research generated by academia, accessible to anyone, is limited in scope due to funding limitations. Companies which require research-generated information for exclusive use prefer to fund private, profit-motivated research.
Consumers are strongly affected by the messages conveyed by magazines (Wolseley, 1973). In order to control her own decision-making processes, the consumer must comprehend the implications of those messages. In Hall's landmark discussion of culture and behavior (*The Silent Language*), he says, "Understanding is the key to breaking the grip of patterned behavior" (1973, p.187). This research will be useful to educators and consumers in gaining an understanding of the messages conveyed to homemakers as consumers.
This study examined the messages conveyed by two women's magazines to women about their roles as consumers in relation to food preparation. Content analysis was the logical method for such a study since it is uniquely applicable to printed communication (Babbie, 1975; Budd & Thorp, 1963). As a mode of observation, content analysis standardizes coding and data analysis in asking "what" and "how" in the basic questions of communication research: "Who says what, to whom, how, and with what effect" (Babbie, 1975, p.226).

Sample

Periodicals

Two magazines were analyzed in this study: Ladies' Home Journal and Good Housekeeping. These were chosen to represent consumer/general interest magazines directed specifically to women (Wolseley, 1965). Both are included in the "Big Three" of women's service magazines (Wolseley, 1965), and have consistently been among the top five women's magazines in circulation throughout the 20th century (Peterson, 1956). The third of the "Big Three" magazines is McCall's. Although publication began during
the same general time period of Ladies' Home Journal and Good Housekeeping (1880's), McCall's original purpose was to provide patterns and sewing information to women. Later, as it gradually adopted the format used by Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping, and other women's magazines, it suffered periods of low circulation, and has not had consistently high readership or influence over time.

In 1986, Ladies' Home Journal claimed circulation of 5,040,157 and Good Housekeeping claimed 5,203,022. Ladies' Home Journal and Good Housekeeping were chosen over other high circulation magazines because of their broad audience of young to middle-aged women. The Target Group Index (1975) notes that few, if any, differences in terms of readers' education, income, marital status, employment status, number of children, or residence in metropolitan areas exist among leading middle-class women's magazines. It follows then, that consistently high circulation, rather than editorial policy, should be the major consideration in choosing high-impact media.

Period of Study

By the end of World War II, America had undergone a technological revolution that resulted in today's standardized kitchen. Electrification swept the country in the 1920's (Historic Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957, 1960). New understandings of
nutrition, refrigerated railroad cars, and the invention of the metal can resulted in more varied menus and food preparation became less burdensome. Women's magazines began to carry advertisements for electric appliances, and wood and coal burning stoves disappeared from American kitchens (Cowan, 1976). By 1946 nearly all American kitchens had hot and cold running water, standardized fixtures, and continuous counter spaces (Cowan, 1976).

As the size and number of women's magazines increased, the amount and variety of advertising increased as well. The American Woman was becoming the American Consumer. "Non-advertising space encouraged consumerism in more subtle ways: listing new products by brand names, adopting editorial policies that encouraged women to buy, creating 'shop at home' columns...[and] sponsoring consumption-oriented contests" (Cowan, 1976).

Significant changes had occurred in the typical American kitchen by the end of the Second World War: the standardization of kitchens, the availability and variety of foodstuffs, new concepts in nutrition, and an increase in the impact of women's magazines through articles and advertising. From 1946 to 1986 there were no world wars, no major depressions, and no technological innovations that matched the introduction of gas and electricity. There were, however, shifts in the socio-economic role of women, the size of American families, the availability of certain
conveniences, and in national attitudes toward health. Therefore, this study examined messages in food-related articles and advertising from the close of World War II to the present. Sampling techniques selected every third year, beginning with 1947 and ending with 1986. It was hypothesized that the messages would reflect changes in the economic conditions and cultural norms occurring in the period under study.

