ProQuest Number: 10701213

ProQuest 10701213

Discourses of Motherhood in Women's Magazines in Contemporary Britain

by

Kathryn Woodward.

A thesis submitted in partial

fulfilment of the requirements of

Sheffield Hallam University

for the degree of Doctor of

Philosophy.

September 1994.

ABSTRACT

This research aims to find out how motherhood is represented in the text and images of women's magazines in contemporary Britain. It explores discourses of motherhood in this popular cultural form at this particular historical time, using quantitative, semiotic and discourse analyses of selected monthly magazines. Psychoanalytic theories and discourse analysis are employed to explore the construction of figures of motherhood in the text. I have identified the period of the late 1980s and early 1990s as a time of social and economic change and I seek to find out what correlation there might be between images of motherhood in the magazines and these changes, as illustrated by political rhetoric and empirical evidence of social trends.

There are two main findings. The first points to the relative absence of motherhood as denoted in the magazines of the late 1980s. Motherhood is subsumed into discourses of femininity, but rarely picked out, suggesting that motherhood is an absent presence within the magazines at this time. Motherhood is rarely mentioned but where it is identified, it is either in relation to the 'caring' or the 'working' mother. The second, major finding relates to the emergence of a new figure of motherhood in the 1990s, which builds on the earlier figures of motherhood but presents a significant move away from earlier articulations, especially those which locate motherhood within the domestic arena and within the traditional family. This new figure of the Independent Mother suggests a paradigm shift which challenges the conservative assumptions of traditionalist political rhetoric.

Contents

Introduction

This research aims to find out how motherhood is represented in women's magazines, looking at how sets of meaning about motherhood are produced within this popular cultural form. I seek to investigate what kind of language and images describe and make sense of the experience of motherhood in contemporary British society. Thus my concern is with the symbolic systems of the texts and images which produce knowledge about motherhood in women's magazines, rather than the actual, historical mothers who may be the readers of those magazines.

I chose women's magazines in order to find out what representations are available within popular culture through which women can make sense of their own roles as mothers, because they target women in particular. They can be seen as 'trade papers' for women, giving practical advice on dealing with daily life, which for many women includes motherhood and thus involves the practical aspects of child care. Magazines also present ideals of femininity and I wondered how far motherhood was part of those ideals and what kind of mother they would include.

Motherhood involves practical concerns in caring for children as well as negotiating a role which is characterised by idealised standards which are culturally prescribed. As the mother of four children, I have experienced the tension between the ideals and fantasies of motherhood and the lived experience, especially of negotiating the demands of motherhood with those of paid work. Motherhood is idealised within culture but it is also beset by contradiction and ambivalence. On the one hand the biological fact of giving birth is used to suggest that women who do so somehow instinctively know how to be a mother, and on the other hand mothers are inundated with advice on how to care for children, and especially on how to be a 'good mother'. As Katherine Gieve comments 'Nature is expected to come to the aid of women to transform themselves from individuals into ideals ' (Gieve 1989 p.viii). The ' ideal mother' and the self effacing madonna are inscribed within culture, constructed within the moral context, and yet also somehow assumed as biological products, as if giving birth transforms a woman into the ideal mother. However, the advice, like the biological assumptions, tends to focus on childbirth and care of infants, although the ideal of the 'good mother' continues to haunt us throughout the experience of mothering, offering a standard against which to assess our own performances. In this investigation I am looking for what image the magazines

present of how we should be as mothers, including the current conceptualisation of the 'good mother', and by implication the 'bad mother'. I wanted to find out what is seen as appropriate for mothers and what is proscribed and condemned at this historical time, as well as addressing the question of whether there is a contemporary ideal of motherhood, portrayed in the women's magazines to which women might turn for advice and information.

Motherhood is not only concerned with having children. As Jean Radford, one of the mothers in Gieve's book of essays, writes:

'...the desire for motherhood is also about the past. It's

the desire to relive my childhood with the mother I desired

to have rather than the mother I actually had. Is it the lost child

or the lost mother I want to regain?

(Gieve 1989 p.137)

This illustrates the way in which our interpretation of motherhood can derive from our experience of being mothered. For example, women who are mothers interpret their own experience through having had a mother and the experience of motherhood is reconstructed through the past and by memory. As Radford suggests, that memory is of an idealised mother of a different time, as well as of actual experience, showing how the position of the mother is mediated by desire and longing, and much more complicated than a biological event.

This research is also about my past and has an autobiographical element resonant of what Steier has described as research 'telling us a story about ourselves' (Steier 1991 p.3). My own early experience of women's magazines was as a child, at the time when I was being mothered, in the 1950s. This was the time to which traditionalists hark back with some nostalgia, as a period of clearly defined gender roles within a family where fathers were breadwinners and mothers stayed at home, whether this was in reality or fantasy. It was a time when magazines addressed questions of how women could negotiate particular family roles and relations with men and children and develop the skills necessary for domesticity and the role of the housewife, creating a particular world of women's experience. This set of representations provided what Hall has called 'places from which to speak' (Hall 1990 p.237), that is the possibility of giving voice to specific ways of understanding and defining one's identity. In the construction of

2

my own subjectivity it is partly with this legacy of the 1950s, which forms one of the layers of common sense, that I am speaking in the 1980s and 1990s, when there are different representations able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects. This suggests the way in which, Mary Evans argues, 'it is possible to illustrate the general through references to the personal and where "the personal might be social"' (Evans 1993 p.5). Meanings of motherhood constructed in the 1950s are not only part of my own biography, they inform political rhetoric and reconstructions of motherhood in the 1980s and 1990s. It is these new sets of representations of the 1980s and 1990s and the new places from which women might speak as mothers, that I seek to investigate.

This connection between the research and the life of the researcher has been increasingly recognised within feminism and sociology (Cotterill and Letherby 1993, Stanley in Aaron and Walby 1990). In this research I seek to explore how motherhood as a subject position for women is created through its representations in women's magazines, as my own sense of self has been constructed through such symbolic systems, including those magazines, which I have appropriated at different points in my own biography.

Subjectivity as the sense of self and of positioning oneself in relation to the world is constructed within particular historical contexts and through different symbolic systems. The self can be seen as 'formed in precise and historical conditions' (Probyn 1993 p.167), as I have suggested my own has been through having been a child in the 1950s, but the self is not fixed and carries within it 'a matter of "becoming" as well as of "being"' (Hall 1990 p.225). My exploration of women's magazines seeks to find out what subject positions are available for mothers, acknowledging that the components of subjectivity are fluid and might be contradictory. Subjectivity is fragmented and contradictory, both through accumulation of different even conflictual representations over time and the lack of fit between representations and lived experience. For example for women this could be between the pleasurable images of the magazines and women's actual experience of domestic labour and child care. My memory of magazine reading in the 1950s was of the ritual, shared by many women (Winship 1987) of dipping into a magazine during coffee breaks. As a child I was not involved in the domestic labour from which women in the household sought relief during these breaks and the focus of my own experience was pleasure. As an adult these feelings of pleasure are

disrupted by pressures to achieve the high standards set by the magazines.

Academic study has traditionally devalued the personal and subjective in the dichotomy of objectivity and subjectivity, often equated with that of reason and emotion, where the first is valued and the second devalued and these dichotomies have often involved 'areas of control, particularly in relation to the subordination of women' (Poynton 1990 p.240).This has been manifest in the avoidance of the first person singular in academic writing (ibid p.252) and a preference for the passive voice with its lack of any recognised subject. Approaches claiming to be 'objective' within sociology too have seen the researcher as the discoverer of knowledge, rather than its producer (Stanley 1993). I experienced this when I was able to select a topic of personal importance to me as a woman for my M.A. thesis, 'A Comparative Study of the Place of Birth'. This was an academic study which explored evidence and arguments for and against different locations for childbirth, notably home and hospital. Working on this study made it apparent that the dominant medical discourse, which favoured hospital confinement, produced its own knowledge and truth, especially employing the language of science and objectivity, but that alternative discourses could construct different truths, and the personal and the social, as the objective and the subjective were interconnected rather than separate and distinct. This research into motherhood as a subject position for women, which is part of my story, challenges an over-simplified binary opposition of objectivity/subjectivity, showing that it is through an understanding of the social that individuals can make personal choices and that the personal gives meaning to the social.

Outline of the research

Background.

I first began thinking about this research project in 1987 which was the year of the third election victory by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party. The election campaigns of 1987 gave high priority to 'the family', with the Conservatives in particular emphasising the need to return to 'traditional family values'. There seemed to be more recognition of a diversity of family forms, including the presence of single mothers, in the Labour party's campaign material, but political rhetoric in 1987 concentrated on the desirability of a secure, traditional, patriarchal family. This concern with 'the family' was very closely tied in with debates about the role of the state in the provision of welfare

4

and, what was identified as a key concern of the 1980s, the breakdown of consensus about the post war Welfare State, which has been presented as a shift from support by the state to the market, for example in the collection of essays with the eponymous title The State or the Market (Loney et al 1991). The 1980s was a period of some social upheaval in British society in that many of the old certainties of the post war consensus had been challenged especially in relation to the role of the state and the provision of welfare. A new social order was being established within the framework of individualism and the free market, where the state was being 'rolled back' and individuals and families were to be responsible for their own welfare.

The family was the focus of much political rhetoric, seen both as the cause of social problems and as their solution. Politicians often expressed a concern to reestablish the traditional family of the 1950s, where women would be housewives and provide care of children and the elderly and men would be the breadwinners. Significant economic shifts, notably away from heavy manufacturing industry meant that women's lives were changing. Often women were the main breadwinners in a household.

What it meant to be a mother in contemporary society had been contested by feminists, some of whom both challenged the restrictions of patriarchal familial forms and sought to give greater status and value to women's role as mothers and to the essentially female characteristics of motherhood. Feminist critiques especially pointed to the wide discrepancy between traditional familial ideology and the diversity of lived experience. It was a period of contradiction, where traditional family values placing mothers in the home seemed to vie with media publicity given to the 'demographic time bomb' when the shortage of school leavers would apparently demand mothers' increased participation in the labour market.

Although 1987, when I first decided embark on this research, was a time of social change, the high profile given to traditional familial ideologies in some of the rhetoric of the New Right led me to expect some possible resonance of this as reflecting the mood of the times in the text and images in women's magazines. My initial plan was to video and analyse the television coverage of the party conferences in October 1988 before analysing a selection of magazines for the same month. I had expected extensive coverage of 'the family' especially in the Conservative Party conference, but to my surprise found virtually none, even in Margaret Thatcher's final speech. It seemed that 'the family' as a

5

political issue had been dropped.So I turned to the magazines which is where the research recorded here really begins.

Establishing The Data Base

The magazines used in this research cover a range of monthly publications over the period August 1988, when I first began collecting the monthly magazines, to July 1993, when I was writing up my findings. These are listed in Appendix 1. The magazines are divided into those which form the background, which are used to gain a feel for the field of study and from which selected features are cited to illustrate particular trends, and those which are used for detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis.

The launch of NEW WOMAN in August 1988 was the trigger for my choice of monthly rather than weekly magazines, a decision supported by my initial plan to focus on a particular month, October 1988 and the party conferences, for the start of the research. Monthly magazines offer a range of different categories, where 'successful magazines have to be targeted at market segments based on age and lifestyle' (Braithwaite and Barrell 1989 p.139). I classified the magazines in terms of a) the interest groups addressed and of b) the contents within the magazines.The monthlies were grouped into home interest,sub-divided into domestic interest and crafts and the more glossy, fashion, country living, general interest ones. I chose monthly magazines with some domestic focus in the title or contents, rejecting those with an explicit reference to mothers and babies, as my aim is to explore how the narrative of motherhood is constructed through women's lives, rather than just at the point of initiation at childbirth, which is the focus of magazines such as MOTHER, MOTHER and BABY and PARENTS which concentrate on pregnancy, birth and babyhood. I chose :

PRIMA, a popular, cheaper monthly with a focus on crafts and skills in the home,

GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, a middle range, traditional monthly, with a domestic title which rather belies its contents,

WOMAN and HOME , a very traditional, cheaper monthly with a strong conventional domestic focus   and

NEW WOMAN, a recent addition to the monthly market with a stated interest in the 'new' woman of the 1980s.

6

These magazines offer some diversity, including a very traditional women's magazine in WOMAN and HOME and a new launch in NEW WOMAN. PRIMA was chosen as an example of the very popular 'domestic craft' genre of women's magazines of the 1980s.

Another magazine, SHE was chosen as the case study for my investigation into the figure of motherhood which is emerging in the 1990s because the magazine was relaunched in 1990 with a key focus on motherhood. Although I had not selected SHE at the outset, partly because its somewhat idiosyncratic style did not fit into any of the other categories of women's magazines, and notably because it did not have a domestic focus, I was surprised to find that the magazine had chosen motherhood as a major feature in its relaunch. Having chosen SHE for the case study I then looked back at an earlier copy of the magazine for purposes of comparison.

My major concern is with representations, especially in the texts of women's magazines, although I also explore other texts in order to situate my findings from the magazines within the historical time in which they were produced, which requires some understanding of the social, economic and political climate of the times.
This includes political rhetoric, publicity material from the magazines' publishers and empirical evidence from official government statistics, notably from Social Trends 1992. These are listed in Appendix 1 D.

The Research Methodology

The research begins with an exploration of the field of study, namely existing work on motherhood, especially sociological studies, social policy, feminist critiques and analyses of popular culture, with a focus on women's magazines in particular. This involves identifying omissions, for example within conventional sociology, where motherhood has often been subsumed into studies of the 'family', as well as relevant material which can be used in my research. This coverage of the field also enables me to highlight what knowledge has been produced about motherhood and what is its history within these areas. I focus on the intervention of the state in social policy as important for two reasons. The first is methodological, in that historical studies of state intervention into the family, such as the work of Donzelot, illustrate the way discourse analysis can be used to show how figures of motherhood, especially the 'good mother' have been produced. The second point relates to specific state policies, notably the establishment of the post war welfare state and the ideas about motherhood and women's role within the

7

family which they embodied. These are seen as constructing the mother of the 1950s and setting the agenda for much subsequent debate.

Quantitative Analysis.

Quantitative analyses are used as the starting point of my investigation into the magazines in order to explore the denotation of motherhood through looking for direct references to 'mother' and its derivatives in the text of selected magazines.The findings are classified according to where references are made to mothers and how frequently, or infrequently, women are so addressed. I have used this approach as a way into the text, in order to find out where motherhood **is**, rather than as a substantial content analysis, since my aim is to look at how meaning is produced within discourse.

Semiotic Analysis.

Analysis of images in the magazines, based on Barthes' development of Saussurian semiotics involves examining the signification of motherhood through, for example the presence of a child, where this is seen as connoting motherhood in images accompanying articles and on the covers of magazines, and looking for the underlying meaning or 'myth'.

Deconstruction and Discourse Analysis.

The theoretical perspectives and conceptualisations adopted in this research are those of discourse analysis and psychoanalytic theory. I use Foucault's notion of discourse in order to explore the production of meaning within the texts of women's magazines and in particular the construction of discursive figures. Psychoanalytic theory offers a means of examining the appeal of these discursive figures and of the magazines themselves and the process of construction of subjectivity, in particular of the maternal subject position.

The major part of my research builds on my findings from the quantitative analysis and first exploration of the signification of motherhood through images, and uses discourse analysis.This first involves the deconstruction of two articles from NEW WOMAN to find out which elements combine to produce knowledge about motherhood in 1988. The analysis indicates that there is some evidence for the emergence of new figures of motherhood.

In order to test my hypothesis about the emergence of a new mother figure at a

time of change, I explore the context of the launch of NEW WOMAN by examining the intertextuality of the magazine, the publicity material and media coverage accompanying its launch with the political rhetoric of Thatcherism.

The extent of change is further explored using empirical evidence in the form of official statistics, mostly taken from Social Trends 1992, which covers the period of my research. I use this data to identify changes over the last decade, especially concentrating on patterns of domestic living, including data relating to family, marriage, divorce, and parenthood, and women's participation in the labour market, using evidence on employment. This empirical evidence is used in conjunction with evidence from SHE magazine, concentrating especially on the editorials of the magazine and the figure of motherhood embodied in its new editor, to explore the degree of convergence between the empirical evidence of trends in motherhood and the mother of the magazine.

SHE is chosen because of its relaunch in 1990, which gave a very high profile to motherhood. The relaunched SHE provides a focus for my concerns with change and new figures of motherhood. More extensive and detailed discourse analysis of the text and images of selected articles from SHE in the year following its relaunch is employed to examine in greater depth the new subjectivity of motherhood which is suggested at this time.

Summary of the Chapters.

Chapter One reviews work on motherhood and on women's magazines and shows that both motherhood and, in predominantly empirical approaches, the medium of research have often been taken for granted. In social policy motherhood has been subsumed into the family, but state intervention has targeted mothers as offering solutions to social problems. Discourse analysis has been applied to the media of film and television and other cultural forms, but not to motherhood in women's magazines, where existing work has concentrated on femininity and sexuality.

Chapter Two covers developments in the study of ideology and debates about the links between ideology and material conditions, which have led to more discursive approaches. The relevance of work on representation, semiotics and especially the discourse analysis of Foucault and psychoanalytic theory and its feminist critiques are outlined to show their relevance for this study of how motherhood as a possible subject position is constructed within texts.

9

Chapter Three explores a selection of monthly magazines revealing a significant lack of denotation of motherhood, indicating that even in the 'women's world' of these magazines motherhood is often omitted or assumed within discourses of femininity.Two figures of motherhood begin to emerge,however, and where motherhood is addressed it is the 'caring' or the 'working' mother who is highlighted.

The change which these new mother figures might signify is explored in more detail in Chapter Four which investigates the launch of a new magazine in the late 1980s within the context of Thatcherite ideologies, showing some synthesis between discourses in the new magazine, the publicity surrounding its launch, and elements within Thatcherism. Motherhood still has a relatively low profile within women's magazines,even with the advent of the 'working mother'.

The relaunch of SHE in 1990, with a focus on mothers, is the concern of Chapter Five which covers some of the changes taking place as illustrated in the relaunch. This chapter explains the somewhat unlikely choice of SHE which is taken as the case study of the research because of its new focus on motherhood, especially working mothers. This focus is representative of a rising trend in the magazine world of the early 1990s.

In Chapter Six the SHE relaunch is explored in relation to social and economic trends as indicated by the evidence of official statistics to investigate the links between patterns in the experience of mothers and representations of motherhood in the text, finding considerable convergence between the two.

Chapter Seven analyses the Independent Mother, the new mother figure of the 1990s, which suggests that there is a paradigm shift in the production of a new subject position for women, which draws on feminism and market-based, individualistic discourses of the New Right and which has been 'put into discourse' during an historical period of change in patterns of employment and of domestic living.

The Conclusion assesses the importance of these findings, notably the absence of motherhood in some texts and the emergence of a new figure of motherhood. The Independent Mother ,which suggests a new articulation of discourses of motherhood and social and economic trends,and some disjuncture with traditionalist political rhetoric, has implications for social policy. Nostalgia for an idealised

mother figure of the past no longer has the purchase it might have had because of the paradigm shift which is identified here.

This Introduction has set out the aims of the research in exploring discourses of motherhood in women's magazines in the particular period of the late 1980s and early 1990s, when I aim to discover if new subject positions of motherhood are emerging and how far representations accord with social trends in women's lives. I have stated some of the links between the researcher and the research in the exploration of subjectivity and my own interest in the ways in which representations enable women to make sense of their own experience of motherhood. I have outlined the approach I have taken in this research and presented a brief summary of the chapters. In the next chapter, Chapter One I examine the field, looking at how knowledge about motherhood has been produced within different areas of academic study.

Chapter 1.

Motherhood and Magazines: The Story so Far.

Literature Review.

This Chapter looks at work that has been done in the two particular areas addressed in this research, namely motherhood and women's magazines as a popular cultural form, in order to find out what omissions there might be in the field and what could be useful for my own investigation into motherhood in women's magazines.The chapter is organised to include work on motherhood, in sociology, in social policy and in feminist analyses, and work on women's magazines, as one genre within popular culture.

The Status of Motherhood in Sociology.

The family has received a relatively high profile within sociological studies, but motherhood per se has received much more limited attention. As Veronica Beechey has argued, women's position as mothers within the family has often been taken for granted, assumed as universal and 'natural' and hence not worthy of specific investigation (Beechey 1985).Motherhood was not recognised as an area of interest nor as a social institution until second wave feminism put it on the agenda. In this section I am going to discuss some of the work in sociology, especially in the period of the 1950s to the 1970s, when the family was a concern of some sociological studies, in order to ascertain the implications of this for work on motherhood.

The family, like motherhood, has been seen as both natural and universal where ideology and practice often merge in an assumed and idealised notion of ' the family'. Barrett and McIntosh argue that sociologists have measured the operations of other family forms against a romanticised ideal (Barrett and McIntosh 1985 p. 28),often ignoring the specifics of gender relations and sexuality or of conflict within the family. They show how

> 'many sociological accounts of the family evoke this aura of
> a little world immune from the vulgar cash-nexus of modern
> society.........(and) a repository of pre-capitalist values'.

> (ibid.p.27).

The resonance of Tonnies' distinction between *gemeinshchaft*, 'community' and *gesellschaft* ' modern 'society' (Tonnies 1963) and the relegation of the

family to the nostalgic vision of community in a pre-industrial age presided over by a spiritually elevated mother, which Lasch has described as a 'haven' (Lasch 1977) is important in setting the agenda for sociological studies of the family under advanced capitalism in the post-war period.

A much less idealistic view of the family, focusing on conflict rather than consensus, has been recognised in Marxist approaches since Marx and Engels located gender oppression within the historical materialist account of class conflict. In the _ Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels called for the death of the bourgeois family (Marx and Engels in Feuer 1959) , but conflict within the Marxist paradigm was located within the context of that between classes as determined by the economic base of society, rather than by gender or within the family, until the advent of more recent Marxist feminist critiques .

In Britain and the United States sociology was dominated by functionalism, with some recognition in Britain of the importance of Marxist critiques in the period from the 1950s to the 1970s. Functionalist approaches see society as analogous to a biological organism, where different parts serve different functions and thereby contribute to the efficient working of the whole, where the 'whole' in sociology is the society. Talcott Parsons drew on Durkheim's work which suggested that social practice was best understood as contributing to the overall stability of the society as a whole (Durkheim 1964). Parsons' analysis of the family as an institution which meets society's needs by performing certain functions is typical of this school of thought in sociology. In Parsons' analysis the family in industrialised society served both the demands of the wider society for regulation of reproduction and the socialisation of children, and the emotional needs of individuals within the family.

Within functionalism, motherhood was merged with women's affective role within the family (Parsons 1955) and not singled out for critical analysis. This illustrated the silence around motherhood and women's experience. Motherhood was seen as a biological activity and only noteworthy if mothers failed in their duties. Within functionalism this was seen as *dysfunction*, but otherwise motherhood was not questioned as it was assumed to be women's natural and desired role within the family and within society (Parsons 1955, Fletcher 1973). Such approaches saw the family as an attractive social institution. For example, Fletcher saw the modern family of the time as a great

13

improvement on previous family forms and stressed a consensus view of harmony and stability within a family providing warm, affective support for family members under much improved material conditions (Fletcher 1973).

In Fletcher's view one of the key functions of the family is the socialisation of children (ibid), which may appear to acknowledge motherhood, but only insofar as it is mothers who have the task of socialising children. The mother's perception of her role is not addressed, nor is she a 'speaking subject', but merely a function, satisfying needs within the broader society.

The inheritance of the functionalist approaches of conventional sociology persists in more recent work. For example, even where women are specifically mentioned in sociological studies they are frequently subsumed into study of 'the family' (Trowler 1987), just as motherhood is often subsumed under 'family' and merged with marriage in discussions of women's role in society as described by Leonard and Speakman (Leonard and Speakman 1983).

Sociology in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s emphasised companionate marriage and shared conjugal roles (Young and Wilmott 1962, Newsom J. and Newsom E. 1965, Fletcher 1973) which assumed equality between women and men, as 'equal but different' in a view often obscuring the inequality of gender roles within the family, as Wetherell observed (Wetherell 1993). There was some recognition of social and economic change in the studies of the period from the 1950s to the 1970s, but the emphasis was on consensus and the modification of the nuclear family so that it survived, rather than offering any analysis of possible conflict or dissent, especially by women.

The sociology of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s also reinforced the idea that motherhood was an indistinguishable part of being a woman, in what Russo has called 'the motherhood mandate' (Russo 1976). Diane Richardson argues that in conventional sociology **and** popular culture, motherhood was assumed to be a natural female desire and part of obtaining full adult status as a 'normal' woman (Richardson 1993). This was the unquestioned starting point for much sociological research which set out to investigate the 'family' as a social institution but with the place of motherhood within that family unquestioned by any critical analysis.

The methodology of most of the studies within conventional sociology mentioned above was based on a positivist approach which sought to produce objective 'facts' in

the tradition of the empiricist 'founding fathers' of sociology, including Durkheim, where the methods of science in establishing causal laws in the relationship between social phenomena are adopted. Studies of the family used questionnaires and structured interviews (for example Wilmott and Young 1962, 1973) in order to establish 'social facts'. Such an approach can be seen as assuming a set of meanings by respondents, where a construction of reality which differs from the sociologist's is not accommodated nor even considered. It was not until feminists started questioning these assumptions and listening to the voices of women as mothers that alternative realities were described.

It can be seen from this discussion that, until very recently, conventional sociology has ignored motherhood as a social institution whilst addressing the family as such. Women's role within that family has been unquestioned and motherhood taken for granted as a biological fact and as offering emotional support and moral guardianship. Motherhood itself has not been theorised ; it has been assumed and often incorporated into an idealised conception of the family as a private haven. The interests of sociology have been in the family as serving particular social functions, notably in its affective role and for the socialisation of children.

This concern with the socialisation of children signposts the next section on social policy since it has been the State's anxieties about the quality of child care which has triggered some of the interventions which are discussed below.

Motherhood and Social Policy.

Concern with mothers can be seen as linked to state anxiety about children especially and family life in general. This can be traced back historically to the intervention of the state into the private arena of the family and notably the development in European societies from the eighteenth century onwards, of policies which were concerned with the body and health. This trend which Foucault called *biopolitics* (Foucault 1987) sets the scene for increased regulation of women's bodies and of women as mothers, where women became the target for state intervention through the interconnection of scientific, medical and health discourses. These discourses produced knowledge which had and has the power to define what counted as 'facts' and to set norms.

Discourses of state intervention which produced the notion of the 'neglectful mother' can be dated back to the late eighteenth century when medical and moral

15

literature began to address the question of childrearing. Donzelot identifies this period in France as one where there was

> 'this great discovery; woman, the housewife and attentive mother
> ....man's salvation, the privileged instrument for civilising the
> working class'

(Donzelot 1980 p.36).