A systematic sample of each magazine was used with examinations made every third year. This spacing was sufficient to include economic variations, changing societal attitudes, and marketing trends over time while reducing the burden of analyzing yearly publications. Two issues of each magazine were analyzed with a total of four magazines in each examination period. To compensate for seasonal variations, one month from each season was selected. January issues represented winter since December is typically a special holiday issue and February is numerically atypical in terms of number of articles (Killoran, 1984). March issues were selected to represent spring. Summer was represented by June issues because June is less likely to be perceived as a "holiday" month and because it is most removed in time from both the spring and fall selections. Fall was represented by September issues because it coincides with the harvest season, giving insight into messages concerning home production of food,
and because it avoids another food-oriented holiday, Thanksgiving. This rationale is similar to that used by Killoran (1984) in her analysis of Chatelaine Magazine. For this study Ladies’ Home Journal represented winter and summer in one examination period, and Good Housekeeping represented fall and spring; in the next period the representation was reversed. The analysis of each issue included all articles and advertisements pertaining to food except those focused on alcoholic beverages or gum and those that were one-fourth page or less in size.

**Instrument**

Eighteen message categories were identified and defined through pre-testing (see coding definitions, p. 26-28). The researcher used the coding instrument to assess the focus of each advertisement or article by ranking the major, secondary, and tertiary messages conveyed by illustrations, photographs, or print. The focus, or "latent content" (Babbie, 1975, p. 229) was influenced by such things as the use of color, variations in print size and type, and layout emphasis and did not depend fully on word frequencies.

In addition, a word count or "manifest content" (Babbie, 1975, p. 229) was made. The word count was based on the same eighteen categories used for latent content analysis. For long articles, the word count was restricted
to one full page of text, and in all cases recipes were ignored. Coupons were consistently recorded as three words (as in "save fifteen cents"), ignoring the accompanying small print.

Finally, a coding of "demographic" variables such as magazine identity, page number, size and classification of the advertisement or article (beverage, salad, soup, dessert, etc.) was collected to describe the sample and the comparative changes of messages over time. The content analysis was summarized through the use of absolute frequencies and relative frequencies. Descriptive statistics were used to compare the frequency of occurrence of different messages over time (Borg & Gall, 1983).

**Validity and Reliability**

Validity in research is the extent to which an instrument measures what it purports to measure. Since perfect validity is not achievable, validity is a matter of degree rather than an all-or-none property (Carmines & Zeller, 1980). The important consideration is that the instrument is valid in relation to the purpose for which it is being used.

Direct validation in content analysis presents no problem since "the analysis operations involve simple perceptual discriminations: determining the presence or absence of a given physical configuration and counting the
number which are present" (Budd & Thorp, 1963, p. 27). Since, in this study, there was no problem of inference—that is, no attempt to explain cause and effect—validity was straightforward: the instrument self-evidently measured what it proposed to measure.

"Reliability concerns the extent to which an experiment, test, or any measuring procedure yields the same results on repeated tests" (Carmines & Zeller, 1980, p. 17). Reliability in content analysis is generally an endeavor to produce replicable results (Andren, 1981). In this study, sampling reliability was assured by procedures which were carefully formulated and which were strictly followed.

Coding reliability was tested by employing an independent researcher to code 20% of the pilot test sample. The pilot study included all food preparation articles and advertisements in five issues of each of the two magazines. These ten issues were chosen at random from among issues not included in the study, and represented an historical spread. Agreement between the two coders was assessed with a simple test of proportion. Agreement between the two codings was 93.6% on primary messages, which was considered acceptable (Maria Norton, Statistician, Utah State University, personal communication, February 18, 1987). Acceptance was based on other content analyses of women's magazines conducted by
Silver (1976) and Merrell (1985) who accepted independent researcher reliability of 85% and 80% respectively. Agreement between codings on the secondary message was 89.3%, and on the tertiary message, 81.8%, for an overall mean agreement of 88.2%. When the primary and secondary messages were consolidated, the coding agreement was 98.3%, suggesting high reliability in researchers' judgments of latent content (Table 1). Because the study was shown to be reproducible by an independent coder, the researcher was the sole coder (Merrell, 1985).
Table 1
Degree of Researcher/Coder Agreement on Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Messages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Message</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Message</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>93.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Message</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>89.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary Message</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Mean agreement among Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Messages: 88.2%. There was 98.3% agreement between researcher and coder when Primary and Secondary Messages are consolidated into one category.

In his discussion of validity and reliability in content analysis, Babbie (1975) noted that coding the manifest content of communication has the advantages of ease and reliability at the cost of some validity, while coding latent content, which requires judgments on the part of the researcher, has advantages of validity at the cost of reliability and specificity. He suggested that the best solution to the dilemma is to employ both methods. Both methods were used for this study, and agreement between the two methods was analyzed. While some imperfect correlation
was expected, due to the design of the communication being examined, it was found that manifest content and latent content measures were consistent in 92.4% of all cases.

"Drift" is the human tendency to become more lenient in subjective evaluations over time, and is a recognized phenomenon in education evaluations, particularly in subjective measurement of essay-format tests (Borg & Gall, 1983). In this study, the effect of coder drift was equalized by coding samples from every ninth year, then going back and coding samples from every sixth year, and finally coding samples from every third year.

Analysis of Data

The examination of messages conveyed by women's magazines was an effort of description, so simple descriptive statistics were the primary method of analyzing the data. Frequencies were used to describe the sample in detail, while the chi-square test of independence was used to analyze the statistical significance, at the .05 level, of changes in messages over time. Analysis was facilitated by use of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (Norusis, 1985).

Coding Definitions

The messages conveyed by food preparation articles and advertisements were classified into eighteen general
categories: convenience and versatility, creativity, economy, expertise in homemaking and hostessing skills, family, fun, holiday and ethnic, love, modern, nutrition, promotion of appliance use, quality, self-indulgence, sex, status, taste and visual appeal, tradition, and, finally, a category for those advertisements and articles which carried no "message" but were straightforward recipes or instructions in the use of products or cooking methods.

The following definitions, developed by this researcher, were used in coding both latent content and manifest content. The synonyms, related terms, and example phrases are not exclusive, but serve as a guide to the reader.

CONVENIENCE AND VERSATILITY: easy, time, efficient, trouble, simple, "cut corners" (time), uncomplicated, quick, adaptable, versatile, "x number" of ways, and other related terms.

CREATIVITY AND SELF-FULFILLMENT: satisfy, gratify, "all yours", proud, "you add fresh eggs", "you cook it up fresh", "your own special blend", and other related terms.

ECONOMY: thrifty, skimp, conserve, save, worth, expense, price, value, money, "cut corners" (money), coupons, rebates, and other related terms.

EXPERTISE IN HOMEMAKING AND HOSTESSING SKILLS: knowhow, ability, knack, skill, and other related terms.
FAMILY: mother, husband, children, "kids", family, and other related terms.

FUN: laugh, "good times", party, sensational, fun, and other related terms.

HOLIDAY AND ETHNIC: Easter, Christmas, Thanksgiving, Mexican, Italian, and other similar terms.

LOVE: admiration, approval, loyalty, appreciation, devotion, adoration, cherish, applaud, compliment, and other related terms.

MODERN: contemporary, new, modern, "give up the old-fashioned...", and other related terms.

NUTRITION: vitamins, wholesome, natural, preservatives, healthy, balanced, protein, saturated, cholesterol, artificial, low salt, whole grains, and other related terms.

PROMOTION OF APPLIANCES: food processor, coffee-maker, microwave, and other similar terms.

QUALITY: select, authentic, finest, brand names, and other related terms.

SELF-INDULGENCE: deserve, pamper, indulge, "spoil yourself", and other related terms.

SEX: attractive (personal), attract, sex-appeal, body, and other related terms.

STATUS: elegant, impressive, superb, lavish, luxurious, sumptuous, rare, superior, and other related terms.
TASTE AND VISUAL APPEAL: delicious, heavenly, luscious, scrumptious, yummy, flavor, savor, tang, spicy, attractive, pleasure, texture, color, appeal, tempting, and other related terms.