This idea began to be taken for granted in state intervention into the family which involved a synthesis of moral, medical and political discourses, targeting women as mothers within the family.

Early feminists, too, recognised this need to target mothers and did not question the sexual division of labour and women's role as mothers, but sought to improve the conditions under which women mothered. Maternal negligence was attacked by Mary Wollstonecraft who saw mothers as often responsible for the suffering of children and for wider social problems (Wollstonecraft 1982). This illustrates the power of discourses of 'good mothering', where women's location within the private arena and their sole responsibility for children went unquestioned, even by feminists, as well as the particular importance of mothers within families in state interventions.

These interventions continued through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. A striking example was the attempt to improve the quality of recruits to the army in the Boer War of 1889-1902 which cited 'quality of mothering' as of crucial importance (Sapsford and Abbott 1988). This was also illustrated in the period up to the First World War when women were to be educated in the art of mothering (Holdsworth 1988, Sapsford and Abbott 1988).

In the twentieth century in the period following the Second World War mothers were also the focus of state intervention into the private arena of the family, where women were encouraged to leave the work force and return to the home. It was assumed that their paid work was associated only with the war effort and since the war was over women would want to return to the home (Richardson 1993 p.46). The Beveridge Report, although written in 1942 when women were actively participating in the public arena, for example, in the armed forces, in munitions factories and as land workers, assumed that in peace time women would revert to traditional roles.

'In the next thirty years housewives as mothers have vital

16

work to do in ensuring the continuance of the British

race'   (Beveridge 1942 para .117).

Denise Riley argues that there was not a simple policy of coercing women back into the home.Post-war pro-natalist policies, which women's magazines played a part in promoting, attempted to make motherhood more attractive,by reducing some of the labour associated with child care and housework and by creating the support of child health clinics and health visitors (Riley 1983).

The key notions about family life and women's place within that family, as apparent in the Beveridge Report of 1942 and its implementation in the establishment of the post war Welfare State, are important in that they set the agenda for British welfare policies and underpin much of what follows. Wicks summarises the assumptions of the Beveridge plan as being:

'a) that marriages are for life....the legal obligation to maintain persists until death or remarriage;

b) that sexual activity and childbirth takes place,or at least should take place only within marriage:

c) that married women normally do no paid work or negligible paid work;

d) that women not men should do housework and rear children;

e) that couples who live together with regular sexual relationships and shared expenses are always of the opposite sex.'

(Wicks 1991 p.193 citing Abel-Smith 1982)

These assumptions have informed state intervention into the lives of mothers and are linked to another aspect of intervention which takes the form of the advice given to mothers in order to promote 'good mothering' and avoid 'bad' or 'neglectful mothering'. Donzelot has argued that from the nineteenth century there was an alliance between the mother,notably the bourgeois mother , and the 'experts' such as the medical profession.

Such advice is transmitted by those employed by the state such as health visitors and through child care manuals and , in the period following the Second world War, in women's magazines, which offer mothers 'expert' advice on how to bring up children. This expert advice,especially in the form of childrearing manuals dates largely

17

from the late nineteenth century (Newson and Newson 1974) . It draws on many of the same assumptions as social policy,seeing motherhood as linked with housework and as both 'natural' **and** requiring expert advice in order for the role of mother to be carried out effectively.

Some of these assumptions are illustrated by the influence of psychology and the way in which both social policy and advice manuals draw on psychological theory such as that of John Bowlby who claimed that children separated from their mothers in institutions suffered from 'maternal deprivation'.This underpinned some of the thinking which informed post war policies (Bowlby 1953). Bowlby assumed that mother love was natural and instinctive where

> 'the normal mother can afford to rely on the prompting of her instincts
>
> in the happy knowledge that the tenderness they prompt is what
>
> her baby wants'

(Bowlby 1953 p.20).

This view encouraged the growth of child welfare services during the 1950s because Bowlby's observations of the effects of 'bad mothering' on children and his stress on the desirability of the presence of the child's natural mother in a child's life informed child care manuals which emphasised the importance of the mother/child bond,making clear the prescriptions for 'good mothering' (Richardson 1993 p. 47).

What I have found most useful in analyses of social policy is Donzelot's idea of 'familialism' which is the process whereby , historically, the intervention of the state has produced knowledge about the family, and notably women's position within it, which creates a self regulating discourse. Medical technology, hygiene technicians and other 'experts' have intervened to produce a particular model of the family, and at the same time society has been increasingly influenced by the ideal of the 'family' and has thus become ' familialised'. The intervention of the state has been both enabling and constraining . Mothers have been supported by the state, for example by support in pregnancy and by health visitors, but these interventions are also regulatory and involve 'policing' (Donzelot 1980) of women as mothers.

Donzelot's work is important because it **deconstructs** the family , which is what I seek to do with motherhood. Deconstruction involves adopting a critical approach, which challenges universal definitions, for example of 'family' or 'mother' and explores the ways

18

in which these categories are produced historically through different discourses. Such an approach is anti-essentialist both in questioning fixed definitions, for example of gender roles or of motherhood, as well as in challenging traditional boundaries between nature/culture, reason/emotion and between disciplines such as art, science, psychology and biology. State policies are often based on assumptions about the instinctive nature of mothering, and Donzelot's work explores how and when such assumptions are made.

Another important aspect of this discussion is the historical construction of what it means to be a 'good' or a 'bad' mother and the way in which these categories have been produced through the knowledge produced by 'experts' and the interventions of the state into the private arena of the family.

The particular period which I would stress as being of specific relevance to my work on motherhood in women's magazines in the 1980s and 1990s is that of the immediate post war period which saw the establishment of the Welfare State in Britain. This period is the source of some of the assumptions about nuclear family norms and women's responsibility within the family, especially where the family is the target for state intervention, which inform the articulation of different patterns of domestic living and gender roles and renegotiation of motherhood roles in the 1980s. The assumptions of this period of state intervention and welfare policies are also important in setting the agenda for the challenges of the rhetoric of the Thatcherite New Right, which is discussed in Chapter Four.

Social policies and the intervention of the state have also set the agenda for feminist critiques which have stressed the constraints for women of the family form which state intervention has seen as both most usual, that is most statistically normal, and most desirable.

Recent Feminist Approaches.

An exploration of feminist critiques exposes the tension between motherhood as an institution of social control over women on the one hand, and a celebration of essential womanhood on the other (Segal in Wetherell 1993). In the period from the 1960s to the present, feminist approaches have moved from strong criticism of the family which was seen as the major means of patriarchal oppression (Millett 1971) to the celebration of motherhood as a uniquely female experience. Feminism has ranged from Shulamith

19

Firestone's demands that women be freed from their biology and 'the tyranny of reproduction and child bearing' (Firestone 1970 p.221) to Adrienne Rich's vision of a time when 'woman (as mother) is the presiding genius of her own body....and thinking itself will be transformed' (Rich 1977 p.285-6).

Feminist critiques have also engaged with the areas addressed in the first part of this chapter, namely sociology, social policy, the intervention of the state in women's lives , the role of 'experts' and the advice given to women as mothers. Critiques of conventional sociology have both sought to highlight the conflict of gender relations (Comer 1974) and to assert the reality and significance of **women's** experience, one particular aspect of which is motherhood. Lee Comer's pamphlet was radical in its critique of all that had been taken for granted about the equation of natural, biological motherhood with the ideals of a particular culture, notably white, Western capitalism of the 1950s. Comer sought to expose the idealised post war figure of the contented mother at home as a distortion of women's lived experience. Such radical feminist approaches as Comer's challenged the possibility of 'shared conjugal roles' as claimed by conventional sociologists. Such feminist critiques stressed the ways in which the family and motherhood within it were oppressive and constraining for women (Richardson 1993 p.116). This work is also important in that it raises questions about how ideological processes operate. Why do women acquiesce to such constraining ideological assumptions? Views such as Comer's emphasise a notion of ideology as distorting women's true interests, which is an issue I address in the context of the debate about definitions of ideology in Chapter Two.

Other feminist approaches in the 1970s, which has been classified as the 'woman-centred' stage of second wave, i.e. post war feminism have given motherhood as an essentially female experience a high profile. The concept of a 'woman centred analysis' comes from Gerda Lerner (Lerner 1979 p.xxxi) and is extended to cover the view that **female** experience ought to be the main focus of all study and the source of social and cultural values by Hester Eisenstein in her analysis of trends in feminist thought (Eisenstein 1984). Adrienne Rich was part of this movement, one aspect of which was a critical revaluation of the institution of motherhood. What I have taken from this 'woman centred ' stage is the concentration on motherhood, especially as seen by Rich as a socially constructed institution. Rich draws attention to the lack of attention

20

which has been paid to motherhood, arguing that 'the one unifying, incontrovertible experience shared by all women and men' is that 'we are of woman born', yet, perhaps because it is universal,

> 'we know more about the air we breathe, the seas we travel
> than the nature and meaning of motherhood'.

<div align="right">(Rich 1977 p.11).</div>

Rich shows how women as mothers are alienated from what could, and she argues, should, be a very positive, creative experience, by the constraints of patriarchal culture .She observes the centrality of the experience of motherhood in women's lives, describing its heights and depths as 'the anger and the tenderness' (Rich 1977 p. 21).

Rich has been accused of biological reductionism in positing an essentially female nature, albeit constrained by patriarchy, and thus of failing to recognise differences between women and the diversity and complexity of women's experience of motherhood (Segal 1987 p.160) . Segal argues that essentialist views can be used to further constrain women and prevent them from participating in the wider society. Indeed there is some resonance of the patriarchal assumptions of post war welfare policies in the claim that motherhood is women's ' natural' role. However it is not constraining motherhood but liberating motherhood to which Rich is laying claim . Rich's work raises the problematic of biological accounts and of how far the assertion of motherhood as women's experience necessarily suggests some biological imperative. Rich does not question the medium of expression , that is the symbolic systems through which categories such as the category 'woman' is constructed, though her work does explore the social processes involved in producing particular experiences of motherhood for women in patriarchal societies.In doing so she challenges what may be taken for granted, especially in conventional sociology and in social policy as discussed above.

Nancy Chodorow,also part of this 'woman-centred' stage of feminism, takes up the issue of biological explanations in addressing the question 'why do women mother?'. She argues that biology is an insufficient explanation and sees women's ability to mother as 'built into personality....women's capacities for mothering...are strongly internalised and psychologically enforced (Chodorow 1978 p.39). Chodorow illustrates one of the historical links between feminism and psychoanalytic theory in some feminist research on motherhood (Crowley and Himmelweit 1992 p.146). Feminist critiques have both sought

<div align="center">21</div>

to challenge some of the assumptions about women's 'natural' make-up as mothers in the psychological approaches which underlie social policy and 'expert' advice as discussed in the section above on social policy and, as Chodorow does, they have also applied feminist understandings of psychoanalytic theories to motherhood. Chodorow's use of Object Relations theory and French feminist critiques of psychoanalytic theory are discussed in Chapter Two.

Marxist feminist theory presented a challenge to 'woman-centred' radical feminism. It has importance for my work in that Marxist feminism locates women in the broader social and economic context and does provide a focus on the labour market as a significant determinant of women's position in society. The initial project of Marxist feminists was to bring an understanding of sexual politics to class based analyses and to add an understanding of the concept of patriarchy to that of capitalism. Again the role of feminism has been to point out the omissions, and to highlight the exclusion of women from theory as well as from access to power and material wealth. Michele Barrett has pointed to the ways in which the family controls women's access to paid work by constraining women by the work of reproduction which involves bearing and rearing children and looking after men (Barrett 1980). Sheila Rowbotham drew attention to the constraints of women's reproductive work and to the lack of explanation of the realm of personal experience, especially of women's experience, in traditional Marxist analyses. Marxist feminism is important for its stress on the historical specificity of experience and of the interrelationship between the public and the private spheres of economic relations and those of gender and sexuality. This branch of feminism also retains the Marxist emphasis on the unequal distribution of economic power within capitalist society. Motherhood has not been a particular concern though, as the emphasis of Marxist feminist critiques has been on reproduction of the work force and links between the public sphere of work and the private arena of the home.

Feminist critiques have employed a range of methodological approaches to social investigation. What is most significant is their acknowledgement of women's voices and engagement with women's perception of their own lives as mothers. Empirical research has used women's responses to challenge the dominance of familial ideologies as represented in conventional sociology and the policies of the post war welfare state, such as Hannah Gavron's work which exposed the isolation and frustration of, mainly

white, middle class mothers at home with young children (Gavron 1966). Ann Oakley's work is important in that it gives mothers a voice. Through empirical research which relies largely on interviews, Oakley records women's own views on childbirth, which are contrasted with the medical model of the 'expert' providers of care (Oakley 1979, 1980). Other research has adopted the use of questionnaires as well as interviews in order to find out women's perception of the experience of becoming a mother (Wearing 1984).

It is also important to note that much of the research that feminists have undertaken has concentrated on the period of the initiation into motherhood, that is at, and around, the time of childbirth (Barber and Maguire-Skaggs 1975, Oakley 1979, Kitzinger 1978, Carter and Buriez 1986). This work is very important in reflecting the significance of childbirth in women's lives and, especially, in exploring the power relationships which shape this experience, but it also serves to reinforce the association of motherhood with biology through the semiotic of birth and babies as key signifiers of maternity. This signification is not in itself explored in such studies. I am seeking to get away from the construction of motherhood as only signified by pregnancy and childbirth and to look at motherhood as part of women's whole biographies.

Some feminist approaches incorporate women's autobiographical accounts of their experiences of motherhood, thus acknowledging the role of subjectivity (Gieve 1989,Gordon 1990) although, as with Oakley's more empiricist, sociological research, the medium of representation is taken for granted and not itself theorised. There is no deconstruction of women's accounts of their experience nor exploration of how the language used produces meanings. This feminist research has put motherhood on the agenda but has not questioned or deconstructed its representation.

However more recently feminist critiques of 'expert' advice to mothers,for example in the form of parent and mothering manuals,have gone beyond the idea that meaning is given and looked at how meaning is produced, showing **how** the texts produce knowledge about mothering, especially what makes a good mother (Marshall in Phoenix et al 1991). The theoretical perspectives and conceptualisations which such approaches employ and which I adopt in my research are explored in more detail in Chapter Two.

Feminist analyses have given motherhood a high profile and in doing so have

indicated some of the omissions of conventional sociology,where they have shown motherhood to be subsumed into studies of the family. Feminist theory asks questions about whose interests are served by the social policy and the advice which has been given to women on how to be 'good mothers'. Feminist critiques have stressed patriarchal interests and those of the economic system. Adrienne Rich's emphasis on the centrality of motherhood in women's experience, and her analysis of motherhood as a social institution as well as an essentially female experience, are important for my work here. The very process of challenging what has been taken for granted about motherhood and the positive assertion of women's voices describing their own experiences as mothers, opens up the possibility of contested meanings. However most of the feminist approaches covered here have not deconstructed the system of representation used and have taken for granted the existence, albeit obscured by patriarchal ideologies, of a unified identity 'woman'.They have analysed patriarchal institutions and practices rather than symbolic systems and the construction of meaning within discourse.

Popular Culture and Women's Magazines.

Studies of popular culture and mass media have expanded greatly since the early days within what has come to be called cultural studies. I take the 'early days' to be the critiques of 'mass culture' and the re-evaluation of 'ordinary culture' which were the features of the work of Raymond Williams (1958), Richard Hoggart (1958) and E.P. Thompson (1968). Lawrence Grossberg describes the project of cultural studies as

> 'concerned with describing and intervening in the ways
> discourses are produced within,inserted into and operate in
> the relations between people's everyday lives and the structures
> of social formation'

(Grossberg 1988 p.22).

It is this 'every day' life which includes popular culture in its multifarious forms, challenging the division of culture into 'high' and 'low', where only the former is seen as worthy of detailed textual analysis. Cultural studies can be seen as having features in common with feminist approaches and Women's Studies (Franklin, Lury and Stacey 1991 p.1), for example in their interdisciplinary approaches and links with radical politics outside academic life, as suggested by Grossberg's reference to cultural studies

24

'intervening' as well as 'describing'.

Developments in the field of cultural studies have led to the inclusion of a very wide range of media, such as film, television, popular fiction, music. My intention here is to focus on women's magazines as the particular genre within popular culture which I am exploring, although the approaches which I employ are drawn from cultural studies as a whole. Motherhood does not feature strongly within studies of popular culture, although it has been a concern in feminist film studies, some of which are discussed below.

Women's magazines are part of popular culture and in particular part of women's culture, constituting a 'women's world', a generic title usually given to them on newsagents' shelves. They thus have a place in media studies (Davies, Dickey and Stratford 1987) and in cultural studies of popular culture (Bennett et al 1981) as well as in women's studies (Winship 1983,1988). They have illustrated the tension between views of popular culture as authentic and serious on the one hand, and inauthentic and trivial on the other (Strinati and Wagg 1992), where appropriation of 'authentic culture' is seen as active but that of 'trivial culture' is seen as passive. Feminists have shown how this dichotomy has been associated with gendered positions, where popular culture has been linked to the social construction of femininity, where the consumer is seen as passive and emotional and 'high culture' has been construed as intellectual and active and 'masculine', both in the production of such culture and in its reception (Modleski 1984).

Some research on women's magazines has been historical rather than analytical (White 1970, Ferguson 1983) but has served to highlight the importance of women's magazines and to challenge the idea that such magazines are trivial or even, by implication, that they present a 'false consciousness' to women. Winship goes much further in addressing this issue by acknowledging that the magazines provide a space for women who are on the margins of a 'man's world' (Winship 1987). Winship sees women's magazines as providing help, information and survival skills, whilst also constructing definitions of femininity. She has located her study of women's magazines within an analysis of capitalist society, using a sophisticated critique which challenges the idea that ideologies distort reality and obscure 'true' meaning in the thereby duped reader, or that commercial interests simply produce 'false consciousness' in the reader. Winship's work opens up the possibility of active readership and negotiation and the

25

idea of pleasure in the text which she has developed in recent work, employing the concept of desire (Winship 1992). Winship's focus on women's magazines and her approach to the deconstruction of femininity within their texts is very important for my work. The theoretical perspectives combining semiotic awareness with Marxist analyses adopted by Winship and debates about how ideologies operate are addressed in more detail in the next chapter.

However, although Winship has presented detailed deconstructions of ideologies of femininity using the categories of sexuality, domesticity and paid work (Winship 1983,1988), motherhood is significantly not an explicit element in Winship's classificatory system. Motherhood is subsumed into other categories but is not itself a major, nor even an explicit concern in Winship's work.

Another area of research in the field of women's magazines relates specifically to those which target young women, which, like Winship's work, arose out of the work of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the late 1970s. Angela McRobbie's work is also located within the Marxist paradigm and concerned with popular culture as a possible terrain of class conflict. McRobbie first wrote about the construction of adolescent femininity in the teenage magazine JACKIE using a semiological analysis to show how the magazine, in focusing on personal and emotional factors, marked out 'romantic individualism' as the key concern of the teenage girl. (McRobbie 1978). She later revisited the research in a review of trends in magazines for teenage girls through the 1980s, noting the shift in emphasis from romance to the problem pages where ' in the 1980s the strongest definitions of teenage femininity (appear)' (McRobbie 1991 p.165). Here McRobbie also reviews changing theories employing what she calls, "realist, feminist and Foucauldian" approaches (ibid. p .165). McRobbie's research is important for my work because of its focus on women's magazines, although again McRobbie does not focus on motherhood in her exploration of magazines.

She has recently addressed the issue of teenage motherhood in the context of the moral panics of the 1980s, illustrated by some of the rhetoric of conservative politicians which I mention in the Introduction and explore in more detail in Chapter Four. McRobbie examines some of the experiences of single mothers in this climate of moral backlash where single parents, notably mothers, were seen as feckless and responsible

for a whole range of social ills including crime (McRobbie 1991). However in this instance she does not choose magazines as the medium to be investigated, and in McRobbie's work on magazines, as in Winship's, motherhood is not a key concern.

The absence of a specific exploration of motherhood is a feature of other recent work on magazines. Ellen McCracken's most comprehensive critical analysis of women's magazines in the United States focuses on advertising in her exploration of how women's magazines conflate commodities and desire in the promotion of products through the production of female identities, but the maternal identity is significantly not high on the agenda, although there are some interesting detailed examples of the construction of maternal guilt in particular advertisements (McCracken 1993 p.105). However sexuality is a much more significant category than motherhood in this study.

All the studies of women's magazines mentioned above have involved textual analysis and have not addressed the question of audience research. Although there is considerable recognition of the importance of 'the reader' and the relationship between readers and texts (Barker and Beezer 1992 p.10), there is not a great deal of work that has been done on the readership of women's magazines. One recent example of this is the work of Ros Ballaster, Margaret Beetham, Elizabeth Frazer and Sandra Hebron who conducted a survey on reading and interpreting selected texts from magazines in 1988 (Ballaster et al 1991), in order to show how texts can be read differently according to context. Audience research is outside the scope of my work here but I mention it as part of a trend within cultural studies and work on women's magazines and because, in the example cited, the authors state their aim as wanting to explore the links between the text of the magazines and historical women, including themselves as readers in addressing the question of how subject positions are produced. I also seek to explore this link, but using different texts including the empirical data of social trends, political discourses and the texts of the magazines in order to contextualise motherhood at a particular historical time.

Feminist theorists have concentrated on the film medium ever since the 'first wave' work of Laura Mulvey. Mulvey produced one of the most influential articles on film in 'Visual Pleasure and the Narrative Cinema' (1975), where she exposed the pleasure in the narrative cinema as dependent on patriarchal ideologies, where images are mediated by the 'male gaze', an approach which has been called 'cine-psychoanalysis'

27

(Gledhill in Bonner et al 1992). Feminist film theory has built on Mulvey's use of psychoanalytic theory arguing that spectators can reconstruct films, 'remaking' them in the light of their own needs (de Lauretis 1984) and challenging the notion of the 'male gaze, suggesting the possibility of a subversive 'female gaze' (Gamman and Marshment,1988). What is important for my analysis of women's magazines is the application of psychoanalytic theory within feminist film studies. The use of psychoanalytic theory plays only a very limited part in existing work on magazines. The challenge to the dominance of the 'male gaze' is also important in suggesting resistance and an alternative to a view of women as passive recipients of cultural representations,or in a state of 'false consciousness'.

A recent contribution to the field of film studies and feminism, which is particularly relevant to my work is Ann Kaplan's study of motherhood in popular culture, mainly in films and melodrama (Kaplan 1992). Kaplan does address motherhood, so often absent from other studies. Her study involves a critical analysis of representations which construct maternal subjectivities.She distinguishes between actual,' real', empirical mothers, largely outside the scope of her work, and three discursive mothers, in the representations of motherhood in films.These are

> 'the mother in her socially constructed, institutional role (the mother
> that girls are socialised to become.....);second the mother in the
> unconscious the mother through whom the subject is constituted.
> ....; and third the mother in fictional representations who combines
> the institutionally positioned mother and the unconscious mother'
>
> (ibid p.6).

In my work I seek to explore the fictional mothers represented in the text and images of the magazines, Kaplan's third mother here, to see how this figure of motherhood relates to her first mother, the historical mother, whom I include in this chapter as the figure of motherhood which is the target of social policies and rhetoric, and the psychoanalytic mother who is the mother in the unconscious where representations of motherhood may appeal to unconscious desires. Kaplan's work offers the appeal of exploring how maternal subjectivity is constructed by going beyond the images and the historical constructions of motherhood on which they draw to explore how these

signs operate as myths at the level of the unconscious (Kaplan 1992 p.16). I take Kaplan's distinctions into my analysis employing some of her use of psychoanalytic theory and Foucauldian discourse analysis, which are explained more fully in Chapter Two.

As Kaplan points out the mother has received very limited attention as a subject in her own right within cultural studies, her own work notwithstanding (Kaplan 1992). As I have argued, even in studies of women's magazines as a popular cultural form which targets women, motherhood has not been the focus of analysis and sexuality has been a more dominant concern.

Conclusion.

This chapter has covered work which has been done in the field addressed by my research, showing omissions as well as useful material for my project in the areas of motherhood and women's magazines. I have shown that motherhood is often marked out by its absence, for example in conventional sociology where it has often been subsumed into studies of the family, or taken for granted as natural and morally desirable. Moral discourses and biological assumptions construct motherhood in social policy through which 'good' and 'bad' mothers have been produced by the intervention of the state and through 'expert' advice given to mothers. The work of Donzelot has been important in indicating the processes which have been involved, signalling the need to challenge taken for granted, often biological assumptions and in focusing on the historical construction of motherhood. I have suggested that particular historical points have been especially significant in the production of knowledge about motherhood and that those of the post war period of the 1950s are especially important in that they inform subsequent policies and political rhetoric. When viewed retrospectively this period often involves an idealised, nostalgic picture of motherhood.

Feminist critiques have challenged assumptions about motherhood, including its idealisation within patriarchal culture, and given a voice to women as mothers, often with an emphasis, such as that of Adrienne Rich, on celebrating motherhood as a uniquely female experience, though in all feminist accounts there is recognition of the constraints under which women experience their lives as mothers in patriarchal societies. These analyses raise questions about how ideologies work and some of the problems associated with the idea of ideology as a distortion of reality, which is taken up in the next

chapter.

Motherhood has not had a key place in analyses of popular culture, even of women's studies. Janice Winship's work on women's magazines as a 'women's world' is important in providing some of the strategies for exploring the texts. This raises questions about how this 'women's world' is constructed and how ideologies work which are explored in more detail in Chapter Two, which sets out the theoretical approaches adopted in my research. This chapter has shown the absence of motherhood in existing work and in critiques of women's magazines. It has also signalled what is useful in existing approaches and the theoretical issues which need to be addressed in more detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Perspectives and Approach to The Research.

Chapter One showed some of the gaps in existing work, particularly the absence of critiques of motherhood, or even acknowledgement of its existence as a category worthy of investigation. Feminist critiques have challenged assumptions from different perspectives, but concentrated on the constraints experienced by women as mothers in patriarchal society, whether or not they go on, as Adrienne Rich does, to offer a celebration of motherhood as an essentially female experience. If ideologies of motherhood are constraining, this raises the question of how they come to be so taken for granted . If ideologies of motherhood are so negative why are women recruited to them as subjects? This chapter starts with definitions of ideology and the problems involved in seeing ideology as involving some notion of distortion . It sets out the conceptualisations and theoretical approaches which inform my work in an attempt to remedy some of the omissions in existing work on motherhood and to address some of the problems raised, combining different approaches within cultural studies and sociology, including in particular feminist sociological critiques, the deconstruction of discourses and the exploration of subjectivity using psychoanalytical theories.