TRADITION: old fashioned, homemade, homestyle, and other related terms.
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Description of Sample

For this study, magazines published between 1947 and 1986 were examined. Fifty-six issues (four issues from each of the fourteen years selected to represent the time period) provided 1,255 food-related advertisements and articles. Of these, 610 (48.6%) were found in Ladies' Home Journal and 645 (51.4%) were found in Good Housekeeping (Table 2).

Table 2
Description of Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Advertisements</th>
<th>Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,072</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(85.4%)</td>
<td>(14.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LHJ</th>
<th>GH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LHJ</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Advertisements comprised 85.4% of the sample and articles comprised the remaining 14.6% of the sample. January issues contained 248 cases (19.8%), March issues contained 416 cases (33.1%), June issues contained 284 cases (22.6%), and September issues contained 307 cases (24.5%).
Nearly 60% of the advertisements and articles were one full page in size, while 30% were one-half page and only 10% were two or more pages in size. Over 90% of all articles and advertisements were printed in color.

All cases were classified according to specific food products (Table 3). Classifications of food products were cross-tabulated by year and examined for change over time using the chi-square test. At the .05 level of significance, no statistically significant change in frequency of food classifications over time was found. Overall, it was found that 17.6% were ingredients used in cooking (such as baking powder, shortening, oil, and flour), 16% were meat or main dish foods, 12.1% were fruits and salads, 11% were combinations of two or more foods, 9.5% were desserts, 9.1% were beverages, 8.3% were vegetables and meal accompaniments such as rice and macaroni, 6.3% were breakfast foods or bread products, 6.2% were soups and lunch foods, and 3.8% were snacks (including candies, granola bars, and crackers). When the cases were separated between advertisements and articles, it was found that advertisement foods were ranked in nearly the same order. However, when looking only at articles, it was found that 55.2% were combinations of two or more foods, 17.5% were meats and main dishes, and 9.8% were desserts. All other classifications accounted for less
than 5% each, with additive ingredients, high in the advertisement list (20.3%) accounting for only 1.6% of the articles and lunch foods and snacks represented by only one case each (.5%) in the articles. No significant difference in percentage or rank order was noted between Ladies' Home Journal and Good Housekeeping.

Table 3
Classification of Food Products

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Advertisements %</th>
<th>Articles %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooking ingredients</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat, main dishes</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits, salads</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combinations</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desserts</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverages</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables, rice</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakfast foods</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunch foods</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snacks</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Findings

Messages conveyed by food related articles and advertisements were classified according to eighteen categories previously defined. Each of the 1,255 cases contained one major message. In addition, 725 cases (57.8%) also contained a secondary message, and 160 cases (12.7%) contained a tertiary message. Table 4 shows the frequency of each message classification during the forty-year period under study.

Not unexpectedly, taste and visual appeal was by far the most frequent message overall, accounting for nearly 40% of the major message identified. In fact, 67.4% (846) of the articles and advertisements examined conveyed taste and visual appeal as the primary, secondary, or tertiary message.

Eighteen messages were defined. Of these, each of thirteen appeared in less than 7% of the cases in every year examined. One of the five remaining messages, taste and visual appeal, accounted for 38.4% of the major messages conveyed over the forty-year period studied. Examined separately by year, taste and visual appeal accounted for a range of from 22.5% (1959) to 46.9% (1980) of the messages conveyed. Therefore, in order to more accurately examine the changes in the messages conveyed, taste and visual appeal, along with the thirteen messages
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Message</th>
<th>Major Message</th>
<th>Secondary Message</th>
<th>Tertiary Message</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taste</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutrition</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expertise</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creativity</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holiday</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fun</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruction</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appliance</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-indulge</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n=1255 n=725 n=160
represented by less than 7% of the cases, were removed from the test of chi-square (Figure 1). Four messages remained: (1) convenience and versatility, (2) nutrition, (3) quality, and (4) expertise. Figure 2 portrays the overall percentage represented by the remaining four major messages during the forty-year period under study. In ten of the fourteen years examined, the most frequent message was convenience and versatility. The four isolated messages were cross-tabulated and examined for change over time, using the chi-square test. At alpha=.05, no statistically significant difference in the distribution of messages was found (Table 5). Nevertheless, changes in society over time were readily apparent. Although the messages themselves remained constant, their presentations were geared to technological orientations, economic conditions, and, most conspicuously, gender role expectations.
Figure 1
Total Percent Representations of Major Messages Between 1947 and 1986