Ideology

My theoretical starting point is what has been called 'the problem of ideology' (Donald and Hall 1988 p.4.) in particular debates within social science about how we perceive the world and the role of ideas in shaping and constructing, or reflecting reality. Debates within the Marxist paradigm have focused on the problem of over determinism and the idea of 'false consciousness', where ideologies can be seen as reflecting the interests of the dominant class and somehow obscuring the interests of those in the oppressed class. As was suggested in Chapter One, familial ideology as expressed in social policy , and ideologies of femininity in women's magazines , can be seen as distorting women's 'true' interests, compelling women into domestic roles and preventing women from pursuing their interests in the public arena of paid work. Feminist critics have challenged the passive model of women as the subjects of ideology in such a view (Stacey 1986). This has parallels with the neo - Marxist challenge to the class reductionism of classical Marxism and its notion of the working class as passive

recipients of ideologies, which were seen as distorting the true interests of the working class within capitalist societies (Hall 1986).

Definitions of ideology have been articulated differently in different disciplines and from different perspectives. In social theory and in cultural studies there are three definitions which can be seen as setting the agenda.

Firstly, ideology has been defined as comprising very specific kinds of beliefs, 'grand theories' which are coherent, systematically constructed bodies of ideas about the social world (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner 1984 p.118). In this definition 'Marxism', 'Conservatism' and 'Liberalism' are all construed as ideologies.

Secondly in classical Marxist theory ideology is seen as part of the superstructure, of political, cultural, social and legal institutions, distinct from, but determined by, the material, economic base of society (Marx 1859 in Wright Mills,1962,p.82). Changes in the economic base, in the material mode of production in a society thus determine those in the superstructure so that ideology is **determined** by material interests and represents the interests of the ruling class,under capitalism, the bourgeoisie who own the means of production.This is the origin of the notion that ideology serves to obscure and mystify class interests and involves distortion and 'false consciousness' on the part of those whose own interests are not served . Thirdly ideology has been seen in the sociology of knowledge as constituting any set of beliefs,determined by social factors, though not privileging the economy or any particular aspect of society (Abercrombie et al 1984 p.119).

It is largely the first two definitions which have been challenged in recent reworkings of the concept of ideology. Many of the attempts to escape the over simplification and reductionism of this view , upon which I draw in this research, have been within the Marxist paradigm. Antonio Gramsci's reworking of the concept of ideology as having relative autonomy from the economic base, is particularly important. Gramsci distinguishes between 'arbitrary' and 'organic' ideologies, or between philosophy and common sense (Gramsci 1971). This gets away from the idea that ideology is only 'grand theory' and suggests that ideology also includes the ideas of ordinary people and of popular culture as well as the 'philosophy' of political theory. Gramsci argues that in order to be effective a philosophy has to fit into the 'spontaneous philosophy' or common sense of the people. This is made up of stratified layers and fragments of previous philosophies, and acts rather like a cultural unconscious (ibid). This seems a particularly useful concept

in exploring how motherhood is often taken for granted, and seems in 'common sense' to be a natural phenomenon. Janice Winship uses Gramsci's work as useful in addressing the question of how some ideologies of femininity 'work' and become taken for granted, becoming successful to the point of what Gramsci calls hegemonic. At this point, the set of ideas and practices which constitute an ideology become so taken for granted that they are unquestioned and merge with 'common sense'. Domestic ideologies of femininity in the 1950s could thus be seen as hegemonic (Winship 1992). Gramsci's work has relevance for the development of media and cultural studies, which take as their subjects the everyday concerns and interests of ordinary people and particularly popular cultural forms, where, in the case of women's magazines it has been taken up by Winship and McRobbie whose work was discussed in Chapter One. My concerns here are with the everyday culture of women and especially what has come to be taken for granted about motherhood.

Althusser also sought to avoid the limitations of determinism and of the idea of 'false consciousness', building on Gramsci's insights into the ideological process which Althusser defined as a 'system of representations' through which people 'live' in an imaginary relation to the real conditions of existence. The 'imaginary relation' is different from 'false consciousness' he argued as ideologies do not refer to the ideas of which we are conscious but to the unconscious categories through which reality is experienced. Ideologies operate at the level of the unconscious in which

> '...images and ...concepts..as *structures*...impose on the vast majority
> of men (sic), not via their 'consciousness'...it is in ideology that men
> *become conscious* of their place in the world and in history'
>
> (Althusser 1977 p.233).

What is important here is the emphasis on representations and symbolic systems which operate as unconscious structures, so that ideology provides us with the basis of assumptions by and in which we make sense of our everyday lives.

This raises another question about how these systems of representations or structures work on us internally and recruit us into a particular perspective on the world. Althusser employs the concept of the subject as a social category, in which people exist as symbolically constructed subjects. The construction of subjects is the key mechanism in the functioning of ideology. In order to 'work' ideologies have to recruit subjects. The

33

process by which this operates is what Althusser calls interpellation, a process whereby the subject is both named and positioned (Althusser 1971 p.162). This process, whereby we identify with a subject position presented thinking, 'yes, that's me' (ibid. p.162) operates at the level of the unconscious. My research aims to find out what subject positions of motherhood the magazines offer with the implied mode of address, 'Hey you!' and to which women might respond, 'that's me'. Althusser uses the Lacanian psychoanalytical concept of the unconscious in exploring this process of interpellation or 'hailing', which is particularly useful in examining how the magazines both construct motherhood and draw women into this subject position, especially through the cosy intimacy which is a feature of the 'women's world' of women's magazines.

For Althusser, ideology presents an imaginary relation between the world and the system of representation through which we experience it. This notion of the imagined relationship is useful in exploring the imaginary community of women's magazines. Benedict Anderson's development of Althusser's imaginary community explores the nation as an 'imagined political community' whereby the nation is

> '*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will
>
> never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of
>
> them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'

> (Anderson 1983 reproduced in Donald and Hall 1986 p.89)

Readers too, rarely meet, though they are sometimes represented in the magazine, in 'true life' stories or on the readers' letters or problem pages, but women's magazines establish an 'imaginary community' of like-minded readers, a community of subjects who are constructed as 'we women' and interpellated as such.

Although Althusser posits a more sophisticated explanation of how ideological processes recruit subjects than the more simplistic notion of 'false consciousness', it can be claimed that his system of representations still involves an imaginary distortion of reality. Hall has argued that Althusser's analysis of the ideological process concentrates too much on how the dominant ideology is reproduced, stressing the maintenance of the social order, retaining both the notion of distortion and the distinction between ideology on the one hand and the reality or truth which it distorts on the other (Hall 1982 reprinted in Beechey and Donald 1986 p.43). Hall uses Gramsci's ideas to explore ideology as a terrain of contestation and struggle. Meanings change and are contested by what Hall calls

34

oppositional or negotiated readings of texts (ibid. p.44). Such critiques of Althusserian notions of ideology stress its limitations in failing to address contestation and resistance and its over-emphasis on the unitary nature of ideology, often as a dominant ideology. Work such as that of Janice Winship shows the diversity of women's magazines and of images and texts within them (Winship 1987) suggesting that the notion of ideology, especially of a dominant ideology of motherhood, might be too simplistic. As has been suggested here too, ideology retains implications of distortion of a truth or reality outside that ideology, whether it is economic as in Althusser's approach, or biological or psychological as in the work of woman-centred feminist theories.

Foucault rejected the notion of ideology altogether because he argues it necessarily ' stands in virtual opposition to something else which is supposed to count as truth' (Foucault 1977 reprinted in Beechey and Donald 1985 p.91).Thus it presupposes the possibility of a 'true' account which is not distorted and to which some people could have privileged access. Another objection to the notion of ideology is that it 'stands in a secondary position to something which functions...as its material, economic determinant ' (ibid. p.91). This shows the limitations of a view which sees the power of ideologies of motherhood as coming from an outside, primary source, thus denying the possibility that representations in the magazines might themselves construct knowledge about motherhood.

Whilst wanting to retain some of the concepts which have been developed, especially in the work of Gramcsi in focusing on 'common sense' and how ideologies become hegemonic and Althusser's notion of the process of interpellation, the problems involved in the use of the notion of ideology lead me to prefer the idea of discourse as developed by Foucault and to look more closely at a concept which sees the operation of power as diffuse and multi-accentuated.

Discourse

Foucault employs the term discourse to encompass sets of ideas and practices, ways of producing knowledge and of shaping the world according to that knowledge. He avoids privileging an outside source of truth and the notion of distortion. Discourses are true insofar as they are accepted as true, so that people act as if they were true. Discourses can be understood only in relation to other discourses and their truth or falsity cannot be established by reference to a world outside (Foucault 1980). Thus evidence of

35

changes in family forms and in the labour market and their expression within political rhetoric and policies can all be analysed discursively to see how they coalesce. Foucault challenges the idea that there could be a fixity of meaning within the unconscious which could reveal 'the truth'. Following this approach enables me look for representations of motherhood which might be changing, rather than seeking some absolute truth which could be reflected in the text of the magazines or in empirical reality outside the magazines. For Foucault, the truth of a discourse resides in the relations of power it sustains and he sees knowledge and power as indivisible.

Power is diffuse, in fact 'power is everywhere' Foucault 1987 p.93) Foucault's claim that power is exercised from innumerable points opens up the possibility of exploring a range of different discourses and different components of common sense about motherhood at a particular time. Foucault challenges the notion that power is exercised in one direction by seeing the power within discourse as both enabling and constraining, positive and negative (ibid. p.94). Thus it is possible to conceptualise an historical construction of motherhood which might be both positive and supportive **and** negative and constraining, as Donzelot does in using Foucault's notion of *biopolitics* to explore the production of discourses of maternity through state intervention in the family (Donzelot 1980).

In this way discourses create what it is possible to think by articulating different elements into a discursive formation at particular times. A concept may thus be 'put into discourse' at a specific point in history (Foucault 1987 p.11). This emphasis on historical specificity and the notion of ideas being 'put into discourse' is especially useful for my project of finding out how motherhood is constructed in the late 1980s and early 1990s and in finding out if there is any new articulation of elements to produce a particular figure of motherhood .

The body has historically become the target of discourse and the construction of knowledge (Foucault 1971,1975,1987), whether through practices of imposing discipline and punishment or through medical discourses of sexual identities or illness. Donzelot's work on the family illustrates the targeting of women's bodies through interventions of state welfare and health practices. Feminist research has often featured women's experience of medical intervention during pregnancy and childbirth with a focus on the mother's body as the target of intervention (Oakley 1979,1980). Women's magazines,

36

through discourses of medicine and health care and ' beauty work' and images of women's bodies (Winship 1988) are very much part of this process of targeting the body. Motherhood is often located within the realm of biology, whether in feminist essentialism (Rich 1977) or in the more reactionary claims of the political right that motherhood is women's 'natural' role.

Foucault describes the 'hysterization of women's bodies' (Foucault 1987 p.104), whereby historically women's bodies were analysed, producing the notion of the mother who is the 'nervous woman'. The hysterical woman is one example of the four **figures** which Foucault traces as emerging from the nineteenth century preoccupation with sex. Discourses produced these categories of person, the others being the masturbating child, the Malthusian couple and the perverse adult. Physical sensations are categorised and qualified to produce these figures (ibid.) Physical sensations and characteristics are located within the body, none more so than carrying , giving birth to, and feeding a child, but the meaning given to these characteristics varies across time. Different historical periods recognise or do not recognise different practices. For example breast feeding has been represented in very different ways at different points in history. This is an aspect of mothering which has significant implications for women and the representation of women's bodies, for example in relation to nudity,which may be acceptable in art forms or in advertising but not in breast feeding mothers in public (Kitzinger 1980). Whereas in the late twentieth century breast feeding is positively promoted for example by health professionals (Palmer 1988), in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was not acceptable to the middle and upper classes , for whom wet nursing was accepted as normal and desirable (Badinter 1981). Elisabeth Badinter, in her research into motherhood in France in the nineteenth century, goes further in challenging notions of 'natural' and universal motherhood by showing how upper and middle class mothers 'showed so little interest that the children died in ..great numbers' (Badinter 1981 p.60) and maternal indifference rather than maternal devotion was what was taken for granted.

As Donzelot shows, 'the good mother' and what passes for the 'natural' is produced through discourse at a particular historical point, using Foucault's argument that it is the specific historical selection and attention given to particular characteristics which produces a different category of person, and hence subjectivity. It is only possible to be an 'hysterical women' at a point in history when the defining characteristics of this

position have been marked out by discourse. Such an investigation into the processes whereby sets of practices and physical characteristics become categorised into a new discursive 'figure' is very useful in deconstructing the components which produce figures of motherhood in the 1980s and 1990s.

Discourses may coalesce to become what Foucault calls a 'regime of truth.... that is, the types of discourse it accepts and makes function as true' (Foucault 1987 p.93). This has some resonance with the idea of a dominant ideology, though the power to produce this condensation of discourses does not come from an extra discursive source as in Althusser's notion of ideology, but through mechanisms in operation at a particular historical time , for example scientific discourses and institutions, as illustrated by the intervention of the state in the private arena of the family through social policy and practice and through scientific advice, for example on health and hygiene. For Foucault power is all pervasive and 'we are all inside power' (Foucault 1981 p.94). Discourse is a more fluid concept than ideology with more scope for changes and shifts,because as Foucault argues, where there is power there is resistance' (ibid p.94). This idea of discourses producing discourses of resistance is important in analysis of women's magazines in challenging the idea of women as passive readers and looking at oppositional or negotiated readings. Foucault's notion of 'mobile and transitory points of resistance,producing cleavages in a society that shift about' (ibid p.96) is particularly appropriate for an exploration of the diverse and fragmented texts of women's magazines.

Discourse also includes silences,what is not said or what is prohibited, which raises questions for me about what is not said about motherhood within discourse, directing attention to omissions and exclusions.

> 'There is no binary division to be made between what one
> says and what one does not say;we must try to determine
> the different ways of not saying things.'

> (Foucault 1981 p.27).

This offers an alternative to the rigidity of binary oppositions and opens up the possibility of exploring what is not said and where there are absences and spaces,rather than translating the silence only negatively.The silence speaks too. The absence of motherhood as part of the signifying system also has meaning. In fact there are different

ways in which it could be absent, as I will show.

The emphasis on creation of power within discourse at particular historical moments and the lack of epistemological claims to an extra discursive source of truth make this concept more appropriate than that of ideology for my purposes in this research. Foucault's analysis of discursive 'figures' provides a focus for my own exploration of figures of motherhood.

Semiotics

Deconstructing discourses of motherhood in magazines involves exploring the links between knowledge and power as expressed through systems of representation including language. Most of the important recent analyses of women's magazines cited in Chapter One involved the combination of semiotic awareness of sign and structure with Marxist understanding of hegemony (McRobbie 1978, Winship 1987). Semiotic analysis building on the work of Ferdinand de Saussure is an essential component of an exploration of texts and images. Saussure stressed the importance of the semiotic, including non-linguistic signs such as visual images, in producing meaning. All signs consist of a signifier and a signified, that is the form and the meaning which is associated with it, 'where language is a system of signs that express ideas' (Saussure 1959 p.16). The relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary, that is the signifier does not denote or reflect an object which is signified (ibid.)The images and words as signifiers within women's magazines change over time, as the magazines themselves change. The 'mother at home' may signify a contented woman who copes well with domestic work and positively enjoys child care. It only does so because it has conventionally been given this meaning through a code which then differentiates between the 'good' mother and the 'bad' mother in binary opposition. What we understand is the code and the combination of elements.The code could easily be changed and at different historical points such as during war time, the 'mother at home' could be the selfish woman who prefers her own pleasures and interests to serving her country. Thus phenomena do not possess intrinsic meaning, and meaning is not fixed.

Roland Barthes extends Saussure's analysis to incorporate an understanding of ideology into semiotics. In 'Myth Today' he argues that the relationship between the terms signifier and signified is not one of equality but one of equivalence (Barthes 1965 p

109-159). What is understood is the relationship between the two, not the consequential move from one to the other. This relationship is what he calls the sign. Barthes designates a second order of meaning whereby the sign as the conjunction of the signifier and the signified itself becomes a signifier, grouped together with other mythic concepts. This second order connotive meaning is what Barthes calls myth, which can be understood as ·

'the complex system of images and beliefs which a society constructs in order to sustain and authenticate its own sense of being :i.e. the very fabric of its system of "meaning" '

(Hawkes 1988   p.131).

Myth, like ideology is described as providing a means of making sense of the world through exploring how reality is constructed through a series of codes and underlying meaning. Reality is thus constructed rather than reflected. My project is to find out how motherhood is so constructed. and what meanings underlie the texts of women's magazines. Barthes applies his semiological analysis to a variety of popular cultural forms including advertising and an example of a woman's magazine (Barthes 1972).

This approach does raise the question of how underlying second order meaning or myth is to be determined and who has access to what the codes 'really mean'. Barthes' solution to this problem draws on Julia Kristeva's notion of intertextuality (Kristeva 1980 p.25). This involves inter-textual readings where the whole text, with all its associated meanings, is taken as the object of investigation, involving the study of the ways in which signs are transposed onto each other. In my research I take up the argument that no text can ever be free of other texts and our understanding of a single text is informed by a multiplicity of other texts (Barthes 1970).This suggests that myths or meanings of motherhood could be constructed within the text of magazines through different texts which interconnect. Different texts could include those of social p olicy, political rhetoric and media representations within popular culture which relate to the different texts within the magazines, such as fiction and photography and those of science, medicine and psychotherapy which inform problem pages and advice columns as well as features on health and relationships .

Volosinov's use of some of Saussure's ideas in a reworking of Marxist theory also attempts to avoid some of the problems of seeing meaning as determined by systems of

representation. Language depends on how signs are used to 'refract' reality (Volosinov 1973). Signs are differently accentuated, where a sign may have a different emphasis at a particular historical point from other times or be appropriated differently according to the social position of the subject. In Volosinov's work language is an arena of class struggle and contestation. This has further application if language and signs are seen as contested and not fixed and class struggle is extended to contestation about gender roles, and for my purposes where motherhood as an identity is contested.Women's magazines have been the site of many shifts over women's domestic role and their involvement in paid work,for example during and after the second World War (Riley 1983), and my focus here is on how the role of mother might be contested in contemporary society,especially in the context of the changing demands of the labour market and changing patterns in domestic living.

Semiotic analysis allows for an examination of form as well as meaning, using Saussure's notion of language as a self referential system which can be understood in terms of itself and how the signs relate to each other.The physical appearance of a sign is important in conveying meaning . For example in women's magazines the size and format of visual images accompanying texts, and the use of colour or of black and white signifies meaning (McRobbie 1978 p.29).

Judith Williamson, in her study of advertisements argues that advertisements can transform the language of objects into that of people , so that once we have made the connection been signifier and signified, for example between a diamond and 'love and endurance' we 'skip the connection, taking the sign for what it signifies, the thing for the feeling' (Williamson 19 78 p.12). Williamson develops Barthes' Saussurian formulations by linking semiology to psychoanalytic theories, where the text can be seen as reflecting and constructing the unconscious ,so that in the case of an advertisement we come to connect an emotion with a product and ourselves with the mode of address (ibid p. 44).In advertisements we might come to associate the 'good mother' with the 'whiter than white' washing or the 'home made ' pancake mix (McCracken 1993 p.106).

Psychoanalytic approaches where the notion of pleasure is primarily sexual have dominated analyses of pleasure in cultural studies.This is illustrated in Barthes' distinction between *plaisir* and *jouissance* , where the first form of pleasure in the form of a linear narrative can be seen as comparable to the journey towards male orgasm where there is ultimate relief in narrative closure.*Jouissance* , which is rather more complex, and more

difficult to translate though the most usual term is 'bliss', is construed as diffuse and free of narrative event and more analogous to female pleasure (Barthes 1976 pp.11-13). This notion of *jouissance*, which I explore in more detail below is useful in suggesting the disruptive effects of the texts challenging determinacy of meaning. Although in Barthes' analysis *jouissance* derives from engagement with difficult text, the notion of a female pleasure, resistant to narrative closure seems most appropriate for an exploration of women's magazines, where pleasure is derived from the magazine itself and the promise of the commodities it promotes in advertising (Lovell 1987 p.16). Women's magazines are constructed around the idea of promise, whether of a more beautiful body if their instructions are followed and products bought,or within their very structure which always includes the promise of even better advice,ideas and commodities in 'next month's/week's edition'.When carrying out this research it always seemed to me that 'next month's ' copy would be much more interesting and useful.

Psychoanalytic theory is used to show how the attraction of a cultural form lies in its ability to re-inforce existing desires and structures within the individual psyche, for example Laura Mulvey's original work on film which argued that film form was structured by the 'unconscious of patriarchal society' (Mulvey 1975). Tania Modleski has argued that the structure of soap operas feature the rhythms of domestic life as opposed to the rigidity of the public sphere, which are congruent with women's pleasure (Modleski 1984 p.111). Valerie Walkerdine's work on Bunty stories for girls claims that these stories address fantasies which are already present in the reader's unconscious (Walkerdine 1984 p.168). Thus in studying the texts and images of women's magazines it may be possible to find out the fantasies and desires of motherhood to which they speak.

This illustrates the way psychoanalytic theory has been used as part of the explanation of how texts are constructed , how and why they become popular, and how texts construct subjectivities. The work of Barthes and Althusser , drawing on the work of Lacan, show how the level at which myth and ideology operate is that of the unconscious. Psychoanalytic theory gives primacy to the unconscious as the repository of repressed needs and desires and it is to this that I turn in order to explore motherhood . As suggested above it is the notion of the unconscious and of the symbolic expression of unconscious wishes within culture and art forms and the focus on pleasure highlighting the significance of sexuality, which have been seen as particularly useful in cultural

42

critiques.

Psychoanalytic Theories.

Psychoanalytic theories offer insights into the construction of gendered subjectivity, especially using Lacanian developments of Freud's work which stress the importance of language and symbolic systems. My interest in psychoanalytic theories relates firstly to their use as part of the method of deconstructing meaning and explaining how subject positions constructed in the text reflect those of the unconscious. This addresses the question of how and why the discourse of motherhood in the text might connect with the needs and desires of the unconscious, and what is the unconscious construction of motherhood which the text reproduces. My second aim in looking at psychoanalysis is to see how it is employed as a discourse and what use the magazines make of psychoanalysis and its concepts as one of the discourses represented .

In addressing the question of how psychoanalytic theory might explain how we come to adopt particular subject positions, it is useful to look at Jacques Lacan 's theory of subjectivity which focuses on the child's separation from the mother and the entry into language. Where Freud argued that the point at which children find out that they are female or male is at the phallic stage of development at the time of the resolution of the Oedipus complex (Bocock 1986 p.43), Lacan claimed that it is through entry into language at this point that the child learns its gendered identity. Lacan takes up Freud's notion of female children experiencing penis envy at this developmental stage, but for Lacan this is not a biological phenomenon but one resulting from culture and notably the symbolic systems where the phallus is the prime signifier of meaning (Lacan 1977 p.48). Lacan has claimed that the equation of the penis with the phallus is illusory, but it is this illusion which for Lacan constitutes desire and the functioning of the symbolic order (ibid).

What is important for my work and for many feminists working in the area of cultural studies, is the priority given to representation in Lacanian psychoanalytic theory (Mitchell 1973). Lacan's work is particularly interesting because of its emphasis on the Symbolic, which highlights the importance of language (Cameron 1985 p.20). Where Freud distinguishes between the pre-Oedipal and the Oedipal stages in a child's development, Lacan offers a reformulation between the Imaginary and the Symbolic, which has been important for feminists (Grosz in Gunew 1990 p.78-79) because it offers a structuralist

43

rather than a biological approach.

The pre-Oedipal stage has somewhat more significance in Lacan's work than in Freud's. In Lacan's system the Imaginary is set in opposition to the Symbolic entry into language and the 'Law of the Father' (Lacan 1977 p.67) and the child, even on becoming adult never completely forgets the world of the Imaginary and the unconscious longing to merge with the mother.This is also important because it allows for female and male fantasies to be directed towards these repressed, unsatisfied desires. Lacan does include the idea of pre-Oedipal pleasure,*jouissance,* which is a specifically feminine 'bliss', 'beyond the phallus' which, he argues has to be relinquished on the entry into language (Lacan in Mitchell and Rose 1982 p.147). This Imaginary, outside of the patriarchal symbolic order has been taken up by feminist critiques of Lacan,which are discussed below.

Another important feature in Lacanian psychoanalytic theory is the notion that subjectivity is fragmented and what we take to be self knowledge is fluid and illusory (Grosz 1991 p.43). Lacan's mirror phase which is the transition between the pre-Oedipal,Imaginary phase and the phallic phase,represents the first realisation of subjectivity where the child becomes aware of the mother as an object distinct from itself but still clings to the unitary self and the oneness with the mother of the Imaginary phase (Lacan 1977 p2-3). In this way subjectivity is split and illusory.

Lacan's emphasis on symbolic systems is important in my exploration representations of motherhood in this research.His understanding of subjectivity as fragmented and illusory is particularly useful in looking at the construction of maternal subject positions in the changing fluid world of women's magazines which themselves present mirror images to women as readers.The magazines can be seen as presenting readers with a means of replicating the mirror phase and its combination of unity and separation .The concept of *jouissance* is useful in suggesting ways in which readers are drawn to the 'women's world' of the magazines in a complicity of female pleasure.This notion is explored in more detail in the development of the concept of *jouissance* in the work of feminist critiques of Lacan below.

Feminist Psychoanalytical Theories.

However useful Lacanian psychoanalytic theory has been for some feminists, it offers a very negative perception of women, defined as `not a man', in Lacan's statement 'The woman does not exist' (Lacan quoted in Rose 1986 p.72). Although the phallus is an

illusion, according to Lacan it is still the prime signifier which represents male power, and whatever Lacan's denials it corresponds to the penis in that it signifies the 'law of the father', not the mother. French feminists, Julia Kristeva, Luce Irigaray and Helene Cixous have all in different ways attempted to subvert Lacan's phallogocentric thinking.

Feminist psychoanalytical approaches have stressed the significance of the pre-Oedipal, Imaginary, which has been neglected in the work of both Freud and Lacan (Grosz 1990 p.160). Julia Kristeva calls this period, before Lacan's notion of the entry into language and 'the law of the father', the semiotic or 'Chora' and takes it as feminine, maternally structured but unrepresentable because it is outside culture (Kristeva 1980 p.237). Kristeva attempts to address the question raised by Lacanian psychoanalysis of how, if motherhood is constructed by the patriarchal symbolic, it is possible to speak other than within that symbolic system.If women's magazines are part of that patriarchal symbolic system can there be any expression of motherhood other than that so constructed?