Figure 2
Total Percent Representations of Isolated Major Messages Between 1947 and 1986
Table 5
Percent Representation of Messages from 1947 to 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Convenience</th>
<th>Expertise</th>
<th>Nutrition</th>
<th>Quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion

Convenience and Versatility

Although four messages (in addition to taste and visual appeal) consistently emerged as the predominant messages in every year studied, some subtle changes were apparent. "Convenience and versatility" accounted for 36.6% of the four isolated messages. Ortiz (1987), in her analysis of articles in six women's magazines from 1946 to 1984, found that magazine articles did not recognize the viability of purchasing services before 1975. Instead, they focused on how to perform household tasks more quickly by improving efficiency and relaxing standards. Consistent with Ortiz, this researcher noted advertisements and articles that offered convenience with an implication of guilt for using time-saving products. For instance, in the January, 1968 (p. 82) issue of Ladies' Home Journal an advertisement stated "they'll think it took hours . . . we'll keep your secret". In 1971, (Ladies' Home Journal, March, p. 149) a frosting mix advertisement ran, "when he compliments you on your homemade frosting, why bother him with unnecessary details?" By the 1980's convenience foods were offered with no excuses.

Nutrition

"Nutrition" was another predominant message throughout the time period. In the 1940's and 1950's, words such as
"wholesome" and "nourishing" were common, and were associated with such things as butter (as opposed to margarine), soups, and "pure" white bread. By the 1970's and 1980's technical words such as "cholesterol" and "Vitamin A" together with numbers reflecting grams and Recommended Daily Allowances were given, reflecting an improved understanding of nutrition and, perhaps, more sophisticated and technically oriented consumers and more competitive and sophisticated marketing strategies.

Leonhard-Sparks (1985) found that, while fewer than 5% of the food advertisements in 1977 were for "natural" or "health" foods, fully 25% of the foods were advertised using "natural" appeals. The present study found no statistically significant difference in the categories of food articles and advertisements over the forty-year time period examined. That is, there was no apparent difference in the frequencies of whole grain products, fish, and fresh fruits and vegetables as opposed to white breads, red meat, and highly processed foods.

Gender Stereotypes

It is generally recognized that perceptions of women's role have changes over time, particularly since the revival of the women's liberation movement in the late 1960's. The role of women, defined in the immediate post-war years, was exemplified by the January, 1950 Ladies' Home Journal (p. 125) which carried an advertisement for tapioca pudding. A
husband and wife were pictured, with a fireplace in the background, and the wife was kneeling at her husband's feet, putting on his slippers while the husband reclined in an easy chair. The caption read, "How much should a husband be pampered? Go on, spoil him a little... he deserves it!" In the June issue (Ladies' Home Journal, p. 108), an advertisement for a cake mix proclaimed, "When a man marries, he expects his wife to make a cake as marvelously as his mother." Good Housekeeping magazine in September, 1950 (p. 11) stated "He'll be yours, all yours, when you bake your man homemade pie like this". Ladies' Home Journal (March, 1953, p. 103) proclaimed, "Be kind to husband's month. Pamper him", and in March, 1959 (p. 162) promoted tuna fish "for the Captain of your house". Women, both in articles and advertisements, were addressed as "girls" and women seemed to belong to a kind of club whose purpose was to manipulate men (an "I Love Lucy" concept). Marriage and motherhood were defined as full time jobs (Good Housekeeping, March, 1962 (p. 159): [this product]. .. can help in the BIG JOB of being a mother) as Elsie, the Borden Cow, argued (Good Housekeeping, March, 1950, P. 151) "What's wrong with marriage as a career?"