In Stabat Mater Kristeva argues that motherhood is not a biological category, but an adult, idealised fantasy of what has been lost (Kristeva 1985 p.99). Motherhood is a relationship and a process rather than a fixed,biological identity as she suggests in her analysis of the work of the Renaissance artist Bellini (Kristeva 1980) where she addresses the importance of idealised cultural representations, which are largely in the Christian tradition. However Kaplan suggests that it is this very patriarchal culture which has 'essentialised and fixed the concept of "Mother" ' (Kaplan 1992 p.41).

Kristeva writes of motherhood ,especially of giving birth as a subversive moment (Kristeva 1982p.237) but she has been criticised by feminists because she then argues that motherhood as subversion and the voice of the repressed is best represented by the male avant garde, in fact the mother is only represented in culture by men (Grosz 1991 p.164).

However Kristeva's work is useful for her stress on the pre-Oedipal, semiotic domain and her exploration of representations which show how the mother is reviled as outside culture, yet also idealised as the defender of culture, reworking the dichotomies of mother/virgin and mother/whore in psychoanalytic terms (Kristeva 1982).

Luce Irigaray also focuses on the female Imaginary but from a different position from Kristeva's, taking a more directly feminist approach in responding to Lacanian psychoanalytic theory. She provides a critique of Lacan's system as a discourse, which is

> 'A language that presents itself as universal, and which is in fact
> maintained by men only, is this not what maintains the alienation
> and exploitation of women in and by society'
>
> (Irigaray 1977 in Grosz 1991 p.177)

Irigaray goes further than challenging its constraints for women and seeks to find a means of transcending them through opposing phallocentrism with its 'singular meanings, hierarchical organisation, polar positions (and) ...the privileged self-distance of masculinity' (Grosz 1991 p.179).

Irigaray explores a female Imaginary based on the morphology of the female body (Irigaray 1985).She suggests that femininity is plural and multiple and women do not have to choose between binary oppositions or even alternatives (Moi 1985 p.144). This notion of femininity is closely tied to her idea of a 'women's language', *le parler femme* ,which happens when women speak together, in fact only when women are together,because it disappears when men are present. This suggests the possibility of a 'women's world' in language even if Irigaray's account of it is intuitive,

> 'I simply cannot give an account of "woman speak":
> one speaks it , it cannot be metaspoken'
>
> (Irigaray quoted in Moi 1985 p.145).

However this 'womanspeak' offers resistance to the patriarchal symbolic and signifies a 'woman's world' which is what I seek to explore in my research. Irigaray argues that women need to claim the symbolic for themselves and to give representation to that which is women's. (Irigaray 1992).

One of the absences in patriarchal systems of representation which Irigaray exposes is the exclusion of the mother in culture, arguing that civilisation is based, not on the murder o f the father, as Freud claimed in <u>Totem and Taboo</u> , but 'a more archaic murder,that of the mother '(Irigaray in Whitford 1991 pp 36-39).'The mother',which involves being mothered , as well as being a mother, and the mother/daughter relationship are representations Irigaray seeks to put into culture. In the 'women's world' of the magazines one might **expect** some representations of motherhood and of the mother/daughter

46

relationship.

Irigaray's work offers a positive focus on both the notion of a 'women's world' in language and on motherhood, which has resonance of Adrienne Rich's claims about the absence of motherhood from culture despite the fact that 'we are all of woman born' (Rich 1977), although from a different theoretical position.

Where Irigaray has been seen as 'writing the body" (Whitford 1991 p.3) and her key signifier is the maternal body, Helene Cixous focuses on the Voice which derives from ' the time before the symbolic took one's breath away' (Cixous and Clement 1986 p.93), which might be claimed through *ecriture feminine* which seeks to inscribe femininity. Cixous describes something similar to Kristeva's semiotic but the Voice is located within the mother's body,

> 'Voice:milk that could go on forever.Found again.
>
> The lost mother/bitter lost.Eternity: is voice mixed
>
> with milk'.

(Cixous and Clement 1986 p.78).

Cixous' own writing which foregrounds speech, i.e. the patterns of her own speaking voice, full of exclamations and stops and starts,unsettling and anti-authoritarian is an example of *ecriture feminine.*, which suggests how women might seek to be part of a female Imaginary and to write on the margins of the patriarchal symbolic.Irigaray writes of the difficulties of describing 'womanspeak' and it is interesting to note that Cixous, like Rich, uses poetry to give voice to women's language. I want to explore the possibility of a women's space within popular culture ,and suggest that feminist psychoanalytic theories might be a means of challenging notions of popular culture as merely conditioning women into a dominant patriarchal symbolic. Could there be any possibility of subversion even within popular culture?

The second strand of psychoanalysis I am drawing upon follows the Object Relations school, which is also concerned with the child's pre-Oedipal relationship with the mother, concentrating on the importance of this time for the unfolding of the ego in seeking relationships with others (Chodorow 1978). Chodorow's approach as part of the Object Relations school contrasts with the Freudian stress on the libido expressing itself as psychic desire at this stage (Frosch 1987). Chodorow rejects Freud's notion of penis envy and places mothers at the centre of the psychic development of the self especially

47

the female self, where the pre-Oedipal attachment to the mother, which is a characteristic of both sexes, is retained in girls/women into the post-Oedipal life. Girls may transfer their affection from their mother as love-object to their father but Chodorow argues that although 'girls usually make a sexual resolution in favour of men and their father (they) retain an internal emotional triangle' (Chodorow 1978 p.140). This is how, she argues 'mothering is reproduced'. What is important about Chodorow's work is her emphasis on girls' development and on what is particular to the female through an emphasis on the pre- Oedipal stage.

This work is important in my research in that it focuses on motherhood and in many discussions of feminism, psychoanalysis and motherhood are combined under the same heading (Segal 1987, Crowley 1991). These feminist readings of psychoanalysis focus on the centrality of the mother/child relationship, where the father's role is marginalised and it is a 'women's world' which sets the agenda of the development of self, redressing the absence of the mother in Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis. Judith Gardiner coins the phrase 'mind mother' in applying this to literary criticism; the 'mind' is the text, and 'mother' is the relationship between person/reader and text, which resonate with the emotions derived from early childhood experience (Gardiner in Greene and Kahn 1985 p.113).

The discussion of psychoanalytic theories suggests some of the ways in which they can offer explanation of the ways in which subjectivities can be constructed. Psychoanalytic theory has become a discourse, even a discourse of popular culture and some of the concepts addressed here are used not only to explain the construction of maternal subjectivity in the magazines, but are also part of the discourse of those magazines themselves.

Conclusion.

In this chapter I have covered the conceptual issues and theoretical debates which inform my work. Reworkings within the Marxist paradigm which have attempted to avoid the constraints of over determinism and especially the problem of false consciousness have been very important in both offering more complex and sophisticated analyses of the ideological process, such as those of Gramsci and Althusser, but also in raising the question of ideology as distortion of reality and whether or not there can be a 'reality' outside of ideology. I have followed Foucault's argument that the question can never be resolved using the term ideology and that consequently discourse is a more

48

useful concept in my exploration of motherhood here. I have not kept rigidly to the use of the term 'discourse' only but use 'ideology' which addresses the idea of the relations between social, economic and discursive power. I use the term, not in the sense of a distortion of reality but as one which involves sets of contested meanings. The use of the term 'discourse' and a discursive reading of ideology does not deny the existence of a material world, nor the corporeal reality of motherhood, but it is only possible to make sense of the material through the discursive formations which give it meaning. In this way representations mediate reality and give meaning to experience.

Foucault's analysis is particularly useful because of its emphasis on the construction of meaning through discourse. This approach enables me to examine the disparate elements within representational systems and culture which come together to produce discursive 'figures'. This concept of a 'figure' which comes from Foucault's historical analyses and stresses the ways in which a discourse produces knowledge, drawing on other discourses, to create a new subject position, is used to explore mother figures in the women's magazines of the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The more discursive analysis arising out of debates about ideology has given greater emphasis to the processes involved in **how** discourses operate. This involves a focus on the representational system, especially language and symbolic systems. The terrain of representation is seen as one of contestation where signs are articulated to produce different meanings and my work involves looking at what meanings of motherhood are being contested and worked out in the texts of women's magazines.

Psychoanalytic theories offer insights into the construction of gendered subjectivity, especially using Lacanian developments of Freud's work which stress the importance of language and symbolic systems. Psychoanalytic emphasis on the fragmentation of the subject position and the ways in which conflict operates within the psyche is especially useful for my purposes in looking at both how tension and conflict between notions of the 'good' and the 'bad' mother are negotiated within the texts of women's magazines, where the text may reproduce that psychic conflict, and also at how psychoanalysis is itself a discourse within the magazines.

Feminist critiques within psychoanalytic theory are highlighted here as especially important in my research because they focus on a female Imaginary and the importance of motherhood and the mother/daughter relationship. I use this focus to explore the 'women's

49

world' of these magazines. Psychoanalytic theories are used here as part of the explanatory framework, representing the interface between the discourses of motherhood in the magazines, and the real mother who makes sense of her life and role as a woman through those representations which form part of the Imaginary. Through exploring the interrelationship between different discourses of motherhood I seek to find out what the magazines of this time can tell us about motherhood.

Chapter 3.

Looking for Mothers: The 1988 Monthly Magazines.

This chapter addresses the questions of where mothers are in the magazines of the late 1980s, and, where they appear, what sort of mothers they are. In order to answer these questions I explore a selection of women's magazines from October 1988. The chapter sets out to explain my choice of magazines, before embarking on a quantitative analysis of the denotation of motherhood within the magazines. The final part of this chapter involves discourse analysis of the text and images of selected articles which address motherhood from one of the magazines.

The Choice of Magazines.

The magazines chosen here come from those categorised by W.H. Smith as 'Women's Interest' (Appendix 2). This category occupies a large area of shelf space in newsagents and increasingly in the large supermarkets and has a relatively broad classification. As Janice Winship points out, men do not need a section marked 'Men's World' because it **is** their world (Winship 1987 p.6). Men are rarely mentioned in magazine titles, especially those directed at them and their interests, except for PLAYBOY. More recently magazines like G.Q. and ESQUIRE have reintroduced the notion of the affluent gentleman of leisure or he who aspires to this position. 'Man' and 'boy' crop up more frequently in the titles addressed at the female market. MY GUY, OH BOY MONTHLY for teenagers and MEN'S COLLECTION under "Knitting', presumably to be undertaken by women. 'Leisure' as a category in the newsagent's shop is not gendered in it s title. Men are women's concern,o r at least their welfare is. It is only women who are gendered, and men are the universal category, as in the use of the generic third person pronoun and 'man' to represent women and men (Swann in Bonner et al 1992 p.56). In the magazine world it appears that only men have 'leisure' and women would not be attracted by such a category. The description 'leisure' magazine can also be used to refer to pornography, which may also have excluded women. Men's magazines labelled as such might be taken to mean 'girlie magazines' or pornography, though the categorisation of such material, for example, at W. H. Smith's comes under 'Adult Titles', along with ' Health and Efficiency'.

When I began my research in 1988 no equivalent category existed for women, though this has changed in the 1990s with 'top shelf' publications, such as FOR WOMEN, although in spite of a number of such magazines coming out in the early 1990s only one remains in 1994. I acknowledge the arrival of these magazines and the increase in focus on sexuality in other women's magazines of the time, but as my focus is on motherhood, and sexuality has received a high profile elsewhere (Winship 1987, McRobbie 1991, McCracken 1993), this is not a major concern for me here.

Women's magazines can be seen as constructing a world within their pages which does not always exist outside those pages, where men's needs are given priority, though the contents pages often focus on men's needs and how women can satisfy them, whether those needs are physical, intellectual or emotional. Winship describes the isolation of women living on the margins of men's world where women's magazines are seen as giving an identity (citing Hughes-Hallett 1982 p.21) and providing refuge (Winship 1987). Women's magazines offer help and information to women and they also offer hope; both reflecting and constructing women's lives and the concerns with the survival skills necessary to cope with the problems of femininity which they also define.

Women's magazines not only have a history (White 1970, Ballaster et al 1991), but they also give women a history. Whereas so many women have been 'hidden from history' (Rowbotham 1973), Winship argues that women's magazines 'provide an unparalleled popular or mass documentation of women's changing experience' (Winship 1987 p.6). Much of that history has focused on women's role within the home where, in the nineteenth century, Samuel Beeton's THE ENGLISHWOMAN'S DOMESTIC MAGAZINE introduced in 1852, which included Isabella Beeton's weekly feature ' Notes on Cookery and Fashion', aimed to provide ' a fund of practical information and advice tending to promote habits of industry and usefulness (in the home) ' (quoted in White 1970 p.44). Given the association of women with domesticity and the private arena of the home with motherhood, I expected to find out about motherhood in the 1980s in such magazines. Even if women had been 'hidden from history' in the public arena, I expected to find women and, in particular women as mothers, in the women's world of these magazines.

The magazines selected for detailed analysis here are the October 1988 editions of NEW WOMAN, PRIMA, GOOD HOUSEKEEPING and WOMAN and HOME. The month

of October was chosen because of my original intention of looking for some condensation of discourses within the magazines and the rhetoric of political parties at their conferences that month.

These magazines offer examples of popular monthlies in the middle of the range of those categorised, for example, by W.H. Smith (W.H. Smith 1989,1990) as 'Women's Interest' magazines. As Winship points out this categorisation is problematic since many women's magazines are read by men and most are 'to some degree general service and entertainment' (Winship 1988 p.20), although the process of labelling a particular category marks it out as being of concern to women only.

Both PRIMA and WOMAN and HOME have an overtly domestic focus, although PRIMA has more emphasis on domestic craft and skills. GOOD HOUSEKEEPING has an explicitly domestic title but has broad concerns and a life style focus, being actually less concerned with housekeeping than the other two. NEW WOMAN , launched in July 1988, is described in its publicity as designed to 'bridge the gap between fashion and beauty and home and food magazines' with 'a personal interest bias' (Chapter Four).

These magazines have been chosen partly because they have not been the focus of intensive research, where the weeklies or young women's magazines have received more attention (McRobbie 1978,1991,Winship 1987, 1988). However PRIMA as an example of a new wave of domestic crafts magazines has been included in analyses of trends in the 1980s such as Janice Winship's (Winship in Strinati and Wagg 1992), and has particular significance as representative of a genre with its specific focus on a genealogy of domestic crafts.

The process of selection has involved the exclusion of some magazines such as those which focus on fashion, at the top end of the market like VOGUE, the society magazines, HARPER'S and TATLER, and other glossies like ELLE and WOMAN'S JOURNAL. I also chose not to focus on those which specifically address childbirth and early parenting like PARENTS, MOTHER and BABY and MOTHER (now out of circulation) as I wanted to explore discourses of motherhood throughout women's biographies, rather than only at the point of initiation .

I also decided not to include the explicitly feminist magazines such as EVERYWOMAN and SPARE RIB , which have carried articles on motherhood within a more overtly political contex than the mainstream publications selected here. In 1993

SPARE RIB ceased publication, perhaps because of its increasingly narrow focus, but at a considerable loss to the breadth of the women's magazine market. My concern here is with the mainstream and the possible impact of feminism within that context.

Monthlies, with a wider variety of titles and concerns than weeklies, offer greater possibility of exploring some range over a particular period, or as here at a specific month. Those selected here are mainstream, middle to lower cost publications which I chose in search of some possible consensus, even what Kaplan calls a 'master discourse' (Kaplan 1992 p.8-9) of motherhood at a particular time. This is analogous to Foucault's ' regime of truth' where there is a condensation of discourses which combine to produce what is taken for truth at a particular time. This 'master discourse' could be applied to domestic ideologies of the 1950s in Britain and the U.S.A. where, as in conventional sociology of the time, it was assumed that women wanted children and when they had them they would stay at home to look after them. This is also suggested by some of the political rhetoric of the 1980s which led to my interest in finding out whether the magazines offered any reflection of this.

The choice also reflects my own interests and memories where the synthesis of the domestic with femininity and with mothering is part of the 1950s historical production of knowledge and of my own subjectivity and my 'common sense' understanding of magazines, where 'common sense' is 'the folklore of philosophy....(which) creates the folklore of the future....(a) phase of popular knowledge at a given time and place' (Gramsci 1971 p.326). In this case that ' time and place' was the 1950s and the 'future' is the 1980s and early 1990s.

Having made my choice of magazines, I started with October 1988 to see where I would find motherhood and how it was constructed within these magazines.

On Denoting: Quantitative Analysis of Motherhood in the October 1988 Magazines.

My initial plan had been to survey a whole range of monthly magazines, as I did, and then proceed to a semiotic and discourse analysis of relevant features and articles which gave motherhood a high profile in the selected monthlies. I had not anticipated any problem, except in the criteria for choice. How would I pick out which of the many expected features would be most appropriate? This was not my problem however. Far from

being overwhelmed with relevant articles, I found it difficult to find any.

I conducted a preliminary survey of the field of women's magazines (listed in Appendix 1 A) but found great difficulty in finding immediate recognition of relevant features which addressed motherhood for discourse analysis.I reasoned that this immediate paucity of relevant features could be deceptive and that I would need some entry into the text to see if motherhood was encoded there but not immediately apparent.So I decided to approach the material quantitatively and plough through the text of each of the selected magazines to look for **direct** references to mothers and motherhood. I have done this in two ways, in order to cover both text and images. In the text I have looked for direct denotation of motherhood through use of the term 'mother' and its derivatives. In the case of visual images I have looked for the presence of children as signifiers of motherhood and the maternal relationship. I have used content analysis as a first stage in the exploration of the magazines in order to provide a means of establishing where motherhood is addressed, and, as Winship does in investigating femininity (Winship 1988), as a means of selecting and categorising the significant elements which feature in the magazines.

<u>The Covers</u>

<u>Text</u>

The cover is the most important advertisement of a magazine. It offers a means of distinguishing between magazines and of identifying the magazine and its readers and appealing to the particular target readership. I first looked for verbal references to 'mothers' on the covers of the four 1988 magazines to see if motherhood was denoted there.The table below indicates that of the total number of items addressed on the cover of each magazine 'mother' did not feature frequently.

'Items' include the title of a feature which is trailed on the cover and includes any brief sub-title or further details in small print. No reference means that the word 'mother' and its derivatives are not used at all.

Table 1.

Magazine Covers

	Total no. of items	Refs. to Mothers.
NEW WOMAN	9	1
WOMAN & HOME	5	0
PRIMA	6	0
GOOD HOUSEKEEPING	10	0

The lack of explicit reference to 'mother' on the covers suggests that the interpellation is not one which attracts readers.Magazines have to sell sufficient copies and since the cover is what advertises the magazine's style to prospective buyers and reassures existing readers of its identity so that they remain loyal, it seems it has limited appeal as a direct means of hailing women as readers.The only actual reference is to 'working mother' in NEW WOMAN .This reference suggests that the norm is for a mother not to do paid work,operating rather like the prefix 'woman' with doctor, where the assumption is that the norm is male.

Images

If 'mother' is a word not often used on the cover, I thought that motherhood might be present in the **images** on the covers . In order to find out if it was I selected a larger data base of one hundred magazines , using the four magazines chosen for the October 1988 sample above over a period of twenty months and added one of the other monthly magazines,WOMAN's JOURNAL, which has a clear fashion, rather than a home focus, for possible purposes of contrast. I used the presence of a child as the key signifier of motherhood,where the child with a woman suggesting a mother/child relationship.The majority of covers feature a female model. Occasionally covers portray scenes, such as landscapes or objects , such as household interiors and do not have any human presence. None of the magazines portray men or children, alone without an adult female model,

except for the Christmas edition of GOOD HOUSEKEEPING which showed a child,
Christmas tree and presents.

Table 2

Cover pictures:October 1988- May 1990 (100 magazines)

	With child/ren *	Woman (no children)	Other (no people)
GOOD HOUSEKEEPING	5	12	3
PRIMA	8	12(+ insets)	0
WOMAN & HOME	5	11	4
NEW WOMAN	2	18	0
WOMAN'S JOURNAL	0	20	0

*This category includes pictures of a woman with a child or children and the one, GOOD HOUSEKEEPING cover picture featuring a child alone.

This suggests that the presence of children on the cover is relatively rare. Their absence is most marked in the fashion magazine, but NEW WOMAN is also characterised by an almost complete absence of children on the covers. PRIMA has the highest number of images of children, but these are **small**, inset pictures of children wearing knitted clothes which are featured in the magazine. Otherwise the image most used to attract readers is that of an attractive woman, very definitely not that of a child.

The Contents Pages.

Text.

I then looked inside the magazines at the 'Contents' pages to see if there were more direct references there. The 'Contents' page lists the items which feature in a magazine and include the title and a brief exposition or sub title. Again I am looking for any use of the word 'mother' or its derivatives.

Table 3.

	Total no. of items	Refs. to Mothers.
NEW WOMAN	36	2
WOMAN & HOME	43	0
PRIMA	67	0
GOOD HOUSEKEEPING	54	5

The contents pages of the four monthlies here reveal a similar lack of explicit references to mothers, with the two magazines with the most domestic focus, WOMAN and HOME and PRIMA, having none at all. NEW WOMAN has two, one to an article about mothers and sons, and the other to a humorous article right at the end of the magazine, to 'My mother's brilliant career'.

Motherhood, or at least hailing readers directly **as** mothers, does not seem to be a vehicle for promoting the magazines on the covers or the contents pages, so I went through the pages of all four magazines seeking out explicit reference to 'mother' or related terms such as 'mum', 'mummy' or 'maternal'.

I use the magazine's own categorisation of contents. These reflect the differences as well as the similarities between the magazines. For example, each magazine has a Fashion, Beauty and Cookery section, and each has a Contents Page and Editorial and some kind of 'Regular' slot with Readers' Letters and short features. Three of the magazines here have a fiction section, but PRIMA does not. NEW WOMAN has a whole section 'Relationships' and another on 'Love and Sex', categories which do not appear in the other three magazines. WOMAN and HOME and PRIMA signify their domestic focus with sections on 'Homemaking' and 'Home' respectively. Table 4 summarises my findings.

Table 4.   References to 'mother' in the 4 October 1988 magazines.

NEW WOMAN

Contents & Editorial	3
Special Report	5
Relationships	14
Love & Sex	0
People	2
You First	0
People	2
Fashion & Beauty/Health & Diet	0
Travel/Work & Money	0
Food	0
Regulars	0
Adverts.	<u>0</u>
Total	<u>43</u>

WOMAN and HOME

Contents & Editorial	0
Pull out and Keep/Competitions	0
Features	3
Cordon Bleu Cookery	0
Fiction	22
Fashion & Beauty	0
Knitting/Homemaking	0
Special Offers	0
Regulars	7
Adverts	<u>0</u>
Total	<u>32</u>

GOOD HOUSEKEEPING

Contents & Editorial	1
Features	2
Fashion	4
Travel	0
Family Matters	0
Education	2
Beauty	0
Fiction	18
Consumer Affairs/Design Homes	0
Food & Drink	0
Competition/Offers	0
Regulars/Extras	2
Adverts	<u>1</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>30</u>

PRIMA

Contents Page & Editorial	0
Fashion/Beauty & Exercise	0
Consumer/Knitting/Home/Patterns	0
Pets/Gardening	0
'Womansense'	3
Travel	0
Cookery/Cook Cards	0
Competition	0
'And The Rest'	0
Adverts	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>4</u>

This contents analysis reveals that actual use of the word ' mother' and its derivatives is very low (see Appendix 3 for details). WOMAN and HOME, a magazine of 214 pages has 32 direct references in all, most of which appear in the fiction section. NEW WOMAN, a magazine of 154 pages has 43 references, the majority appearing in the section entitled 'Relationships', and in the features section entitled 'Regulars'. GOOD HOUSEKEEPING which has 336 pages, has a total of 30 references, most of which appear in the fiction section.PRIMA, with 178 pages has only 4 references altogether,all of which are in its final grouping 'Womansense', a section rather like the 'Regulars' or 'Extras' of the other magazines. PRIMA has no fiction section, whereas each of the other magazines has a fiction section where several of the references to mothers appear. The advertisements in these magazines have virtually no references to 'mother'.

Direct references do seem most limited in the magazine which does not have any fiction. GOOD HOUSEKEEPING has eighteen of its thirty examples in one story.Here 'mother' is the subject and focus of the narrative, as is the case with the WOMAN and HOME story 'The Shell Seekers'. In both 'The Shell Seekers' and in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING's 'Coming to Grief', the narrative concerns a mother's death, so that the most frequent reference to 'mother' is in the context of 'mother has died' and 'mother's funeral'.

In the magazines explored here the reader is interpellated as a daughter rather than as a mother. There are many more references to 'mother' in the third person, because of the frequency of its occurrence in fiction , so that the reader in identifying with the subject may be addressed as someone who **has** a mother rather than someone who **is** a mother.Readers are rarely hailed as mothers.

Mothers are linked to family and children in the majority of instances, either through 'mother of two', for example, or as the first person narrator of fiction who as the daughter subject refers to her own mother as 'mother' , 'mama' or 'muma'. The most frequent adjective used is the possessive, 'my mother', 'her mother' which again establishes family relationships, especially the mother/daughter relationship, through the narrative or in addressing the reader.

Where one might have expected the domestic duties and caring work associated with childcare to lead to the most explicit references to motherhood, in the

61

cookery and home sections of these magazines there are none. This may be why PRIMA has so few, because its concerns are with the home and domestic skills and crafts, the very areas where motherhood is not denoted.

Caring motherhood does have some presence here, especially in the number of instances of 'mother' in NEW WOMAN with its focus on relationships.There is some assumed synthesis of the caring work of mothering and the caring work of managing relationships.This magazine has more references than any others in its features, suggesting a link between mothering and caring in the two articles,'Mothers and Sons',to be discussed in more detail in the next section, and 'The Emotional Age of Men'. Here 'mother love','a mother's love' and 'a proper mother' all appear. NEW WOMAN also refers to the 'working mother' though associations of mothering and caring appear slightly more frequent. However, the 'working mother' is distinct in its construction of a particular category of mother who needs a title to characterise her peculiar features.

There are very few direct interpellations but one section where 'mother' does appear is in the 'Regular features' sections of the magazines. These sections include a range of familiar features, such as letters, horoscopes and a regular article by the same contributor which always appears on the same page of the magazines. These are the aspects of the magazine with which regular readers will be familiar.Their very regularity and familiarity marks these features out as one of the means by which the magazine establishes the 'imaginary community' of its readers and the world of what Winship calls 'we women' (Winship 1987). Motherhood may be a part of this world, but the references are still infrequent, and again the interpellation is to a woman who has a mother rather than to a woman who is one. The majority in this section of 'Regulars' in NEW WOMAN appear in an article about 'My Mother's Brilliant Career',where the humour is signalled by the juxtaposition of 'brilliant career' and 'mother'.