In the early 1960's, Friedan (1963) was among the first to awaken the public to media's portrayal of women. Friedan objected to articles and advertisements, especially in women's magazines, which limited the image of women as
"content in the world of bedroom and kitchen. . . .[and
the] pursuit of a man" (1963, p. 30). On March 19, 1970,
the conflict between feminism and the media culminated in a
confrontation between militant feminists and the editors of
Ladies' Home Journal when about 150 feminists staged a sit-in at the offices of Downe Communications, owner of Ladies' Home Journal.

Roberts (1980), in her analysis of the portrayal of
women in Ladies' Home Journal, 1960 and 1976, found that
advertisers were the first to respond. Many articles in
advertising journals, from the mid-sixties on, explained
exactly how advertisers could appeal to the new "liberated"
woman. Roberts' findings showed that, while fiction
appeared to remain consistently traditional in its
portrayal of women from 1960 to 1976, advertising showed a
measurable degree of change. An article in McCall's
magazine (Gittelison, 1977) suggested that many women felt
that the women's movement had contributed to the
expectation of "super mom".

By the 1980's, when working women were no longer the
exception, but the rule, articles in women's magazines
began to address the growing frustrations women felt over
their dual responsibility of home and career, even though
many women must have felt that frustration long before then
(Ortiz, 1987). The present researcher noted that, while
women are predominantly targeted in both articles and
advertisements related to food, by the 1980's the dual role of women was recognized. This researcher also noted that product representatives in Ladies' Home Journal and Good Housekeeping tended to be white, female, young adults. This is supported by Silver (1976) who found that 57.8% of all product representatives in McCall's magazine were white, female, young adults; the second most frequent product representatives were white, male children. A 1974 advertisement (Good Housekeeping, March) revealed an interesting trend. "Be a singles girl... (use Kraft Singles)". The surprise clincher: "Mom, you're the best girl". By the 1980's, even though women were still the major food preparation workers in American households, advertisements sometimes pictured men and children in the kitchen rather than waiting at the table.

Economic Conditions

Economic conditions were also apparent. In 1947, post-war shortages were often mentioned. Recipes noted "takes no sugar, no shortening" and "...treasured sugar" was carefully used. A June, 1974 (p. 98) article in Ladies' Home Journal was titled "How to Survive Inflation", and a new feature "Best Food Buys" was added to the magazine. One advertisement for margarine (Good Housekeeping, September, 1974, p. 71) stressed the reusable bowl rather than the margarine. The 1970's also saw the beginning of standard packaging in smaller units,
reflecting the demographic trend towards smaller families and singles living alone.

Throughout the forty-year period, the major thrust of the messages, as measured by the instrument developed for this study, remained constant. Nevertheless, subtle changes were apparent which reflect the prevailing economic and cultural environment and changing gender roles.
SUMMARY

Summary and Conclusions

This study was conducted to define the messages related specifically to food preparation that are conveyed by women's magazines to homemakers as consumers and to describe the change in those messages over time. A content analysis of 56 issues of Ladies' Home Journal and Good Housekeeping magazines from 1947 to 1986 was conducted.

Of the eighteen messages that were defined, five were found to account for 78.9% of the total messages conveyed. The five messages, listed in descending order, were taste and visual appeal, convenience and versatility, nutrition, quality, and expertise in homemaking and hostessing skills. Taste and visual appeal, alone, accounted for 40% of the messages presented by advertisements and articles. In order to more accurately examine the changes in the messages conveyed, taste and visual appeal along with the thirteen messages which represented less than 7% of the cases were removed from the test of chi-square. No statistically significant change in the distribution of the remaining messages conveyed from year to year was found.

However, changes in society were reflected by presentations of the same messages modified to technological
orientations, economic conditions, and gender role expectations.
Limitations

The following limitations are recognized for this study:

1. The results of this study were based on data gathered from every third year's issues of two women's magazines. The sample may have missed subtle changes in economic conditions or cultural norms reflected by different issues or by different magazines.