In looking for mothers in the text, at several points where direct references might have been made, it was noted that they were not. Either no reference is made to 'mother' or reference is made to some other more unexpected familial relationship. For example a WOMAN and HOME article on Lord Linley specifically mentions his father, but not his more famous mother,Princess Margaret. In this instance, the explanation could lie in Princess Margaret's position as a less popular royal, created through media constructions of the binary opposition of 'goodies' and 'baddies' where Margaret was seen

as ' undeserving Royal woman...semi alcoholic,difficult divorced woman', in antithesis to the Queen who is 'shy, dutiful,a good mother and a tactful woman' (Coward in Beechey and Donald 1985 p.149).Thus Margaret as the 'bad woman/mother' is omitted from the text. An advertisement for the charity 'The Christian Children's Fund' in the same magazine refers to the fathers of the children in need, whose pictures appear, but not their mothers.

A PRIMA feature on Julia Foster, an actress who has 'a busy family life with her husband and dog' might have signalled children with the reference to 'family', but there are none and **not** being a mother is not mentioned either. Mothers are not even mentioned in an advertisement for pregnancy testing, perhaps because it is precisely motherhood that the reader of such an advertisement seeks to avoid which is reinforced by the absence of any image of a baby or child in the advertisement. Pregnancy testing is **all** about motherhood and yet the word is not used; an example of motherhood as everywhere and yet nowhere.

Images

In order to pursue the possibility of further evidence of motherhood in the images of the magazines I decided to look for images of children with women within the pages of the magazines as I had done on the covers. Some of the images of women with children in fact include those of women as paid workers, such as teachers or health workers, indicating some of the ways in which 'caring motherhood' is translated into the public arena of paid work(Pringle In McDowell and Pringle 1992 p.170). I also wanted to see how children were presented to women as readers in interpellating them as mothers and in drawing them into the text. If mothering is, at least in the narrow sense, having and caring for children, then the representation of children to women seems an important element in the construction of motherhood.

I looked for visual images of people in various combinations of children, women and men. Quantitative analysis showed that images of children were hard to find in the four magazines examined here.

Table 5

Visual Images of people. in the four October 1988 monthlies.

a) WOMAN & HOME

Women	103
Children	16
Women and Child/ren	0
Women and Men	14
Men	11
Men and Children	1

NEW WOMAN

Women	78
Children	2
Women and Child/ren	6
Women and Men	24
Men	10
Men and Children	0

GOOD HOUSEKEEPING

Women	95
Children	15
Women and Child/ren	4
Women and Men	14
Men	14
Men and Children	1

PRIMA

Women	122
Children	27
Women and Child/ren	6
Women and Men	5
Men	10
Men and Children	1

The vast majority of images are of women. PRIMA has the most pictures of children with 27 and another 6 of women and children, whereas WOMAN and HOME has very few pictures of children and none at all of women and children. A large number of the pictures of children, in fact 8 appear in one charity advertisement which carries a series of small black and white photographs of children's faces, reflecting Angela McRobbie's argument that black and white is used to signify 'serious' features (McRobbie 1978). That children do not represent pleasure or escapism, and are part of everyday life is further reinforced by their appearance in inset pictures or small scale photographs,rather than in full page images. These pictures are also quite likely to be monochrome rather than in glossy colour. WOMAN and HOME has 9 of its 16 pictures of children in black and white.

Children do seem to feature mainly in advertisements, except in PRIMA where they are largely to be found in knitting features or in an article about readers' own attempts at knitting for their children, using PRIMA patterns. Here children are part of everyday life subsumed into the norm of femininity, as in PRIMA, ordinary and not glamorous or exciting, or used to provoke sympathy as in the charity advertisement.

The images of children that do occur here are more likely to be of children alone than of women and children. It seems that images of women are more attractive to readers than those which depict women with children.The pleasure derived from the images would seem to be in the glamorous representations of femininity and not in that of overt motherhood. The body portrayed is the sexual body and not the maternal body, and sexuality is not seen to be an element in the construction of motherhood.

Children are part of the everyday lives of women and are part of what constitutes 'women's work'. Children appear in advertisements concerning domesticity, which is part of women's work as mothers in the private arena of the home. Children appear most frequently in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING in the context of a feature on education, which is also part of the caring work of motherhood. The caring work of motherhood extends into both public and private arenas where boundaries between the two are obscured. This illustrates the merging of the public and the private spheres, a division which some feminists have argued 'distorts reality' (Petchesky 1979 p.376), challenging the notion that there is a distinct binary opposition between the public and the private areas of social life.

In terms of visual images these magazines suggest a space for women. It is a space concerned with images of beauty, sexuality and domesticity, but not children. Children are largely absent from the visual representations, perhaps most surprisingly even in those with an apparently domestic focus, such as WOMAN and HOME, though it is NEW WOMAN which actually has the least number of pictures of children. The magazine for the 'new woman' of the late 1980s here excludes children from its visual representations.

The evidence here suggests that both images of children and of women and children, which might signify motherhood, and direct references to 'mother' are startlingly conspicuous by their absence. Where there are direct references, they seem necessary to identify the reader's mother, so that she is hailed as a daughter rather than addressed as a mother.

The Findings.

Direct references are infrequent. Motherhood is rarely denoted in these magazines even if it is connoted everywhere.So much of the magazines is about mothering, notably in what has been called the work of the 'social mother' (Jaggar in Crowley and Himmelweit 1992 p.87-88), in caring for others, especially children and men and managing the household. Motherhood is an 'absent presence'; everywhere but nowhere. Direct references are few, especially to women **as** mothers but the work of mothering permeates the magazines.It seems that not only are women as mothers 'hidden from (men's, public) history' but also from the 'women's world' of these magazines. What constitutes 'good mothering' as part of femininity and in terms of domestic work and caring work is here in their pages in terms of the practical advice given on household management and child care.

The particular lack of specific reference to 'mother' in the magazine which devotes most space to domestic skills, PRIMA, suggests that there are no references in the very place where one might most expect them, because they are not necessary. Motherhood is assumed here in the construction of a mothering identity; an identity which incorporates skills and talents appropriate to a mother figure, though the emphasis here may be more on that social identity than on individual subjectivity since 'mother' is not in the subject position grammatically, but at the assumed receiving end of a set of instructions.Not only is the maternal subject position fragmented, it seems to be absent in the text. Irigaray argues that women's 'speech is likely to efface the expression of their subjectivity' and 'men are

more likely to take up a subject position in language' (Irigaray 1991 in Whitford p.4-5).This reflects the findings of feminist research on women's language where in what Dale Spender calls 'Man Made Language' women are positioned as 'other' and 'deficient' (Spender 1980 p.7) .

The reader may know she is being addressed as a mother, particularly as a carer, and does not need any direct interpellation. There can be recognition without direct address, an example of where women may privilege interpersonal relations in their speech (ibid p.106-137). Caring motherhood may be represented through signification of care of children, emotional work and domestic work, involving cooking and sewing and arduously and painstakingly produced items for consumption by and care of others, notably men and children.Thus motherhood may occupy spaces within the text, between what is stated and what is not. It is not a simple binary opposition between what is included and what is not.In order to explore this it is necessary to look in more detail at the production of meaning through discourse in the magazines.

Some of the references noted in fiction in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING and WOMAN and HOME concern the death of the mother. Winship refers to the number of narratives in BEST involving death, though it is usually of a woman's male partner, (Winship in Strinati and Wagg 1992 p.106),but here fiction is concerned with the mother/daughter relationship, its tensions and the issue of separation. These stories which focus on death counter the expectation that women's magazines might offer some light,entertaining reading to while away a break in domestic chores (Winship 1987). They hint at the relationship with the mother as 'the dark continent par excellence..(where motherhood) remains in the shadows of culture' (Irigaray in Whitford 1991 p.35). This suggests the need to explore in more depth the discursive construction of motherhood and to look at the possibly contradictory connotations of motherhood.

The fact that direct references are limited and that the reader is more likely to be hailed as a daughter than as a mother, does suggest some space for a female Imaginary and some exploration in women's magazines of the mother daughter relationship which Irigaray claims is absent from the representations of patriarchal culture (Irigaray 1992). However motherhood may be so assumed in this 'women's world' that it is not necessary to mention it. Readers may prefer not to be addressed as mothers,given the association of social motherhood with the constraints of childcare and domesticity, which might indeed be

67

suggested by the magazine covers, trailers and images which do not give motherhood a high profile. Motherhood is taken for granted in the caring and servicing concerns of the magazines and is absent from the images and features, including advertisements, from which the reader gains pleasure.

Although most of the references to 'mother' involve the reader being addressed as someone who has a mother rather than someone who is a mother, there is a significant exception in the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING horoscope where the reader is addressed as, 'as a mother you're loving, kind and sympathetic', which may be what we want to read. That mothers are caring and loving may be signified but this is one of the very few direct denotations accompanied by the use of such adjectives .This caring, loving mother suggests a unified subjectivity which may be one of the positionalities presented in the magazines although from this preliminary exploration it does not seem to be dominant in the denotations of motherhood, being more present by association, whereas 'the working mother' is named.

The 'caring mother' has a genealogy as part of a social institution (Rich 1977) and as a social discourse (Kaplan 1992).The 'good mother' seen as the product of the *biopolitics* of state intervention into the family from the late eighteenth century onwards, as discussed in chapter two (Donzelot 1980) has resonance with the 'caring mother' of the late twentieth century, who is in receipt of practical 'expert' advice on how to carry out her role. The 'caring woman/mother' has been part of women's magazines from the early days of the MOTHER'S COMPANION (White 1970) to the focus on domesticity and wifely/motherly virtues of the 1950s (Winship in Strinati and Wagg 1992), a period when Winship argues there was a dominant ideology and by implication a more unified maternal identity. The ' caring woman/mother' of the 1980s not only has housewifely ,domestic duties, caring for the physical needs of children and men, but also a range of emotional caring work involving relationships as is indicated by NEW WOMAN. Such magazines offer extensive advice on the complex and demanding nature of this work, which has to be learned as well as being taken for granted as part of women's 'natural' make-up.

I have picked out the 'working mother' as a category because it suggests more recent concerns of the 1980s, with women as mothers or 'Women Returners' entering the labour market, competing with others and even seeking promotion and a career. This identity is presented in a number of women's magazines at this time. In 1988 GOOD

HOUSEKEEPING ran a feature on 'Working Mothers-How to Find the Perfect Employer' (May 1988 p. 204-p.207) trailed on the cover and addressing some of the problems of the 'working mother' and employment rights.Several other magazines have run such features, whether addressing the problems of the working mother (NEW WOMAN March 1989 p.8-p. 12,June 1990 p.124-p.126, GOOD HOUSEKEEPING , June 1990 p.62-64, October 1990 p.64-65) or 'problem pages' focusing on paid work, such as OPTIONS' regular feature and special eight page insert 'Working Options' for example in April 1991 and July 1991. Even the traditional home-centred FAMILY CIRCLE ran a three page special (February 1990 p.51-53) encouraging 'stay-at-home-mums' back into the labour market. Other magazines have produced a separate supplement such as GOOD HOUSEKEEPING's March 1990 'Return to Work Handbook', sponsored by National Westminster Bank, and WOMAN'S JOURNAL's 'Financial Guide' sponsored by Lloyd's Bank (November 1988) offering advice to the working mother. GOOD HOUSEKEEPING has run campaigns based for example on its questionnaire to readers (May 1989, p.95-96) engaging with the problem of attempting to be 'supermum' (May 1989 p.93-94). The emergence of this figure is very much a characteristic of the late 1980s and early 1990s. For example, OPTIONS has retained its 'Working Options' feature and additional supplements as in March 1993, 'Working Options-Style-Success-Satisfaction & The Woman Who Works', a more glamorous approach to the topic than those of the late 1980s.

These two mother figures -the 'caring mother' and the 'working mother' - are the focus for the next stage of my research through detailed textual analysis of selected articles from the 1988 monthlies.

This section has summarised the findings from my quantitative research into the denotation of motherhood in the 1988 monthlies, which provides an entry into the text and a means of looking at where motherhood is explicit as well as its absence.Although motherhood seems often subsumed into femininity there is the beginning of an association in language between motherhood and paid work which leads me to look for the places where the magazines engage more specifically with the notion of the 'working mother',which is my concern in the next section of this chapter.I also seek to explore how 'caring' femininity and motherhood interconnect in the text to produce the 'caring mother'.

In NEW WOMAN there is some direct concern with the woman who is a mother, particularly a 'working mother' and a modern mother, as a woman of the 1980s, though

this is not manifest in relation to images of children per se.

As NEW WOMAN does display this lack of images of children, whilst also addressing women as mothers, in particular 'working mothers' in some of its articles, I decided to concentrate on this magazine in seeking out specific features for more detailed,textual analysis. One of the most obvious articles was the one illustrated by full colour photographs of a mother and her son with a focus on motherhood. I chose a feature where motherhood was overt and explicit as it seemed to be either taken for granted and implicit or simply **absent** in so much of the material in the magazines. The second article selected here concerns mothers and paid employment. Both articles are written by Angela Neustatter.

1) Sons and Mothers by Angela Neustatter. NEW WOMAN

October 1988 p.54-58.(Appendix 4)

2) Your Job versus Your Life.Special Report by Angela Neustatter. NEW WOMAN

October 1988 p.8-p.12.(Appendix 5)

1)'Sons and Mothers'

This article concerns the relationship between a mother and her son and includes four colour photographs depicting the author and her twelve year old son. The visual representations construct a positive figure of the 'caring mother' of the late 1980s. This mother derives pleasure and happiness from her relationship with her son with whom she is shown smiling,the boy's tousled hair intermingling with his mother's.The choice of photographs to illustrate the article is important. As Barthes argued the photograph is seen as a 'message without a code' and appears to reflect reality (Barthes 1977 p.15-31) so that we may fail to notice how denotive messages conflate with connotive meanings and miss the ways in which the photograph through its choice of subject, poses and aesthetics constructs particular meanings.The mother and son subjects here are healthy and attractive but do not adopt the more mannered poses of models, for example in the fashion shots and are situated in 'everyday' locations, such as the park or the kitchen at home.

The first picture (Appendix 4 :1) depicts mother and son as a happy pair as in the genre of the holiday snap signifying two friends, suggesting that modern parenting involves an egalitarian relationship through a slippage from parent/child to two equals in the poses adopted.

This is reinforced by the second picture (Appendix 4:2)which has the pair perched together on a wooden fence, casually dressed. The mother is slightly more carefully presented than in the first picture with a smarter hairstyle, but the message is still that this is a 'natural' woman and not one who has spent hours in the make-up room. Motherhood is shown as attractive with the possibility of relaxed togetherness where the mother /son relationship is one of friendship.

This new caring mother has a more equal relationship with her son as shown not only by their friendship but by their shared activity in the kitchen, a traditionally female arena (Appendix 4:3). The son's masculinity is not in doubt as his clothes signify conventional male adolescence. Although cooking with his mother, he is still conforming to conventional masculinity which the new 'caring mother' can sustain.

The caring of this mother extends to sharing outdoor pursuits with her son (Appendix 4:4). In the final illustration the two are laughing together, outside in a park. The laughter and the physical contact between the two signifies a shared intimacy within a private relationship.We may be more familiar with such images involving women and men together, where, in such pictures, the implication is of a sexual relationship. We see heterosexual couples having a good time together on holiday, but here we see a mother having a good time with her son. Men and more specifically fathers are completely absent in the representations here, although there are signifiers of masculinity, such as the boy himself,his 'man's ' watch, and man's bicycle with a bar which are signifiers of the boy's masculinity and the adult status to which he aspires. His masculinity is assured through these symbols of gender difference.Whilst a woman or girl might wear a man's watch ,as his mother in fact does here, or ride a man's bike , a boy of twelve would not employ the female equivalent.

Caring motherhood can involve relationships which are happy and where fun and friendship predominate in a new formation of maternal caring which can transcend traditional constraints, as illustrated in the cooking activity. The visual images omit any tension and conflictual elements in this relationship. However such images, like holiday snapshots, capture a moment, which viewed through memory may also conceal the tensions of experience.These pictures are selected to promote the idea of the happy moment in the mother/son relationship, recognisable as transient,but which may capture for the reader a longing both to have such a relationship, but also to retain the unity of

71

the relationship of mother and in a moment of maternal longing which may challenge the notion of the mediation of the ' male gaze' (Berger 1972 p.42-47). These images may be romanticised in their exclusion of the hard work of mothering, the arduous, day to day practical work,but they also represent the expression of the emotional experience of separation which underlies these pictures of physical contact.This physical contact is to some extent celebrated here and permitted, where there might otherwise have been constraints, between mother and adolescent son.

The linguistic message of the trailer text which accompanies the images suggests an anchorage of meaning (Barthes 1977 p.32-51) whereby the message seeks to secure meaning from the polysemous range of possible with the emphasis on difference, for example 'women are not the same as men',and 'an unmistakable hint of male female frisson',which are quotations taken from the text of the article. Feminist mothering is signified by the kitchen scene (Appendix 4:3) and its accompanying heading 'Angela says one of her maternal duties is to ensure her son Zek isn't a male chauvinist' (p.57). Although the sexualising of the relationship in the images and 'male female frissson' relays the reader to other texts, notably those of psychoanalysis which are taken up in the article, the main emphasis of the visual images which lead the reader in to the text is on the enjoyment of this relationship between mother and son.

The text draws on different repertoires including feminism which offers a more egalitarian rearticulation of the mother positionality, thus reinforcing the visual representation of pleasure in the maternal role.There is an explicit reference to the work of Adriennne Rich connoting the celebration of women's experience of motherhood.The illustrations and some of the text are reminiscent of Rich's own references to her own enjoyable moments on holiday alone with her sons(Rich 1977 p.194). Caring motherhood can be enjoyable and sensual as in Neustatter's references to embraces between mother and son.However the direct quotation from a feminist writer is of a description of the 'mother in patriarchy' signalling the other repertoire on which the author draws, psychoanalysis.

Psychoanalytic theory is used as part of the explanatory framework, for example with actual reference to Freud (p. 58),though what is most noticeable, and most surprising to me is how far psychoanalytic theory is part of the **discourse** which constructs this mother figure. This is signalled at the outset with the reference to Greek mythology ('Jocasta 'p.54) and extended through the language of this text. The mother/son

72

relationship is sexualised and constructed around difference, from the moment of birth even.The language of Object Relations Theory is employed,' as a mother you are the first woman with whom a boy experiences love' (p.54) and the later reference to the necessary transfer of affection from his mother to another woman in adolescence,here when the son encounters 'a pretty French girl' (p.58).

Mothering is of sons here . There is no reference to the mother/daughter relationship. Daughters of other women are only rivals for this mother's son's affection,even at the age of five with the ' young madam who had rejected my precious boy' (p.58). Although this mother has feminist aspirations to independence and paid work outside her domestic duties (p.58) the overriding focus of the article is on difference and the masculinity of the son, as in ' I revel in Zek's masculinity' (p.58) and 'flirting lightly with him' (p.58) and 'the mother's love for a son is very particular,passionate and poignant' (p.58), all of which constructs the mother's identity through her mothering of sons, where the sub- text employs Freudian assumptions about adult female status only being achieved through becoming the mother of a son and thus resolving the dilemma of penis envy (Freud 1924 p.115). This is not part of the explanatory framework of psychoanalytic theory but the encoding of psychoanalysis in the discourse. This discourse creates a mother figure,about whom knowledge is verified by Freudian assumptions.

There is no space here for a female Imaginary and this mother figure is produced within a Lacanian symbolic order dominated by the Law of the Father, where the phallus is the key signifier, representing the distinction between the sexes (Lacan 1977 p.281-p,291). The sexual link between mother and son, highlighted by 'the unmistakable hint of sexual frisson' (p.54) is unsettling,especially within the symbolic of the Law of the Father with its proscription of (mother/son) incest. Resistance to this law may be located within Lacanian discourse and a symbolic interpretation of the Oedipal stage, rather than feminist readings which stress the female Imaginary and the pre-Oedipal stage, even if there is some subversion of the 'male gaze' in the construction of the visual image and a significant absence of men in the text. This absence of men/fathers in the text as well as in the illustrations does not in itself challenge the power of the patriarchal symbolic. There is the shadowy figure of the 'partner' with whom this mother may be entwined in her bed though his main role is to signify her heterosexuality.

However a new construction of masculinity in relation to this mother figure is

implied. Her son is to be a 'new man' and she is constructed as not being 'lucky to have found a man, his father, willing to take me on, rather the opposite'(p.57).This may be somewhat undermined by another reference to Freud and the dominance of the mother as the child's first love object

Motherhood as constructed here offers a fragmented, conflictual subjectivity, reflecting and reproducing the psychic tension between independent life as an adult and a paid worker, and the demands of being a 'good' caring mother. The tensions are mostly expressed in the context of paid work and the 'perpetual motion and perpetual exhaustion' (p.57) of combining paid work with motherhood. The solution offered suggests this mother figure has not quite abandoned the nostalgia for the mother of the 1950s, since it is the full time work which is given up in favour of 'free lancing'. This also indicates the social class position of this caring mother figure who can afford to work part time and who occupies a privileged position in the labour market. The resolution to the problem of the tension between child care and paid work offered by the magazine is part of the fantasy of the pleasure in the text. It recognises conflict but, as the images accompanying this text show, there is a very happy outcome.

One of the areas of tension within this articulation of maternity is the relationship between the 'caring' and the 'working' mothers and how it is possible to be a 'good caring mother' and engage in paid work. Women's magazines, having posed the question and established some of the areas of conflict then give solutions in the form of features which purport to give information to enable their readers to make informed choices and resolve conflicts. The second article, which sets out some of the problems of the working mother' is an example of such a feature.

2) 'Your Job Vs Your Life/NEW WOMAN Special Report'.

This feature on women and work, giving advice to mothers returning to paid employment, produces a different knowledge from the 'Sons and Mothers' piece.

The visual images are very different too with line drawings rather than colour photographs. As Janice Winship has pointed out colour photography and graphics have become the most important source of pleasure in most magazines, associated with relaxation and leisure in publications for women and men alike (Winship 1987 p.54). Black and white visuals have different connotations, indicating a serious subject, possibly news or

documentary or ,in women's magazines 'triumph over tragedy ' real- life readers' stories (ibid p.70). Drawings are differently encoded, suggesting a distancing from the 'real world' and what is ' natural', which was connoted by the colour photographs accompanying the 'Sons and Mothers' article. These illustrations are stylised line drawings with added colour.

The frenzied, disjointed activity of the woman in the first page illustration (Appendix 5:1) connotes the chaos of the maternal juggling act,where verbal signifiers of paid work tumble out in a surrealistic jumble with images signifying motherhood- a baby, a teddy bear and children's bricks. 'Juggling' is a key signifier in the world of women's magazines, reflecting and constructing the balancing act which women are seen to carry out in managing the diverse range of demands which the modern world makes upon them. 'Juggling' appears in the introduction to the article-' we may be able to juggle a job and family, but do top companies help or hinder working mothers?'. The theme of juggling is extended by the bizarre juxtaposition of objects including the computer on a tie which is the only symbol of the otherwise absent father, on the ironing board.

In this illustration the working mother is uncomfortable, standing in an awkward position, but coping somehow in the midst of apparent chaos.The fragility of the working mother's plight and of her systems of organisation is represented by the baby who remains most precariously balanced. The anxieties of the working mother are projected onto the infant who is broadly sketched with a nervous face only revealed poking out of a blanket. The woman is glamorous,or attempting to be so, but the overall impression of chaos is reinforced by the way the drawing has been coloured by wild red brush strokes which do not cover the charcoal outline of the woman's legs.it suggests they might give way at any moment.Red splashes of colour are used to heighten the chaos of this working mother's life. As Judith Williamson has argued, colour can be used to link the text to other 'worlds' or meanings (Williamson 1978 p.20). Colour intensifies the drama of the conflict , where in this centrefold picture the working mother is torn in two by the conflicts expressed, between the demands of motherhood and those of paid work and career.

This poses the dilemma of the working mother in terms of the very problems which the magazine itself then attempts to resolve.The illustration on the opening page of the article signifies tension, conflict and disorder,but some kind of determination on the part of the woman dressed in a stereotypically smart manner at the outset of her

75

mothering career, as symbolised by the baby. Thus we are interpellated as mothers who want to cope and led into the text which will offer us some guidance on how to do so.

The final illustration (5:2) on the last page of this five page feature presents the solution, with its much smaller picture in a similar style, a drawing with charcoal and wash, but here the message is of purposeful dynamism. This working mother is in control, and the illustration presents us with the pleasurable fantasy that it is possible. The same woman is depicted wearing the same red clothes but the colour wash is contained within the perimeter outline. Her high heeled shoes are shown in some detail as she walks away, looking over her shoulder directly at the reader coolly, confidently and coquettishly. We are shown the light at the end of the maternal tunnel when children too have some independence as the infant has become a child , or at least a toddler who can walk unaided. The child who is wearing reins, suggesting that the umbilicus has not yet been quite severed, leads the mother towards an office block, the symbol of paid work and the public arena of career. The reins here somewhat ironically suggest the child's control over the adult, since it is the child who leads the way, whereas reins were traditionally a means of exercising adult control over the child. However the child is still leading the mother towards all the advantages of paid work, spelt out in the verbal signs emanating from the office block.

Even more than her counterpart in the first illustration this woman looks stereotypically sexually attractive , encoded to suggest that sexual attraction is a necessary component of being a working woman. A woman must emphasise these attributes to be successful. Although success here is connoted as having a harshness exacerbated by the style of the drawing, the high heels and the woman's sharp features.

The figure of the working mother in the text is produced through the language of science and empiricism, with a focus on statistics and league tables of 'best employers'. The concerns of the working mother are with practical arrangements, all of which nonetheless focus on child care 'creche, maternity leave, flexi- time'. The prime concern of the working mother is with coping with her domestic duties and responsibilities as well as the demands of paid work, reflecting readers' own interests and preoccupations, as identified by the NEW WOMAN publishers in the publicity material addressed in Chapter Four.

The language which produces this figure is aggressive: 'Six of the Best', referring to the best employers of women, ' fighting talk', which is part of a recognition of the status quo

76

as well as having something of the campaigning spirit of women's magazines. It is NEW WOMAN which has commissioned the survey which forms the basis of the article and the magazine is on the side of the working mother in her struggles, even if men are represented as not being very supportive.

Men are in fact largely absent again. There is some reference in the context of men's lack of interest in child care (p.10). The working mother is on her own in negotiating the problems of combining child care and paid work. However there is the possibility of 'fighting talk' (p.11) where the question is posed that even individual men might be challenged to 'fight for longer maternity leave' and to 'stay at home when the child is ill'. That these are posed as rhetorical questions is indicated by the subsequent statement that in practice men 'vote against paternity leave '(p.11) and do not support women in their struggles.

The 'working mother' is produced discursively through the language of official statistics, including reference to a National Economic Development Office Paper (p.11) giving this figure authenticity. She is recognised as 'in demand', because of demographic changes 'when the Sixties baby boom dry up' (p.11) and becomes a substantial figure through the language of facts and numerical data.

The 'working mother' of the 1980s is also created in this text by the intervention of the state, both in the context of the national state of the U.K. and the broader dimension of the European Community in a new twentieth century *biopolitics* , where the figure of the 'working mother' is one who is both the product of the state's concerns and needs and is herself in need of state support.

The working woman is constructed as having some power, through the imagery and support of empirical evidence, including state recognition , but the emphasis is still on individual strategies for coping. However this text and its accompanying images signify the dynamic of working motherhood. It is fraught and difficult but also looks exciting and is part of a wider public dimension of movement out of the private arena of the home and into Europe. This figure is one who could exercise some autonomy, with access to the kind of information and support which the magazine offers. She is constructed through the genealogy of liberal feminism with its stress on choice and individualism whilst acknowledging some of the structural constraints of society and the need to campaign for women's rights in the public arena.

Conclusion.

Motherhood is significantly absent as denoted in the 1988 monthly magazines which I have examined . Motherhood does not appear to be an attractive interpellation for women, where women might be drawn in to the 'women's world' of the magazines, for example through the covers and feature articles trailed there. However the work of motherhood is everywhere in the magazines so that it can be seen as an absent presence. The absences and silences which surround motherhood are problematic, but there are areas where motherhood is addressed and these suggest that there are changes in the construction of motherhood at this time.The 'absent presence' which equates femininity with motherhood has links with the new formulation of the 'caring mother' which appears at this time and there is a more explicit presence of another new figure, the 'working mother'.

The two articles analysed here suggest that these are contrasting figures of motherhood. Whereas the 'caring mother' in the first is portrayed through photographs as natural and caring, the 'working mother' in the second is depersonalised in line drawings and presented in exaggerated stylised visual form as dynamic and go-getting. She is driven by strident ambition to march forward to a career, whereas the focus of the 'caring mother' is on relationships as represented visually through physical contact between mother and son. The contrast between the two figures is brought out emphatically in the visual images. There is recognition, in the figures of motherhood in the texts, of the tensions and conflicts in the lived experience of mothers, which suggests that they are represented as being in opposition in the construction of maternal subject positions. At this point it seems that women had to choose between binary oppositions.

However, the 'caring mother' in 1988 is not the unified subject of the mother of the 1950s.This figure is beset by uncertainties and acknowledges the tensions of the times, especially in relation to the demands of paid work and of the emotional expertise required of mothers constructed within a discourse of psychoanalytic theory. The 'working mother', though somewhat aggressively represented is attractive and presented as having the right to work, constructed within liberal discourses of individual freedom. This focus on the 'working mother' is supported by evidence of the popularity of features and supplements on the problems faced by working mothers in magazines in the late 1980s

78

and into the 1990s.

There is thus some support for my initial hypothesis that the late 1980s was a time of change and transition for women. In order to find out about the climate of change and especially to contextualise what I have observed in these magazines in the wider sphere of the politics of the time I sought to find out what other changes might be taking place and whether what I had found out about motherhood in the magazines was supported within a broader discursive field. As NEW WOMAN, the magazine from which the two articles here were taken, was first launched in 1988 it seemed that the way in which the magazine's publishers perceived the market and their conception of the 'new woman' reader of the time would provide a useful way of exploring this wider context.

Chapter 4.

Signs of The Times:The launch of NEW WOMAN in the age of Thatcherism.

My work so far has suggested that there are changes taking place in which 'working mothers' have a higher profile and the economic arena of paid work is more explicitly included in the construction of mother figures and as one of the discourses within women's magazines. This chapter addresses the theme of continuity and change, evaluating the extent of each in the world of women's magazines and of political ideologies of the late 1980s, in order to provide a broader context for the analysis of monthly magazines in the previous chapter and find out if other texts and discourses support my findings.

My work on the 1988 monthlies suggested that, although there were areas of continuity, for example, in the domestic focus of women's magazines and the existence of the 'caring mother', there were also significant changes in the construction of this mother figure as well as the emergence of the 'working mother'. My aim here is to examine the nature and degree of possible changes, first by using the launch of NEW WOMAN. The launch of this magazine in July 1988 offers illustration of a new publication for women at the particular historical moment which is the focus of my research and which saw the arrival of several new magazines. I have used the first edition of the magazine, Murdoch Magazines' publicity material and media coverage of the launch in 1988, to explore how far the woman created in the pages of the magazine represented a new departure and the reflection and construction of a 'new woman', and whether the magazine itself offered any new or changing discourses of femininity.

The second part of this chapter contextualises women's magazines within the political environment of the period in the late 1980s, where the boom in the magazine market can be related to the consumer boom generated by the market led approach of the economic and political ideology of what came to be called Thatcherism. In order to understand more fully the discourses of femininity, and more especially for my purposes,of motherhood, I need to examine Thatcherism as a political ideology and to disentangle some of its contradictory components of traditional familial ideology, individualism and individual responsibility, and the competitive free play of market forces. This political

ideology suggests some of the connections between different discursive constructions of motherhood at this time and is one of the repertoires on which these emerging discourses draw.

The discussion in this chapter covers a combination of discourses. It involves looking at how the NEW WOMAN launch material highlights different elements and combines the space opened up by feminism with Thatcherite competition, assertiveness and market focus. Thus it contextualises the emergence of different discursive mother figures to be explored later in the case study of SHE, by looking at the target audience of some women's magazines at this time and specifically the hypothetical reader so targeted.

The hypothetical reader is a composite figure, condensing different elements such as class, age and life-style; a collection of qualities which make up the target reader of a magazine, articulated in the publicity material discussed below. The concept of the hypothetical reader is useful in linking texts and discourses and providing information on the condensation of features identified by publishers, as a result of their market research and in the light of possible changes in social trends and patterns of consumption. The hypothetical reader brings together the aspects which the Murdoch Magazines anticipated would constitute the potential NEW WOMAN reader.

Magazines are cultural products which aim to make profits. Consequently publishers conduct market research to find out the sale potential of their product and, if this looks favourable, will promote their product seeking out this target readership and deciding who is the hypothetical reader who is the target of their product and which are the elements most likely to interpellate readers.

NEW WOMAN was launched in July 1988, in a year which saw several new titles, including the British launch of MARIE - CLAIRE, and a new glossy weekly, RIVA. The previous two years had seen the launch of nine new magazines and in spite of the gloom in the magazine market in the early 1980s, the late 1980s saw a buoyant market where the success of new entrants did not seem to be at the expense of established titles (Financial Times,12-4-88). Set in the wider context of the post -war period the late 1980s presents a boom, but there have been slumps. More than 90 women's magazines have closed in the U.K. since the Second World War, including 35 in the 1980s (Douglas T., 20-7-88). The market is a competitive one and different publications compete for readers and advertising revenue. Even with the backing of Rupert Murdoch and extensive publicity in his

newspapers, including a free sampler copy given away with the TODAY newspaper, NEW WOMAN was not guaranteed its target of 250,000. It did in fact sell out its first print run of 400,000 (NEW WOMAN publicity data 1988).

When NEW WOMAN was launched in 1988 the big success story of recent years had been PRIMA, launched in the U.K. in 1986 and setting the trend for such domestic craft magazines, soon followed by ESSENTIALS with a very similar focus. 1988 was a time of boom but it is a very competitive market and publishers are very dependent on their readers, and closely connected to this, to advertisers who seek to promote their products to those readers. Advertising accounts for half the revenue of a mass market magazine, rising to 75% of an up-market title (Douglas T., 20-7-88) although there is some variation, but it is clearly very important for publishers to ascertain an accurate conception of the hypothetical reader at the outset in order to market their product and realise profit.

So who was the hypothetical reader targeted by Murdoch Magazines for NEW WOMAN? She was in her late twenties to early thirties with a median age of 32, middle or upper class in social class A, B, C1 or possibly an aspirational C2 (What's New in Marketing, April 1988). The 1988 editor, Frankie McGowan provided more detail. 80% of readers would be under 45, 60% married, 25% with children under 15 and 65% would be in paid work. NEW WOMAN readers would be educated, ' neither a dimbo nor a couch potato', interested in health and looking good, food, but only fast food, 'having better things to do than spend three days cooking', but primarily interested in relationships-' love, sex and self- discovery' (Nathanson P., 29-4-88). The launch edition has plenty of these features and 'quality' fiction from Ruth Rendell, Fay Weldon and Tim Parks.

Murdoch Magazines' research also suggested that more women in the late 1980s wanted time for paid work **and** to be with their partners and were more concerned with the **quality** of their lives (Roberts Y., 20-6-88). This suggests some condensation of the 'working' and the 'caring' mother figures identified in the last chapter in the construction of NEW WOMAN's hypothetical reader.

Laura Avery, the magazine's advertising manager picked up on the changing times, seeing the NEW WOMAN reader as having evolved over the last ten years or so, but with needs and notably interest in relationships not catered for by existing titles. 'She has outgrown COSMOPOLITAN and finds OPTIONS too concerned with possessions'. Laura Avery highlights the importance of change and transition in picking out the fact

82

that this reader 'has come through the Sixties and Seventies and takes equality for granted....she can be soft, feminine and mellow...she's fed up with the superwoman image...her emotions..are the springboard from which everything in life follows' (quoted in Elliott C., 13-7-88). The NEW WOMAN reader is likely to be married, or remarried, as is endorsed by the first edition's articles on step-parenting and the financial consequences of divorce, giving some indication that she may have to fight and life is not all soft femininity. Her class position and the independence of paid work may give her the leisure to explore relationships as well as to consume the expensive products advertised in NEW WOMAN which include the expensive perfumes of Paloma Picasso (NEW WOMAN August 1988 p.6-7), Christian Dior (p.90-91) and Givenchy (p.2).

Much of the publicity around the launch of NEW WOMAN centred on its editor who can be seen as personifying the hypothetical reader. As I show in Chapter Six this is also the case with the relaunch of SHE. Frankie McGowan, the editor of NEW WOMAN, was described as having a husband and two children and a house 'she has never managed to get like the colour supplements tell me' and a career history in publishing in the Sunday Mirror and Woman's Journal (quoted in Slaughter A., 3-7-88). Audrey Slaughter described Frankie McGowan more vividly as a 'trendy mini-skirted teenager of the Sixties, now a trendy mini-skirted mother of two in the Eighties' (The Times 23-5-88). The editor also symbolises a modern, up - to - date life style. She is a mother and sexy. This suggests the beginnings of a significant change from the representations of motherhood in the magazines of 1988, where there were 'working' and 'caring' mothers and possible combinations of the two, but sexuality was not a marked component of either.

Motherhood is **part** of the composition of this successful woman used to signify changing times and a new articulation of femininity which is a reaction to previous formulations. The hypothetical reader is one seen to have outgrown COSMOPOLITAN and to be disenchanted with the demands of being 'Superwoman'. She may even be a ' lapsed Superwoman' (Slaughter A., 23-5-88). 'Superwoman' here seems to be the repository for what is now rejected, sometimes rather incongruously associated with feminism depending on the position of the critic, or, with other women's magazines, notably COSMOPOLITAN, decried for pressurising women into the Superwoman role, and which it is claimed fail to acknowledge women's changing needs in the late 1980s. In her first editorial Frankie McGowan describes the

'myth of superwoman...(as) ..that finger snapping,high flying

executive in her power suit,pushing her way up the corporate

ladder while running the ideal home, perfect children and

lover' (NEW WOMAN August 1988 p.3).

However mythical or fictional we could not possibly want to identify with this strident

character, though the figure constructed seems reminiscent of the 'working mother'

illustration from the October 1988 edition of NEW WOMAN analysed in Chapter Three.

There was some disagreement about the extent of change and several

commentators noted the similarity of the 'new' woman with the old. Maggie Brown

observed that the concerns with emotions and relationships presented 'an oddly familiar

woman,who has been around since the beginning of time' (Brown M., 13-7-88). Mary

Kenny, perhaps predictably given her pro-family, anti- feminist position, stressed NEW

WOMAN's hypothetical reader as a ' **married** woman with a job whose commitment to

marriage and home is strong' (Kenny M.,17-7-88) putting more emphasis on marriage than

on motherhood. Other comments included the claim that the new woman 'has been around

for years' and whatever the efforts of feminism ' women do not change' (Hudson C., 8-7-

88), which may tell us more about the hostility of this author to feminism than about NEW

WOMAN. However it does indicate the terms in which the debate was set, within an

ideological terrain of contestation.Much of the discussion around the launch of NEW

WOMAN was couched in terms of discussion about 'feminism' and 'post feminism'.

The new woman had come through feminism with 'the confidence to build on its

gains' (Frankie McGowan quoted in Neustatter A., 3-7-88), which is somewhat ironical

given the high profile given to an article "Confident? Me? Why success Isn't Always

Enough' which could be seen as creating and reinforcing women's insecurities, by

exploring why 'so many women live in constant fear of being found out....(and are)

vulnerable self-critical and insecure...' (NEW WOMAN August 1988 p.44).

The magazine does focus on personal relationships and personal development,

rather assuming other battles, for example over employment rights and about equal

opportunities for women, have been won, but it does not claim to make connections

between the personal and the political as feminism does. It has an ambivalent approach

towards feminism but addresses feminism as an issue. The hypothetical reader has

benefited from the gains of the Women's Movement, but still seeks family life, albeit newly

reconstructed, and heterosexual relationships, though NEW WOMAN highlights the negative aspects of traditional marriage for women in the first edition's exposure of the 'shocking reality of so-called married bliss' (NEW WOMAN August 1988 p.8). The magazine acknowledges the problems women experience in negotiating new relationships with the breakdown of the traditional nuclear family. The first edition features articles on pre-marriage contracts, cohabitation, step-parenting, divorce and the financial problems of redundancy. Emotional work may still be primarily women's work but the 'caring mother' and the 'working mother' are constructed within the context of changing times of family breakdown, women's participation in the labour market and an emphasis on individualism and individual solutions to the problems which changing social trends are creating for women.

The focus of the new woman is on herself, having responsibility for solving problems, which may not be such a new phenomenon, especially in the world of women's magazines, but here the concern with one's self is legitimised and rearticulated into pleasing oneself rather than improving oneself in order to deal better with the needs of others, as a wife or as a mother. 'It's time to tune in to your own needs. Bone up on me, myself, I and discover the power of putting yourself first' claims a feature entitled 'How Selfish Should You Be?' (NEW WOMAN August 1988 p.102-3). Murdoch Magazines saw its target reader as the new woman of 1988 who was located within a culture of individualism, able 'to stand on her own two feet' and encouraged to put herself first. 1988 was the year after the third election victory of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative party and the ninth year of the new Conservative party in office which she had led as Prime Minister since 1979. This political and cultural context of new Conservatism is explored in more detail in the next part of this chapter looking at Thatcherism as a political ideology.

Thatcherism

When I first embarked on this research I had expected to find some condensation of elements between the rhetoric and policies of the Thatcher governments and discourses of motherhood within women's magazines. The element of Thatcherism which I most expected to find was that related to the promotion of traditional family forms, with men as breadwinners and women as primary carers, mostly located within the home. The 1987 Tory party election campaign material did give considerable attention to 'family values', as I show below, though it was not quite as strongly accentuated as I had expected. By the 1988 party conferences however 'the family' had slipped so far down

the political agenda as to sabotage my plans for using media coverage of the conferences as substantive material for exploring this condensation of elements focusing on the traditional family, which I had expected to find. By 1993 'the family' was very much back on the Conservative party agenda at the October 1993 conference, suggesting some overall continuity, although the amount of rhetoric and media coverage afforded to the issue varies over time, as the absence in October 1988 and volubility in 1993 show.

Family policy is one component in new Conservative political ideology. In this section I want to look at the different strands which combined to produce Thatcherism as political ideology and especially the articulation of economic, political and moral discourses with particular emphasis on the social policy and rhetoric of the Thatcher years.

In 1988 when I began this research, Margaret Thatcher had led the Conservative party to success in three general elections, in 1979, 1983 and 1987. These successes, the emergence of Thatcherism as a coherent political ideology in what Gramsci calls a 'philosophy' (Gramsci 1971), and the high profile given to analyses of the Thatcher phenomenon in the work of the Left, notably in the pages of MARXISM TODAY, which suggested that the 'crisis of the Left' was due to the dominance of Thatcherism (Hall 1988), all supported the view that Thatcherism was indeed hegemonic at this time. This refers to Gramsci's notion of 'hegemony' whereby ideologies 'become popular' when the 'philosophy' or arbitrary ideology of explicit, rational political statements merge with ideas deeply rooted in culture which form what is known as 'common sense'. The role of ideologies is to

> "organise the human masses and create the terrain on which
> men (sic) move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle
> ...and that ideologies have most effect when they penetrate or
> become 'common sense'"

> (Gramsci 1971 p.377).

Hegemony is achieved when political ideologies fit into 'common sense' and as Gramsci puts it 'theory and practice will finally become one' (Gramsci in Hall and Donald 1986 p.21).

The arrival of Margaret Thatcher's first Conservative government in 1979 heralded a departure from the post-war consensus of Keynesian economic policies and the collectivist, interventionist welfare policies instituted by the Beveridge Report in 1942 and

86

the establishment of the Welfare State (Loney et al 1991 p.1-p.3). There has been considerable debate about how far Thatcherite policies, especially monetarist economic policies and the retreat from the Welfare State which claimed to provide for people 'from the cradle to the grave' (Beveridge 1942), were really new and radical and a policy watershed. It can be argued that whatever their origins, for example, in the previous Labour government of James Callaghan, it was the Thatcher governments that most strenuously and explicitly directed policies of 'rolling back the state' (Johnson in Loney et al 1991). There may have been some agreement among all political parties that universal welfare policies, or even extensive means tested benefits, and full employment were unsustainable, but the Conservative party was the most vociferous in its rhetoric and promotion of a less interventionist state and the market rather than the state as the solution to Britain's problems (Fitzgerald 1988).

The important points for my purposes are that Thatcherism offered a **new** synthesis of ideas, winning the ideological contestation arising out of the breakdown of the post war consensus so that it became hegemonic and in fact so taken for granted that some of its ideas became 'common sense'.

Here I want to pick out the different components of Thatcherism as illustrative of the times and to show some of the ideas which were becoming taken- for- granted. Although the new Conservatism or New Right of the Thatcher era was made up of many different strands it was united in its hostility to the post war settlement of a mixed economy with government intervention in economic policy supported by a growing system of state welfare. The decade of the 1980s has been regarded as a watershed in British politics, when the emphasis shifted from state provision of welfare and state intervention, to a reliance on the market and privatisation, much promoted by the Thatcher governments. No longer could state support be relied upon by individuals, families, organisations or companies and the emphasis was on 'standing on your own two feet'. The Thatcher governments went further and suggested that not only was state support, whether through the Welfare State and its provision for individuals and families or through state subsidies to industry and full employment policies, too expensive to sustain, it was actually undesirable in that it created a culture of dependence (Minford in Loney et al 1991). 'Rolling back the state' was not only not 'second best' or a necessary temporary expediency in times of economic recession and reduced manufacturing output, as might

have been argued in the 1970s, it was the **solution** to the U.K.'s problems and a necessary precondition of progress in the thinking of Margaret Thatcher's New Right Conservative governments.

This element within Thatcherism was linked to the notion of 'enterprise culture' where, unrestrained by state intervention, whether in the form of support for unprofitable industries, which would therefore fail to survive, or protective legislation and strong trade unions, preventing risk taking and progress and limiting investment, industry would be able to regenerate itself. Drawing on the Liberal tradition of thought, traced back to the ideas of Adam Smith in his 'Wealth of Nations', first published in 1776 (Smith in Campbell and Skinner 1979) , the Conservative governments stressed the superiority of the price mechanism and the market, when left to its own devices, as an equalising force, regulating relationships and the interplay between rational individuals. In spite of the emphasis on economic policies it is often very difficult to disentangle moral and economic discourses within Thatcherism. The independent 'rational individual' in the market place is not only taken as **given** but also as desirable and superior. The existence of those who require more support, such as the elderly, the sick, the unemployed and carers seems to be left out. Ideological formations operate selectively and the exclusions seem to be groups of people who do not fit in to the category of the 'rational individual' making choices in a free market. Choice is a very important component here and a significant emphasis of Thatcherism. Market competition is based on the notion of choice but it also extends to other arenas,where by implication life style is also a choice. Some of the categories of those needing state support could be constructed as having made a life style choice, notably single mothers (Minford in Loney et al 1991). This involves an articulation of nineteenth century distinctions between the 'deserving poor' who through no apparent fault of their own have fallen on hard times such as the sick and the widowed, and the 'undeserving poor' who are seen as having brought their troubles upon themselves, such as drunkards, prostitutes and single mothers (Clarke 1988) and the suggestion that the 'rational individual' within the free market is also a morally responsible individual. This sets the agenda for 'standing on your own two feet', taking responsibility for one's own actions and taking the consequences. This suggests that Thatcherism did not simply 'roll back the state' and open up markets. It also addressed moral questions within its rhetoric particularly with its focus on 'Victorian values' and the articulation of individual moral responsibility within the context of the

traditional family.

Thatcherism combined the individualism of economic liberalism with the traditional, hierarchical view of conservatism which has its roots in the tradition of thought deriving from Edmund Burke and his 'Reflections on the Revolution in France',1790 which argued for the retention of traditional values and a preference for familiar loyalties and relationships, with a dependence on authority (Oakeshott 1962). The 'individualism' of market liberalism can be seen as less significant at some points during the Thatcher years than the commitment to 'methodological familism' (Morgan 1985) and promotion of a very specific set of values, whereby the traditional family was the linchpin of society, creating the necessary links between personal independence and social order (Fitzgerald 1988).

It had been the Conservative Party Family Campaign of 1986 which first gave me the idea of exploring the links between Thatcherite rhetoric on the family and other discourses constructing identities of motherhood, notably in women's magazines. At a Press Conference speech launching the campaign on March 14th. 1986 Graham Webster-Gardiner clearly stated a particular moral position, speaking on the theme of 'Putting father back at the head of the table'.

> 'The Conservative Family Campaign aims to put father back at the head
> of the table. He should be the breadwinner. He should be responsible
> for his children's actions...the Conservative Family campaign believes
> we can reverse the trends of decades...the social security and tax
> system should encourage families where mum stays at home by giving
> **them** the best income tax allowances and not to two income households.
> Governments do have a morally persuasive role- to do what is right. It is
> wrong to support homosexual and lesbian couplings.it is wrong to make it
> attractive to leave one's family to depend on the state. It is right to encourage
> mum, dad and the kids to stay together'.

(Webster-Gardiner 1986).

This extract from Webster-Gardiner's speech highlights the conservative tradition within Thatcherism, albeit with the excessive enthusiasm of a campaign launch, and brings out clearly what is meant by the state adopting a particular moral position supporting the patriarchal family. This campaign may have been more zealous in its promotion of the patriarchal family than some members of Margaret Thatcher's governments, but the notion

89

of the family, and especially women within that family as having responsibility for the provision of welfare and health needs, where the family is a self-sufficient private consumer and an agent of moral responsibility, underlay much of Thatcherism's policies on welfare and 'rolling back the state'.

Thatcherism was characterised by economic policies, notably those associated with monetarism and the free play of market forces but whereby, for example high taxation, to finance government spending and investment in the Welfare State was seen as creating dependence (Minford in Loney et al 1991). This dependence was seen as not only undesirable in that it sapped initiative and enterprise but was also immoral. Social and economic policies intersect, bound together by the logic of conservative morality. This can be illustrated by this extract from the 1987 Conservative manifesto.

'There is a strong moral case for reducing taxation. High taxes deprive
people of their independence and make choices for them.The desire to
do better for one's family is one of the strongest motives in human nature.
As a party committed to the family and opposed to the over powerful
State, we want people to keep more of what they earn, and to have freedom
of choice about what they do for themselves, their families and others
less fortunate'

(Conservative Manifesto ,1987 p.37).

Here a dichotomy is constructed between the family and the State. The family, which is constructed as a 'natural' institution is set against the intrusive state which limits choice and independence. This family is one which in Webster-Gardiner's speech, featured clearly defined gender roles. Here this is obscured by the reference to 'one's family' where it is not clear if 'doing better for one's family' is a female or male innate characteristic or one common to both sexes. Recent Conservative party rhetoric at the 1993 party conference and the implementation of the Child Support Act might challenge the concept of family support as a 'natural' male characteristic given the pressure John Major's government is having to exert on absent fathers, but this concern with the family as a private system of welfare and support remains strong within the Conservative party. There may be some slippage between what is 'natural' and what is moral, with more recent emphasis on the latter, showing how ideological formations are multi-accentuated and shift over time. However the outcome is still an emphasis on private and privatised welfare and a stress

90

on the family as a source of this provision, which is a feature of Thatcherism and its heirs as some of the elements of previous 'philosophies' seep into the deposits of ' common sense' (Gramsci 1971).

I have been selective in my coverage of the ideology of Thatcherism and have not addressed all its concerns. There are omissions, for example in relation to nationalism and the question of law and order. I have stressed the elements which seem most important in relation to my investigation of discourses of motherhood. The synthesis and tension between the two traditions of thought within Thatcherism, notably economic liberalism with its stress on freedom and choice , and traditional conservatism, emphasising hierarchical moral guidance and individual responsibility are particularly important. I had expected the latter to be more important and that I would find more condensation of elements of traditional family values, gendered roles and a unified, coherent figure of maternity. Although there appear to be complex reworkings of different components and the New Right notions of the desirability of the 'traditional family' re-emerge periodically within the genealogy of discourse, it is the tradition of free market liberalism which appears to have more purchase and the notion of choice and private solutions which dominate in the world of women's magazines, though these articulate with other discursive components in the reconstruction of maternal subject positions.

Magazines are purveyors of products, dreams and of identities through a discourse of choice, recreating the situation of the market with the addition of a sexualised discourse of desire, and the illusion of the 'rational individual/consumer', the more so at an historical time which has so emphasised the desirability of market freedom, individual initiative and enterprise.

This is however a time of shifts and changes where the breakdown of the post war consensus destroyed old certainties about the role of the state and its commitment to full employment and welfare support 'from the cradle to the grave'. The dominance of the market in political ideology gave priority to individualism and to the pursuit of profit where increasingly status and success could be measured by the market criterion of wealth accumulation, notably manifest in the ability to purchase commodities. it became possible to think in terms of looking after oneself and in the words of NEW WOMAN in August 1988 'be positively selfish'.

There are of course continuities and the hegemony of Thatcherism can be

attributed to its success in plugging into the stratified deposits of 'common sense' (Gramsci 1971), the loosely structured, fragmented formations of generations of ideologies featuring traditional notions such as the desirability and naturalness of 'the family', traditional gender roles and of independence of both the individual and the nation. Political ideologies of the time are contradictory and contradictions, such as those within Thatcherism, can be sustained at historical moments when the ideology is hegemonic, but these contradictions do suggest the possibility of fracture and regroupings within the ideological formation. and the need to see the ideological process as dynamic. This is a time of changes and new departures where new subject positions for women can emerge within the context of Thatcherite competition and reliance on the market rather than the state.