2. While proportions of articles to advertisements were representative of the population, there were too few cases of articles to make substantive generalizations about messages conveyed by magazine articles.

3. The selection of specific issues to be studied avoided the holiday months of July, November, and December. It is expected, therefore, that frequencies of "holiday" messages reported are underrepresented in this sample of the population.

4. The value of any content analysis is closely tied to the development of clearly and precisely defined categories. However, very narrowly defined categories can result in so many categories that data cannot be meaningfully analyzed. Broad category definitions for this study resulted in somewhat superficial descriptions of the data and constrained in-depth analysis of subtle changes over time.
5. A major goal of family resource management is to provide optimum satisfaction for family members. Because food expenditures are a major budget category and because food purchasing and preparation are tasks performed predominantly by women, articles and advertisements relating to food were analyzed to describe the messages that have been conveyed to homemakers as consumers. It is recognized, however, that messages related specifically to food are limited and may not be fully representative of all messages conveyed to women concerning their roles as consumers of other goods and services.
Recommendations

The following recommendations are made as a result of this study:

1. Further research be conducted to identify messages to homemakers as consumers as conveyed by television.

2. Further research be conducted to identify messages conveyed to other members of society concerning their role as consumers.

3. Investigate women's perceptions about their role as consumers.

4. Investigate the impact of consumer education on consumers' perceptions of media.

5. Design consumer education curricula to utilize the findings of this study. Messages to consumers tend to remain fairly constant, even though the presentation of those messages is associated with change in the culture. Through effective consumer education, this understanding can lead to more objective decision-making by consumers.

6. Further research be conducted to explore the relationship between gender-related expectations of consumer roles and consumer behavior.

7. Further research be conducted to identify messages conveyed to consumers of other goods and services.
Implications

The results of this study lead to the following implications for consumer educators:

1. The presentations of messages employed by marketers to sell food products have remained relatively consistent since 1947. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that consumer education curriculum which utilizes knowledge of the messages isolated by this study will have long range application.

2. The messages conveyed by food articles in women's magazines are generally the same messages conveyed by food advertisements in those same magazines. Consumer education curricula should include the knowledge that non-commercial sections of women's magazines are not necessarily independent of the influence of marketing.

3. The presentations of messages by articles and advertisements in women's magazines are associated with shifting cultural climates relative to women, as perceived by marketers.
REFERENCES


**DEMOGRAPHICS**

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**FOCUS**

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**MESSAGE**

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- APPEARANCE OF TRADITION
- CONVENIENCE
- ECONOMY
- LOVE
- NUTRITION
- QUALITY
- SEX
- STATUS
- TASTE/VISUAL
- HOLIDAY/ETHNIC
- FAMILY
- CREATIVITY
- EXPERTISE
- INSTRUCTIONS
- MODERN
- FUN
- SELF-INDULGENCE
- APPLIANCES

TOTAL WORD COUNT
DATA CODE

Magazine
1=Ladies' Home Journal
2=Good Housekeeping

Month
1=January  3=June
2=March  4=September

Type of Communication
1=advertisement
2=article

Size of Article or Advertisement
1= 1/4 page or less  3=full page
2= 1/2 page  4=2 or more pages

Color
1=yes  2=no

Classification
1=beverage
2=salad, fruit, dressing
3=soup, sandwich, lunch foods
4=vegetable, rice, noodles
5=meat, main dishes, eggs
6=dessert
7=snack, crackers
8=bread, breakfast
9=recipe additives
10=combination

Messages
1=Tradition
2=Convenience and versatility
3=Economy
4=Love
5=Nutrition, weight control
6=Quality
7=Sex
8=Status
9=Taste and visual appeal
10=Holiday, ethnic
11=Family
12=Creativity, self-fulfillment
13=Expertise as homemaker or hostess
14=Instructions only
15=New, modern
16=Fun
17=Self-indulgence
18=Promote use of appliances