The hypothetical reader targeted by Murdoch Magazines fits in to this climate of individualism. In this respect my findings in this chapter signal a particular aspect of femininity, and more especially of motherhood . . highlighted in SHE which I turn to in the next chapter. The NEW WOMAN hypothetical reader has set the scene for developments in women's magazines in the late 1980s and into the 1990s and it is this focus on individualism in the rearticulation of the two mother figures identified as emerging in Chapter Three, the 'caring' and the 'working' mothers which I take into the next stage of my research. Although motherhood is a recognised element in the composition of the NEW WOMAN reader, it still rests uneasily with the discourse of individualism and freedom, a dilemma recognised by the magazine in its article on working mothers.

Within Thatcherism there seems an even greater incompatibility between the enterprise-based concepts of the free 'rational individual' making choices in the market place and conservative notions of mothers largely confined to the home within patriarchal familial ideology, suggesting that women as mothers might be excluded from the freedom of the market place. The evidence of NEW WOMAN counters this, as femininity is constructed within a discourse of independence and choice, and even if its messages are sometimes ambivalent, there is a shift in emphasis with more attention given to the 'working mother'. The magazine does suggest that women's magazines can help women to resolve some of the contradictions in their lives as mothers in the late 1980s. The contradictions within Thatcherism both contribute to, and reflect the problems which NEW

WOMAN magazine recognises women experience in the tension between being a mother and being a paid worker. I decided to find out whether there was any development of this, how other magazines might resolve these contradictions and whether motherhood might have a higher profile elsewhere. As I was pondering the possibilities of which magazines I might choose, SHE was relaunched, with a major focus on motherhood. SHE was not a magazine I would have thought of including in my study, for reasons to be explained in the next chapter, but SHE had chosen motherhood as the focus for its relaunch, which led me to choose the magazine as a case study for my exploration of how this might address the absences I had found in the 1988 monthlies and attempt to resolve some of the contradictions highlighted here, looking at 'caring' and 'working' mothers in a climate of individualism.

Chapter 5

The Relaunch of SHE : Putting Mothers on the Map?

SHE was relaunched in March 1990 in a political climate of the market-based entrepreneurial ideologies of Thatcherism, at a time when the 'working mother' was emerging as a distinct category within women's magazines. Motherhood was beginning to be constructed within the market, though the overall absence of references to motherhood in the magazines of the late 1980s suggests that being a mother and having children makes full participation in the market difficult for women and that motherhood was still not an attractive commodity through which to promote woman's magazines. This made the relaunch of SHE all the more surprising. The new focus chosen for SHE by National Magazines was **motherhood**. Children, who had been conspicuously absent in the images on the covers and within the pages of women's magazines in the late 1980s, were not only present, but on the cover, in full colour, of the relaunched SHE in March 1990. That it should be SHE which had been targeted for this focus on motherhood in order to boost falling sales was all the more surprising as it was not a magazine in the mainstream of women's magazines with their concentration on fashion and domestic interests, having a somewhat idiosyncratic style. It was not a magazine I had expected to use, but the relaunch prompted me to find out more about SHE.

The Background to SHE.

SHE was first launched in 1955 by the National Magazine Company at a time of boom in the women's magazine market at the start of a period categorised by Cynthia White as one of 'Getting and Spending' (White 1970 p.155). The representation of market forces may be differently articulated at different periods but the time of SHE's launch shares some of the characteristics of the economic boom with the 1980s in the magazine world. Magazines like other commodities are subject to the cyclical slumps and booms of the capitalist economy, which is distinguished by the importance of production and consumption in pursuit of profits.

The years of 'Getting and Spending' followed the post-war decade of austerity and rebuilding when women's magazines were described as 'Utility journals', instructing their readers how to 'make do and mend' (White 1970 p.123),especially at the time of rationing after the Second World War, from 1946 to 1951. The accelerated growth of the

mid 1950s meant increased affluence for many people including married women who by the early 1960s accounted for more than half of all female workers (Hakim in Lewis 1992 p.64). Teenagers and young women also possessed more spending power, so that this period was seen as one which featured women as consumers, with more spending power and more goods available to them.

All women's magazines at this time of boom and expansion could be seen as targeting women as consumers, providing information about different products and enabling women to make choices between them.This was however the high spot of domestic ideologies of femininity especially within women's magazines (Ballaster et al 1991). Although more married women were in the labour market, with spending power as consumers which made them the target of advertising campaigns there was little challenge to the primacy of women's domestic role. The emphasis even by some feminists was on reconciling women's paid work with their domestic obligations, as was illustrated in the work of Myrdal and Klein on 'Women's Two Roles' (in Lewis 1992 p.72-p.73).

SHE had particular features which marked it out from other women's magazines of the time. White in fact describes SHE as

> 'blazing a trail of outspokenness when it erupted onto the women's
> publishing scene'   (White 1970 p.166).

The founder of SHE is quoted by White from a personal interview as saying

> 'The women's magazines of the time just didn't reflect women as I knew
> them.Of course women have a softness, but they are also funny,vulgar
> and tough.They are in touch with the harsh realities of life. No-one who
> undergoes childbearing could be anything else.' (ibid p.166) .

It is interesting that the magazine's founder mentions childbearing,highlighting its conflictual and often painful aspects rather than those of consensus which are more often subsumed into ideologies of domesticity in what Lee Comer called 'the myth of motherhood' (Comer 1971).

SHE was in many ways different from other magazines from the outset. The layout was new with closely packed text, filling the entire page, without the area of space of other women's magazines. The low price of one shilling was made possible by the use of cheap paper. SHE was clearly aimed at a wide range of readers, cutting across class and age and even to some extent gender divisions with an equal female /male editorial

balance, defying analysis in conventional terms, appealing

'in a robust way to women who are down-to-earth and frank

and who disdain the niceties of the typical women's magazine'

(White 1970 p.167).

Winship claims that the magazine was less conscious of the kind of woman it was addressing than that it was addressing women 'whose interests (in light reading at least) did not centre on the housewife role', even if, as she suspects, that was what its readers actually were (Winship 1987), like my grandmother and aunt who enjoyed SHE's often quirky eccentricities,mainly because the magazine spoke to them as 'thinking women'. SHE did represent a significant innovation in women's magazines in the mid/late 1950s.

SHE concerned itself with aspects of its readers' lives and elements of femininity which no other magazines did. For example as far back as 1961 and 1962 SHE covered issues relating to sexuality, menstruation, breast cancer, brain tumours and infertility (Laurie 1963). SHE tackled serious, at the time taboo issues such as these,which made it possible for women to discuss them. Although I was not attracted by the magazine as a child nor as a young teenager I enjoyed discussing these issues with my aunt and grandmother, taking the opportunity to gain access to the arena of controversial debate denied us in other contexts. SHE opened up possibilities of putting interesting questions and debates into women's discourse.

The magazine also offered a range of amusing anecdotal features of bizarre, incongruous happenings which were not particularly gendered and could be directed at female or male readers.The magazine became famous for its competitions, puzzles and a wide range of 'reader offers'. It was the first post war magazine to break away from the mould of fashion and domesticity with any degree of success, building up to a circulation of more than 300,000 by 1965 (White 1970 Appendix V).

SHE addressed controversial issues and included some self evaluation, with first 'Gilbert Harding Criticises Us' followed by 'Kenneth Horne Criticises SHE'. In 1965 the magazine commented on its first decade:

'SHE made her impact among people looking for a magazine which

reflected the modern mood,which was neither patronising nor smug.

SHE was never aimed at the little woman struggling over hot stoves

and kitchen sinks...Over the years SHE has been called vulgar, dirty and

96

even pornographic-but the original policies will go on, and for the next ten years SHE will continue to be as controversial, as stimulating and at times as naughty as she's ever been' (Kenneth Horne SHE March 1965). What matters more than whether or not the SHE reader spent her time slaving over the hot stove, which she probably was, was that she was interpellated as a thinking person who could engage actively with the text. This is the discursive reader/woman produced by the text and the hypothetical reader/woman targeted by National Magazines.

This is something of the background to SHE. It broke the mould of traditional domestic and fashion concerns as priorities in post war women's magazines and included serious, controversial issues as well as entertainment and fun, in the form of anecdotes, puzzles and competitions. Before going on to look at the relaunch of SHE in 1990 I decided to look in more detail at one edition of the magazine from the late 1980s to see how SHE fitted in to the discursive fields addressed in the last chapter. If SHE had been idiosyncratic and mould breaking at its inception, was it still? Did SHE fit in with the mood of NEW WOMAN located within the entrepreneurial culture of Thatcherism and political discourses of individualism?

One area where I might have expected there to be some disjuncture between SHE and Thatcherism, might have been in the context of traditional family values, given SHE's history of daring in addressing questions of sexuality, though as I have argued above there are contradictions within political ideologies, for example between the forces of free market liberalism and conservative traditionalism and morality within Thatcherism. SHE has displayed an individualistic approach which could well accord with the spirit of the times.

I chose to look at the March 1989 edition of SHE, exactly one year before the 1990 relaunch, as a typical example of the magazine at this time and as one which was particularly striking with its cover focus on women in their forties; not only in their forties but celebrating the fact publicly, an unusual phenomenon on the covers of women's magazines which are usually dominated by beautiful young women. I had collected a wide selection of magazines for this month, including the four October 1988 monthly magazines for further research in March 1989. I decided to concentrate on SHE instead of continuing with the four monthlies because of the SHE relaunch. March 1989 offered a very good example of SHE. It was the traditional SHE format, larger than most

monthlies at 25.5 by 31 cm., with a glossy cover dominated by an attractive woman's face, in the style of so many women's magazines (see Appendix 6). What was surprising, and as such very much in the SHE tradition was the banner headline '40 and Fabulous', describing the women featured in inset pictures on the cover, with the promise of more details inside of 'sexy, prime-time women tell how they stay on top'. The implication of this very positive representation of middle aged women as glamorous, is that they are 'on top' of their jobs, their looks and sex. This suggests something of the SHE focus on sex promised in 1965 and the association of 40 year old women with sex, sexiness and success illustrates SHE's daring and lively approach.

The cover trailers concentrate on this month's focus on women of forty, but also offer a range of interest with some other unusual features, like 'Warning, your husband can make you fat' and the more serious and hard hitting 'Incest, Daddy's done something naughty' which is in the SHE tradition of addressing difficult and controversial issues. The promise of 'Beauty gifts ,over 5,000 free gifts and money off vouchers' is not only in the SHE tradition of offering free gifts but also that of excess and hyperbole with so large an offer. Free gifts stress the role of magazines as promoters of commodities, where free samples are a device in the promotion of products, a vital activity in encouraging advertising revenue in the competitive free market.

The final trailer for an extract from ' Eric (Love Story) Segal's new novel which promises to be 'tear jerking' makes it difficult to produce a composite picture of the hypothetical SHE reader being targeted here. However together these features confirm the varied somewhat unusual nature of SHE and the notion of the SHE reader as a consumer of fragmented identities which are closely related to the market production of commodities which facilitate the adoption of those identities, notably the beauty products required to 'look fabulous at 40'.

The magazine in 1989 is labelled for 'women who juggle their lives' which highlights the diversity of women's roles and responsibilities, and the inclusion of one child in one of the inset pictures, with his mother and teenage sisters, does suggest that motherhood, and specifically in one reference, the 'working mother' is one of the subject positions available to the SHE reader in the late 1980s.

The presence of visual images of children within the magazine as possible signifiers of motherhood proved limited,endorsing my findings in Chapter Three. In SHE

in March 1989 there were only four pictures of children on their own in the entire magazine, three in black and white, two being small photographs illustrating an article about sending a boy of eight to boarding chool. The one colour drawing illustrates an article on incest, which produces rather negative representations of children. Of the four pictures of women and children two accompany an article on stress (pp.84). The absence of images of children and by inference motherhood seems again confirmed in SHE as in the other magazines of the 1980s which I examined.

Motherhood is not entirely absent in the text however. The cover suggests motherhood could be a component in women's 'juggling acts' and there are other references . For example a back page feature on the writer Susan Hill (p.128), described as a SHE juggler discusses her life as working mother. Her position is privileged in terms of the resources on which she can draw because of her relative affluence, but the issue is addressed. The affluence and fame of this subject make her something of a fantasy figure for the reader who is more likely to have to juggle her life as a paid worker and mother without the range of paid helpers Susan Hill can afford to employ.

The 'working mother' is a figure beginning to emerge in SHE as well as in other women's magazines of the late 1980s. The famous forty year olds in the main feature (p.56-74) are described as mothers. There are, albeit brief references to the tensions between caring for children and the demands of paid work, although the main concerns of the feature as a whole are paid work, beauty, make-up and fashion. Some of the mothers here are 'older mothers', for example having their first child at or about forty, which signposts the 'late mother' targeted by the relaunch of SHE.

An alternative position to that of the 'late mother' is the older mother now relieved of child care responsibilities, the women who are now forty, but who had their children in their early twenties. For these women desire and desirability might be countered and contradicted by the presence of children. In the eighteen page feature on being 'Fabulous at 40' there is only one picture out of sixteen illustrations depicting a child and this comes in the section on SHE readers in their forties(p.69). The presence of children might challenge the independence and attractiveness purveyed as components of the identity of women of forty here.The visual representations of famous women in the feature,for example Diana Quick and Alexandra Bastedo (p.57,p.58-9) are overtly sexual , signified by heavy make-up, the short tight skirt, high heeled shoes and seductive poses, promising what might be

99

possible, if one were child-free. There is some self-referential humour in the adoption of the genre of the seductive pose employing some exaggeration in the arch, coquettish looks and plethora of signifiers of sexuality, suggesting that these women are in control of their own lives and not merely the passive objects of the 'male gaze'.

Motherhood does have a place and some of its representations are positive, such as the short feature giving coverage of the mother/daughter relationship, 'Any Mum for Tennis', which invites readers to participate in a mothers and daughters tennis competition. Sexuality is not part of the construction of motherhood however and a wholesome game of tennis lacks the impact of the overtly sexualised poses of the famous, fabulous forty year olds in the main feature, where sexual attraction is the most powerful component in the construction of femininity, where the sub-text articulates material success with sexual presentation of self. Although sexuality is a key component of femininity in SHE in 1989, sexuality is **not** an element in the construction of motherhood here.

SHE has three problem pages at this time, one 'Agony Aunt' slot (p.26), one on careers counselling (p.28) and one given over entirely to sex, entitled 'SHE, Sex and Health' (p.123). On the 'sex' problem page six of the nine letters concern sexual pleasure, the other three are about having breasts 'lifted', contraception and positive smear testing. The message of the SHE style is that no subject is taboo. The approach of the 'expert', agony uncle Dr. Devlin is frank and open with some humour and there is an emphasis on women's right to express their sexuality and a focus on physical pleasure, drawing on feminist repertoires as well as those of sexology in the construction of a discourse of independence and access to information.

The dominant discourse in SHE centres on sexuality. There is what Foucault has called an explosion of sexuality (Foucault 1987) within its pages. Sexuality is increasingly the focus of many women's magazines, such as COSMOPOLITAN and MARIE-CLAIRE, but in SHE although sexuality is one of the commodities of the market, there are elements of independence and self determination of women's sexual identities for example in the Sex and Health Problem Page.

The 'caring mother' emerges at times within SHE's pages, for example on the 'Dear Audrey, SHE's Agony Aunt' problem page. This is the style of the conventional problem page, concerned mainly with relationships, though this 'caring mother' figure has

100

a relatively low profile in SHE. A notable low priority in SHE is domestic 'caring'. There are only two food features, one called 'After Work Cook' (p.90), suggesting paid work is a higher priority for women than unpaid domestic work, and no features on the home, furniture or decorating. SHE does not construct the figure of the homemaker, nor give particular status to women as 'relationship experts', as is the case with NEW WOMAN. However where NEW WOMAN was conceptualising a new hypothetical reader for the late 1980s, SHE was experiencing falling sales and the need to reconsider its approach, and to calculate a new hypothetical reader, informed by shifting discourses of femininity, drawing on feminism and located within the entrepreneurial culture of the free market.

SHE retains some of the distinctive features which set it apart from other women's magazines at its inception, especially its idiosyncrasy, coverage of controversial issues, its mix of the serious and the lighthearted and even the bizarre. There is a significant lack of domestic 'caring' concerns and an emphasis on independence and individualism. Femininity in SHE is multi faceted and diverse. Motherhood does have a part in that femininity, but as with the other women's magazines which I explored in the late 1980s, motherhood is often absent. SHE in March 1989 acknowledges the 'late mother' which opens up possibilities for its relaunch in 1990, especially when set in the context of Thatcherite individualism and changing conceptualisations of femininity. The 'late mother' is seen as a woman who has chosen to delay motherhood until she has first established herself in her career, a factor which itself makes her likely to be a more affluent consumer. SHE shows little overt support for the traditional conservative components of Thatcherism, which is not surprising given SHE's original aim of addressing women beyond the confines of the domestic role, and its concerns with sexuality and sexual freedom. The idealised mother in the home, 'The Angel in the House' of traditional conservatism is not sexual, which also illustrates another conflict between market liberalism and traditional conservatism within Thatcherism and opens up the space for a new articulation of motherhood.

SHE shares with the other magazines the emergence of the 'working mother', which is, in SHE as elsewhere, a category of motherhood which is explicitly labelled. In spite of SHE's focus on sexuality motherhood in the magazine is not encoded within discourses of sexuality. Sexuality articulates with individualism to produce an independent, sexually attractive woman in SHE but, although mothers may be 'working', sexuality is

101

not a significant component in the construction of motherhood in SHE at this time.

This magazine, with a focus on sexuality and individualism and some diverse and often unusual features, with very limited coverage of the domestic concerns of homemaking, is the one the publishers chose to relaunch with a major concentration on motherhood. Where children had previously been absent, in 1990 they were definitely present.
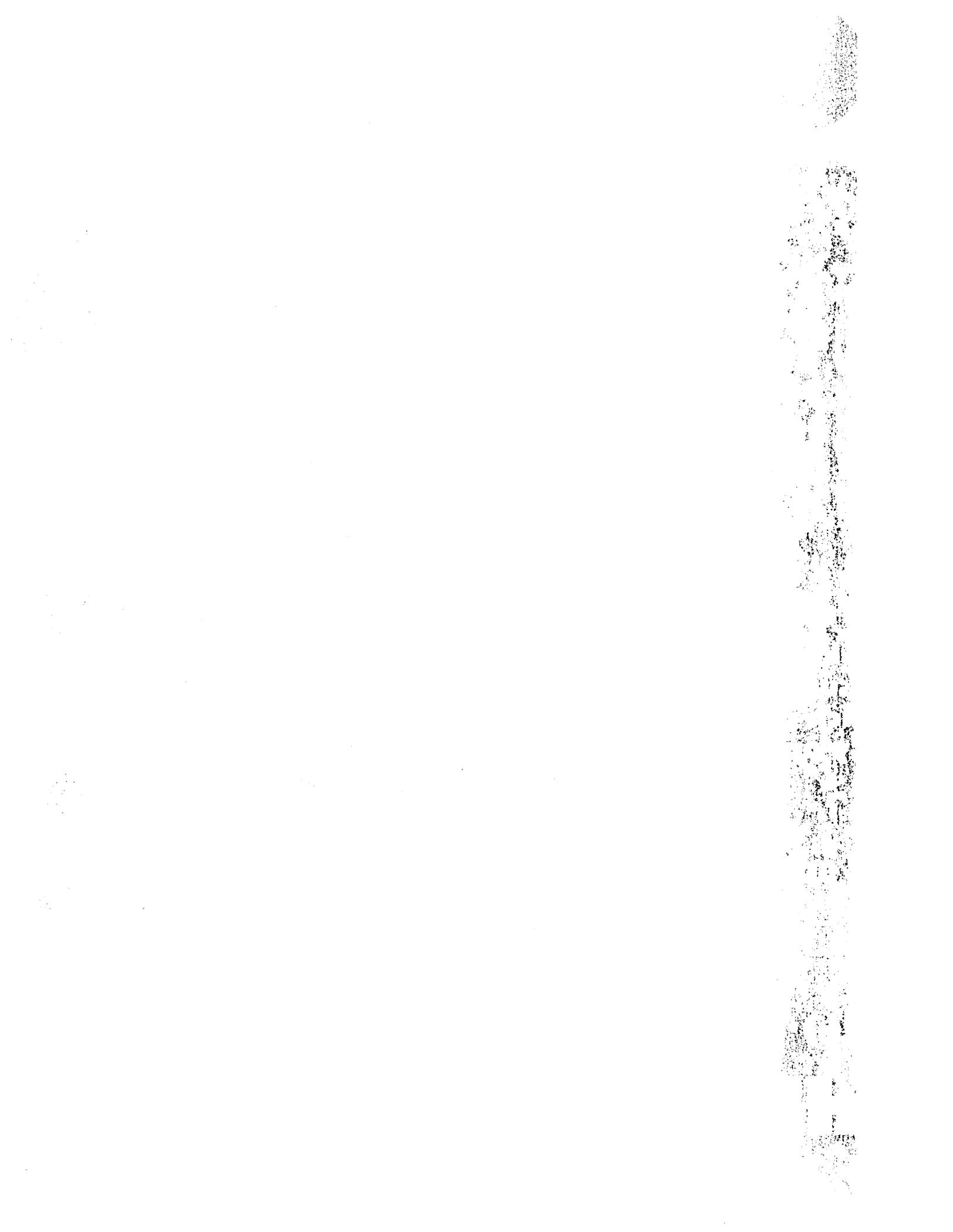
SHE

and
single
nt

rking mothers
sus homemakers:
ich is the
y option?

udi 80 worth
.000

men
ty infidelity

**Clothes
you'll love
to live in
30-something
make-up**

**'Why am I so tired
and angry?'
We know how you
feel and we
can help**

ou and your

HILD ■ Health ■ Education
■ Psychology ■ Play
al new section that covers kids from zero to teens

This cover quite unequivocally seeks to interpellate new readers as mothers by presenting a representation of a happy intimate relationship between mother and child, signifying that motherhood can be enjoyable and associated with material and career success. The SHE reader who was an independent thinking, intelligent, sexual individual prior to the launch, is now a mother too.

The key construction of femininity here is of the woman as mother. Men are absent; it is the mother/child relationship which most strikingly dominates the cover. There is some ambiguity in this image, which might more usually be associated with a man as a lover, kissing the woman's cheek in this way. The ambiguity is exacerbated by the child's clothes- a white shirt and deep pink scarf, worn in the style of a tie or cravat. Men are absent from the picture. We are informed inside the magazine that the child is the model's own son, ' by Mike Donnelly'. It is not clear if it is the child or the photograph which has been produced by Mike Donnelly-perhaps both. The presence of the child subverts expectations about the sexually attractive model who looks out to the implied male spectator (Berger 1972 p10) and the woman's direct look to camera challenges men's reification of women and disrupts the mediation of the representation by the 'male gaze'.

This format is repeated on the covers of SHE in April and May 1990 as part of the relaunch's high profile inclusion of motherhood. In each case the model is the child's own mother, showing that it is possible to be very successful, even a 'top model', that is slim, attractive **and** a mother. Motherhood is sexualised in these images, in the ambiguity of the mother and child/lover image of March, the physical contact between mother and child in all three covers and the model as signifier of sexual attractiveness. All capture synchronic moments of sensual pleasure in tactile expressions of the mother/child relationship, giving motherhood an immediate high profile.

It was the cover of SHE in March 1990 and the new signification of motherhood which it heralded, which led to my decision to focus on the relaunched SHE as the case study for my research. The SHE relaunch presented a breakthrough. Motherhood had been absent, albeit at times an 'absent presence', but here it was on the cover of SHE with trailers signposting a new focus on mothers and children, with SHE's 'Campaign for a CHILD friendly Society'.

There were two reasons for my surprise at National Magazines' decision to attempt

104

to increase sales by targeting mothers. The first was the direct denotation of motherhood and the presence of children. The second was because it was SHE that had been chosen for this focus on motherhood. There had been hints of the 'working mother' emerging in SHE as in the other magazines, but it was most striking that the very magazine which had sought to mark itself out from others in the past, by **not** emphasising domestic concerns and fashion features, traditionally the focus of women's magazines, should choose motherhood and child care as the keynote of its relaunch in order to boost falling sales.

It is in this context that I set out to find out who was the new hypothetical reader targeted by the National Magazine Company for the relaunch and what similarities there were between her and that of NEW WOMAN .

In its publication 'Inside a Magazine Company' (National Magazines 1989), National Magazines claimed that SHE was being 'refocussed to meet the needs and aspirations of women in the fast-gowing 25-44 age group'. The new hypothetical reader was a mother and more specifically a 'late mother', a woman who has delayed having children because she has been advancing her career in paid work. She is described as 'a modern mother, addressing her own needs as an individual, a partner and a parent'. This concern with 'her own needs' has resonance with the NEW WOMAN hypothetical reader and the reference to a 'partner' suggests some of that magazine's concern with relationships. SHE appears to condense the 'working' and the 'caring' mothers, reworked within the framework of individualism and success within the labour market.

The 'late mother' may be more likely to have a higher disposable income than a woman who has had her children before establishing herself in her career, as acknowledged by National Magazines (1989). What is especially interesting and new about this hypothetical reader, is that she is a woman who is a mother and who is earning with some independent means, not entirely dependent on the earnings and class position of her male partner. National Magazines located this 'woman of the nineties' in the South East of England, which is indicative of the geographically uneven development and unequal distribution of wealth in the U.K. in the late 1980s manifest in the so-called 'North-South divide' (Allen 1991).

As with the NEW WOMAN launch in 1988 the publishers picked out the magazine's editor as the embodiment of its hypothetical reader. In the case of SHE this was Linda Kelsey, who was selected by National Magazines as a particularly appropriate

'woman of the nineties', a successful career woman, in fact a former editor of COSMOPOLITAN, and 'a recent mother herself'. Linda Kelsey saw the relaunched SHE as aiming at 'the woman, the lover, worker and mother who is the juggler of the 1990s'. (National Magazines 1989) which highlights the key aspects in this 1990s construction of femininity. Linda Kelsey ,the editor, is highlighted as the prototype hypothetical SHE reader who embodies changing social trends such as late motherhood, participation in the labour market and particular aspirations, notably to be a **success** as a mother, a sexual woman and a worker.

In the case of the March 1990 SHE relaunch motherhood is not just assumed or even obscured, it is an explicit component of the hypothetical reader, who includes motherhood, sex and paid work. That SHE should choose this focus for its relaunch signals that this is indeed a time of change and that further study of the magazine could show how knowledge about motherhood is produced at this time and what sort of figure of motherhood is represented in a new articulation of elements, which includes recognition of maternal sexuality. This SHE hypothetical reader, as with that of NEW WOMAN, is the product of social and policy changes, some of which were discussed in Chapter Four, notably in the context of ideological shifts and the rearticulation of political discourses. The editor and artistic director of SHE are chosen as women who embody these changes as 'women of the nineties' who inform the discursive figures in the text of the magazine. The key factors here are that motherhood is on the agenda and that mothers are sexual and sexually attractive.

This chapter has used the background to SHE magazine and its relaunch in 1990 to show that the magazine's choice of motherhood as the focus of its relaunch is particularly significant. This happened in a climate of political change and some movement in the world of women's magazines which suggests that there could be new articulations of motherhood emerging. I have looked at the magazines and at political discourses to obtain some understanding of the wider context and the interrelationship between discourses,but need to know more about how motherhood, seen as important in the new SHE, might be changing in the broader context. For example what is the extent of mothers' participation in paid work and what social changes are taking place? How far does motherhood in SHE accord with changing social patterns and is there evidence to support the notion that Linda Kelsey embodies motherhood/femininity in the nineties? In order to do this I

decided to study the SHE relaunch editorials in the context of the statistical evidence of Social Trends, the government statistics, to look at the historical correlation between recorded shifts in social relations and those within magazines, focusing on SHE editorials.

The editorials in the new SHE have a much higher profile than in the editions before the relaunch. In March 1989, for example, there was only a brief editorial which outlined that month's contents. It did engage with the reader in a friendly style, for example with the statement 'hitting forty is a traumatic time for most of us' (p.2). There were no further personal details about the editor Joyce Hopkirk, but she did use the first person when she wrote about being forty. Linda Kelsey, however, tells us much more about herself and hence about the discourse of motherhood constructed within the new SHE. Given this high profile of the editor and the editorials I turned to the editorials to find out more about Linda Kelsey addressed her readers and how she was represented to them. In doing so I explore the discursive reader of the text and the extent to which this figure, especially as embodied in the editor, accords with empirical evidence of changes in women's lives.

Chapter 6.

SHE and Social Trends.

This chapter explores the links between discourses of motherhood and evidence of material, social changes in patterns of domestic living and employment in order to find out the extent of the congruence between the figure of motherhood represented in the SHE relaunch editorials and empirical evidence of social trends. In doing so I am not asserting that there is a distinction between ideology on the one hand and reality or lived experience on the other, which privileges the material or which sees ideology as involving some distortion of reality, as in some of the Marxist definitions of ideology addressed in Chapter Two, but looking for inter textual links and consonance or areas of discontinuity between discursive fields. In order to evaluate the strength of evidence within the magazines for the emergence of changing or new figures of motherhood, these discourses need to be related to others to find out if there is any coherent pattern emerging and to find out if the discursive mother of the relaunched SHE features in Social Trends data .The evidence so far suggests that there is articulation between elements within Thatcherite discourses of individualism and market freedom and the mother figures, especially of the new 'caring mother' and the 'working mother' that were emerging in women's magazines of the late 1980s .

In this chapter I have drawn mainly on material from 1992 Social Trends, the compilation of government statistics published annually, for empirical evidence. This material offers quantitative evidence with a broad scope and has the advantage, for my purposes, of indicating change over time as Social Trends includes comparative material from previous years. The 1992 edition covers the period of my research on the 1988 monthlies and the 1990 SHE relaunch and includes comments on changes over the decade of the 1980s. These statistics give information about women's lives within the public arena of paid work and within the home. The Equal Opportunities Commission has argued that statistics are vital in carrying out its duties (E.O.C. Cmnd.1981), although use of such data cannot be regarded as entirely unproblematic, as a ' body of precise information together with ways of analysing and presenting results' in what Allin and Hunt call a 'textbook application' (Allin and Hunt in Whitelegg et al 1982 p.339). As Allin and Hunt argue official statistics may not present a complete picture because of omissions and oversimplification of categories, but I am using these figures to contextualise the discourses of motherhood

in the magazines and to look at the historical correlation between recorded shifts in social relations and those within magazines as a popular cultural form.

In this chapter I use material from the first SHE relaunch editorial (Appendix 7) and data of official statistics to look at the particular areas of 'family' and 'work'. I start with the illustration which accompanies the March 1990 SHE editorial and explore in more detail the degree of congruence between representation of 'family' and its implications in SHE and the evidence of changes in family life in the 1980s from Social Trends.

ALL ABOUT
SHE

From left: baby Pablo, Leo, seven and Nadia Marks, Creative Director; Editor Linda Kelsey and son Thomas, 21 months

is month, SHE comes to you
 a new look and a new edi-
. It comes with more editori-
ages, more in colour, and all
nted on better quality paper.
e introduce an agony column
h a difference – different in
t Couples Counsel looks at
blems in relationships from
 point of view of both parties
olved, rather than in the
ual one-sided way. And
re's a special new section
ch month called You and
ur Child, dedicated to the
siness of helping you to
ndle and enjoy your kids.
The fact that so much in SHE
ks fresh and new this month is
nks to talented Creative
ector Nadia Marks. I don't
d admitting that Nadia and
ave been best friends ever
ce working in tandem first
 Cosmopolitan, then on
mpany Magazine, and that
've been dreaming of getting
ck together from the moment
 went our separate working
ys some nine years ago.
A lot has happened in our

ves since then. Nadia, who postponed motherhood for the first ten
rs of her married life, has given birth to two sons – Leo, now
ven, and Pablo, almost one. I've been in and out of marriage, have
ited Cosmopolitan and now live with the father of my handsome,
rfect, brilliant, etc, son Thomas, aged 21 months.

The reason for telling you these intimate details of our personal
ves is to put across the point that Nadia and I, in common with
ny of SHE's staff and contributors, are nothing if not jugglers.
nd I believe we can make SHE even more relevant as the
agazine for women of the 90s who juggle their lives.

Something I'm determined to do is break down the great divide
tween women who choose or need to work outside the home
 the same time as bringing up their children, and those who, when
e kids are young, make a positive decision not to work or are

unable to do so. Just as I've
never met a non-frantic work-
ing mother, neither have I ever
met a non-frantic, non-working
mother, except in cases of the
very rich with help on tap. My
plea for 1990 is let's respect one
another's way of life. Let's stop
saying, 'Well, it's all right for
you...' and let's get together on
issues that really matter.

One issue that really matters
– and is relevant to all women,
whether they're mothers or not
(as well as, of course, being rel-
evant to all men) – is SHE's
campaign for a Child-Friendly
Society. I'm frankly appalled at
the way we claim to be a child-
loving nation, yet give more to
charities for under-privileged
animals than to those for
under-privileged youngsters; at
the way we build our super-
markets and run public trans-
port with total disregard for the
needs of young children, and
generally treat them worse than
anywhere else in Europe.
On page 6 you'll find Yvonne
Roberts speaking from the

heart, backed up by some statistics that simply can't be denied.

Motherhood has proved to be a great learning curve for me. Even
though I regard myself first and foremost as a woman and an indi-
vidual, nothing I do these days is wholly unaffected by the fact that
I'm a parent. And I know it's the same for most of you, too. So
where does SHE go from here? Well, I have a mission, and here it
is. To produce the first glossy magazine that celebrates self and
motherhood under one umbrella. To act as a vehicle for helping to
improve the image and circumstances of women who choose to
work alongside raising a family. To act as a forum for debate in the
area of child development. To deal with relationship problems
head-on. To fill you with inspiration on fashion, beauty, homes and
entertaining. To encourage you, to amuse you and to stir you.
Please write and let me know what you think.   **Linda Kelsey**

NEXT MONTH'S SHE

When friends split, is it crunch-time for your own relationship? ● **How green is the Queen,** the
 and other VIPs? ● **Down with Superwoman,** says Shirley Conran. Can she really be serious? ● **Lose**
at **after-baby belly.** Yes, there's hope in sight for us all ● **Will feeding your family win you love?** ●
ow violence breeds **a ghastly glamour** ● **It's not unusual to have a sexual problem.** We
n help ● **Confessions of a fashion failure** ● Plus brilliant ideas on homes, gardens, clothes, entertaining

April issue on sale March 22

In March 1990 the editorial occupies most of the page and is illustrated by a large colour photograph of the Editor, Linda Kelsey and Creative Director, Nadia Marks, with their children. These two women give substance to the slogan on the magazine's spine : 'For Women who Juggle Their Lives'. The photograph connotes realism through appearing to be a simple reflection of reality (Barthes 1977), unmediated by careful, studied poses or glamorous make-up. Nadia Marks looks more dishevelled that Linda Kelsey who appears supremely cool and in control. The message is that it is possible to cope successfully with this juggling act, combining motherhood and material success, with the child as an attractive accessory. The female experience of motherhood can be positively negotiated and represented within culture. Women's support for each other is also signified by the women's smiles and the information in the text that they are friends.

The picture offers a new picture of family. There are two family groups here, each with a mother and child/ren, but without a man. The concept of 'family' has been contested, and feminists in particular have challenged the claim that the nuclear family is universal (Edholm 1982, Gittins 1985) pointing to a distinction between the family as a normative concept and the household as a form of domestic living (Beechey 1985, Lentell 1986, McDowell 1992). Social Trends includes a definition which attempts to embrace all dimensions, whilst subsuming some of the differences and obscuring the prescriptive and normative aspects of family as familial ideology.

> 'A household a single person or a group of people who have
> the address as their only or main residence and who either share
> one meal a day or share the living accommodation'.
> 'A family is a married couple, either with or without their never
> married child or children (of any age), or a lone parent together
> with his or her never married child or children. A lone parent (in the
> Census) is a married parent whose spouse does not reside in the
> same household, or any single, widowed or divorced parent'.
>
> (Social Trends 1992 p.234 Appendix 8:1))

As Gittins argues, a particular family norm has become enshrined in the law and institutions of society (Gittins 1985), and it is therefore difficult to distinguish between different living arrangements in official statistics, because at times the distinction between family and household becomes obscured. This was illustrated in Chapter Four in the

context of political rhetoric, where the family was construed as at times 'natural', meaning biological, at others, normative, that is morally desirable and at others statistically 'normal', with considerable slippage between the three.

Statistical evidence shows that relatively small numbers of households conform to the norm of the traditional family(Appendix 9:1) Approximately a quarter of households in Britain consist of people living alone and just under one third of households contain dependent children. The married couple with children in the nuclear family is a minority household form, although this does not in itself prove that alternative family forms are dominant .The 28% of households consisting of a married couple without dependent children include couples who have not yet had children and those whose children have left home. What is more significant is the evidence of the number of births outside marriage.These have soared in recent years, from less than 11% in 1979 to nearly 28% in 1990 (Appendix 9;2).The U.K. has one of the highest proportions of lone parents in the E.C. along with Denmark and Sweden (Appendix 9:3).The increase in the number of births outside marriage does suggest a change in family form in recent years, or at least a restructuring of the family. Many of the births which have taken place outside marriage have been to cohabiting couples. In 1990 one in five such births was registered by both parents, compared with only one in 25 in 1971 (Appendix 9:4)

The historical point at which SHE chose to relaunch the magazine with a focus on motherhood and on children is also, somewhat ironically, a period of falling birth rates. The average number of children per woman has fallen in all European countries over the last two decades, from between two and three per woman in 1971 to well under two in 1990 (Appendix 9:5). This varies across different socio-economic and ethnic groups but overall the evidence would seem to suggest that women .are choosing not to have as many children. Lower numbers mean that more attention can be paid to the children one has and that the number of children one has, and indeed having children or not, are key concerns in women's lives where women's magazines can offer help in terms of the practical advice which they offer.

Not only are families becoming smaller but an increasing number of women are choosing not to have any children at all; nor are they likely to in the future. Basing predictions on recent trends, it is estimated that 17% of women born in 1955 will not have any children. Corresponding to this increase in women without children, it appears

probable that the number of women projected to have two children or more seems likely to fall (Appendix 9:6).

Motherhood may be negotiated in different ways. It may also be postponed. The 'late mother' is a phenomenon picked out by National Magazines in their publicity material and recorded in the evidence of Social Trends. More women now delay the birth of their first child though the delay is most marked in women in the professional and managerial classes (Appendix 9:7). The discursive figure of motherhood represented in the SHE editorials accords with this trend. The SHE mother has a small number of children. Linda Kelsey has one and Nadia Marks has two. Another feature is 'late motherhood', where Nadia Marks tells us she 'postponed motherhood for the first ten years of her married life ' (SHE March 1990 p.3).This suggests a choice and that the SHE mother lives in a climate of change where women can make choices about when and whether to have children.

However the fact that this figure of femininity constructed here includes motherhood, notably biological motherhood, is important .Biological motherhood is present in the biographical details in the SHE editorial and essentialism is constructed in the text. Linda Kelsey tells us that

> 'nothing..is wholly unaffected by the fact that I am a parent.
>
> And I know it's the same for most of you too'.
>
> (SHE March 1990 p.3).

We may have fewer children and delay their births,but motherhood is constructed as not only central to women's lives but a key choice. Motherhood here also establishes a shared identity between women based on difference from men, which underlies the more explicit discussion of how women can cope with the demands of motherhood in modern society. Non- mothers are referred to once in the editorial and categorised with men,

> 'One issue that really matters-and is relevant to all women,
>
> whether they're mothers or not (as well of course, being
>
> relevant to all men)-is SHE's campaign for a Child Friendly
>
> Society'.   (SHE March 1990 p.3).

'Men' are in parenthesis here, as if as an afterthought. The assumption appears to be that all women are concerned with children and perhaps want to be mothers even when they are not.

The high profile of essentialism in the editorial is important in its articulation as the

113

feature which establishes identity and intimacy between women, though the sisterly support between the two women here draws on feminist notions of female solidarity too. The essential mother is not the 'caring mother' of the earlier magazines in Chapter Three. What is universal about motherhood here is that it is only women who are mothers, not just that the practice of mothering/caring is usually carried out by women. It is this which is used to unite women in the shared imaginary of the 'women's world' of the magazine. The 'caring mother' or more specifically the caring wife or partner assumed in the earlier magazines is present but not the dominant figure here.

Men do not have a high profile. The are absent from the pictures which accompany the first three editorials and there are limited references to them in the text. The sexual identity informing SHE's construction of motherhood is predominantly heterosexual but not monogamous. The SHE mother 's relationships are represented as successful whether they are married or 'in and out of marriage'. This mother figure is hetero/sexual but the absence of a man in the picture implies that the father may be superfluous to the needs of the successful mother with her child, although an ideal situation is suggested by the arrangement of

'now liv(ing) with the father of my handsome, perfect, brilliant,

etc.son....aged 21 months.'   (SHE March 1990 p.3)

This has resonance of the SHE March 1990 cover, where the representation of the model's son suggested a lover rather than a child. One might expect to associate 'handsome' and 'brilliant ' with the father, an adult man rather than a toddler, again suggesting a surrogate role for the child. These adjectives also create favourable reflected images of the mother whether it is through association with the father or the child. Men may or may not be present and their absence or limited inclusion here does suggest some ambivalence. There is the possibility that men do not play a major part in the lives of mothers and even that a male presence might not be necessary.

Empirical evidence offers some support for this position of women as mothers without men, both as shown in the incidence of births outside marriage and in the number of marriage breakdowns. The U.K. has one of the highest divorce rates, as well as marriage rates, in the European Community (Appendix 9:8). Whilst the number of marriages has gradually declined over the past two decades (Appendix 9:8), the number of divorces has steadily increased.Divorce became easier to effect and more common in the 1980s,

114

following the trend established in the 1970s after the Divorce Reform Act 1969, after which the divorce rate doubled (ibid). SHE's editor is not alone in moving 'in and out of marriage'. The higher number of divorces is more marked in countries with high economic activity rates (Eurostat 1990) which could suggest links between the greater financial independence of women through participation in the labour market and women's decision to seek divorce. Evidence of women's paid work will be considered below. Social trends 1992 reports the majority of divorce petitions being filed by women, three times as many as by men (Social Trends 1992 p.46).

Although there are changes there are also continuities in gender roles. The absence of men might suggest that the 'new man' has limited significance. Evidence from British Social Attitudes would seem to confirm that there has been little change in the performance of household tasks. Kiernan argues that changes in the sharing of household tasks over time, compared with earlier surveys have been imperceptible (Kiernan in Jowell et al (eds.) 1992) The traditional division of labour in the home persists with women being primarily responsible for laundry, cleaning and cooking and men having only the major responsibility for household repairs (Appendix 9:9) .

Sociological research has also produced evidence that, although men may be more interested in their children now than in previous decades, their involvement is limited to only a few areas (Brannen and Moss 1988, Lewis and O'Brien 1987, Phoenix 1991) thus supporting the argument that the 'new man' is little more than ' a figment of media imagination' (Phoenix et al 1991 p.4).

However there are shifts in domestic arrangements which might herald shifts in power relations within the family. Linda Kelsey refers to her 'partner' , highlighting another trend, i.e. that of cohabitation (Appendix 9:10). Although more couples may be living together without marrying, this may suggest a rearticulation of the family rather than its abandonment. Although there has been an increase in the number of births outside marriage, an increasing number of registrations have been made by cohabiting couples as was shown above.

It is still the case that the majority of children live with their natural parents, though there may be different permutations of domestic living. For example children may live with their natural mother and a step father, their cohabiting natural parents, who marry after the child's birth or, still most likely their married parents, (Clarke 1989). SHE is reflecting and

acknowledging some of this diversity, as well as suggesting some of the ways in which women make choices about different forms of domestic living.

The evidence suggests that women are making choices, about how many children they have and when and whether they have these children with a husband or cohabiting partner or whether they bring up a child on their own. How far these decisions are made within a discourse of choice, as they seem to be in SHE's construction of motherhood, must depend on the degree of financial autonomy a woman has and there is clearly an interrelationship between women's position as mothers and their participation in the labour market, especially in the Thatcherite climate of 'rolling back the state' in the 1980s.

In the March 1990 editorial, the issues of individualism and the right to make independent choices, whether to do paid work or to stay at home, are foregrounded. The editor herself presents a role model of the successful woman of the 1990s. What marks her out and makes possible not only some of her choices in her personal life, but also her success in accomplishing them, is her considerable achievement in the public arena of paid work. This figure draws on Thatcherite free market ideologies, where success is achieved by climbing the ladder of success and defeating others in competition for promotion, although rivalry and competition between women is concealed through the more explicit emphasis on collective action as in the 'Campaign for a Child Friendly Society' and friendship between women, which draws more on repertoires of feminist sisterhood and cooperation. Nonetheless what makes the SHE mother attractive and glamorous is her considerable success in the field of paid work.This also enables her to construct her identity within a vocabulary of choice.

The 1980s saw an increase in women's participation in the labour market. Between 1971 and 1990 the number of women in paid work rose by three million while the number of men only rose by 300,000 (Appendix 9:11) Evidence of 'economic activity' (Appendix 8:2) which includes those in and seeking paid work shows a considerable increase in the involvement of of married women (Appendix 9:12). Interestingly in 1990 the category of 'married women' included cohabitees (Appendix 9:12), which suggests some recognition of changing social relationships in the collection of official statistics.

The labour force has also changed its structure as shown by the reduction in the number of young people who are leaving education to enter employment . Projections suggest the decline in numbers of young people will continue into the mid nineties.

116

Comments in Social Trends highlight the need for employers who have relied on young people, to make use of 'alternative recruitment, such as the unemployed, women returners to the labour market and older workers'(Social Trends 1992 p.72). It is also anticipated that the activity rates for women will rise even faster than predicted if 'employers are particularly successful in attracting women back to work through measures such as flexible hours packages or subsidised child care ' (ibid p.72). This is reminiscent of some of the demands made in NEW WOMAN's feature on employers in October 1988 in Chapter Three and certainly has resonance with SHE's relaunch campaign for a 'Child Friendly Society' and the high profile given to the working mother .

Whether women are married or cohabit or on their own it seems child care is largely women's problem.This may also account for the relative absence of men in the images and texts of the editorials. One of the major issues for women as mothers in the 1990s is child care and the absence of men suggests that they do not play a large part in the resolution of this problem. The comments in Social Trends would appear to acknowledge this, suggesting that all mothers, whether married, cohabiting or single need the same support in order to carry out paid work. The financial needs of the lone parent are of course more pressing. The increase in lone parenting seems to coincide with demographic changes which are leading employers to recruit more mothers into the workforce. The other component is the government's awareness of the increasing welfare costs of support to lone parents which it has sought to relieve not by enabling single mothers to do paid work, by providing child care but by shifting the burden from the state on to absent fathers, employing the Child Support Agency.

Financial dependence and, more especially, poverty are elements omitted from the construction of motherhood in the SHE editorials. The decade of the 1980s was one of increasing poverty for families and for children (Kiernan and Wicks 1990). Where this is acknowledged in SHE it is as a social problem,'out there' and not part of the maternal identity represented in the editorials. Over the decade of the 'Thatcher Years' from 1979 the proportion of children living in poverty rose from 10% to 25% (H.M.S.O. 1992). Evidence from the Family Policy Studies centre shows that lone parents are twice as likely as two parent families to live in poverty, with the 90% which are headed by a lone mother twice as likely to be poor as the minority headed by a lone father (Roll 1992).

Lone parents, of whom 70% are dependent on Income Support (Roll 1992) are

unlikely to be the target readership of SHE, especially given their low level of disposable income, but what is important here is the possibility that there could be an attractive representation which combines motherhood, without dependence on a man or the state, with success and that motherhood could be a positive choice for women, a point that has been made even acknowledging the hardship which many single mothers experience (Shaw in Hardey and Crow 1991). In the world of women's magazines this suggests a new fantasy figure, the attractive successful working mother, to replace or join the other fantasies such as the perfect housewife and the beautiful young woman. The end of the fairy story could be getting a job and achieving financial independence, not marrying the prince.

Whilst acknowledging the importance of paid work in women's lives the magazine does not address the diversity of the labour market. Paid work is not the same for all women. A higher proportion of professional women works full time than any other group, regardless of whether they have children or not (Appendix 9:13).This is the more attractive aspect of paid work which SHE's editor represents . Part time work which earns less money, has less promotion prospects and fewer benefits than full time work (Himmelweit and Costello 1991) is much more likely to be undertaken by women than men (Appendix 9:14). In 1990 only one in ten men and more than four in ten women in employment were in part time work. Women's domestic commitments and the lack of availability of child care are most likely to account for this part time work. The number of part time jobs in the European Community as a whole has grown rapidly over the last ten years (Social Trends 1992 p. 76), with this being a feature of changing patterns of production and the move from heavy manufacturing to more service sector employment (ibid. p.74) and women's greater participation in the labour force.There is some disjuncture between the career advancement of SHE's successful, attractive working mother and the part time work of large numbers of mothers.

'Work' in official statistics is paid work and does not , for example include unpaid domestic work . Economic activity is defined as involving people who are employed in paid work or registered as unemployed the week prior to the survey interview (Appendix 8:2,8:3). SHE addresses mothers' domestic responsibilities directly, acknowledging that bringing up children is hard work, for the mother at home as well as for the mother in paid work, who both lead 'frantic lives'. SHE's editor calls for the barriers between

118

'working and non working mothers' to be broken down, with ' respect for one another's way of life'. In the SHE editorial this division is constructed within a dichotomy of choice, as a life style choice, rather than an economic necessity and the emphasis is more on the 'working mother'.

The Labour Force Survey from which Social Trends data are taken does not include information on unpaid domestic work, though it does cover evidence of reasons given for working part time (Social Trends 1992 p.77).'Domestic Commitments' does not constitute a category in the possible reasons in the list offered to respondents. 'Didn't want a full time job' as a category would presumably cover but obscure women's domestic responsibilities.

Another aspect of women's 'domestic responsibilities' which may pass unrecognised in the official statistics and is also largely absent from the discourse of motherhood in the SHE editorials is care for the elderly.This group could have relevance to the construction of the 'caring mother' since there has been a significant increase in the number of elderly and very elderly,over 75, in the U.K. in recent years and care for this group has largely fallen to women (Kiernan and Wicks 1990). The elderly are also likely to be amongst those households with below average income; in fact in 1989 pensioner couples constituted 9% and single pensioners 13% of the poorest decile (H.M.S.O. 1992).Caring for an elderly relative, where three quarters of those who do so are women, is part of the 'caring mother/woman' role (Muncie and Sapsford 1993), but even if this is what many women do it does not seem to be a feature of the 'caring mother' in SHE.

In the SHE editorials the 'caring mother' of the earlier magazines is more explicitly addressed as the reconstructed 'relationship expert' of the magazines from 1988,in particular NEW WOMAN. This is signposted in the relaunch editorial where Linda Kelsey picks out SHE's new feature on 'Couples Counselling' as a key article in the new SHE. This is a reworking of the ' caring mother' in that it addresses ' the point of view of both parties involved ' in relationships. The problems involved in relationships are a very common feature of women's magazines and emotional work is often presented as 'women's work' (Winship 1987). SHE offers men's views on their relationships with women in this article which is to be a regular feature . It brings men into the 'women's world ' of magazines but does not offer any departure from the familiar notion that it is women who are interested in such issues and women who have responsibility for resolving difficulties.

The new men's magazines such as G.Q. and ESQUIRE do not have such features for male readers, giving men advice on how to solve emotional problems. There is a shift in the notion of the all-caring, solely responsible woman in the text here in that space is to be given to men's perspectives which could allow for a more equal allocation of responsibility in relationships and at least puts men's responsibility on the agenda. Men's innocence cannot be assumed if we are to be presented with both sides, 'rather than the usual one-sided way', suggesting a logic which denies the acceptability of former practices and hints at a 'new man' who does not regard relationships and emotional work as solely women's responsibility.

The SHE relaunch offers a reworking of the 'caring mother' and the 'working mother' with Linda Kelsey in particular personifying the possibility of combining motherhood with paid work where successful motherhood is articulated in terms of 'finding oneself' drawing both on the repertoire of consciousness raising and the importance of finding one's real self within feminism, and the language of the free market using a vocabulary of choice. Linda Kelsey is a parent but 'first and foremost...a woman and an individual' (SHE March 1990 p.3). The pleasure in this subjectivity offered to the reader must lie partly in the fantasy of being a mother **and** having a well paid career as well as exploring and expressing one's individuality, whilst also looking attractive. This represents a new mix around the working mother with the added element of being an individual.

The editor does acknowledge that motherhood can be 'frantic', but SHE offers the means of overcoming some at least of the practical difficulties and Linda Kelsey's own success is proof of the possibility. These practical difficulties reflect something of the experience of the social institution of motherhood with its responsibilities encompassing the emotional work of caring for men as well as children, and possibly elderly relatives, and the domestic labour of household management and the demands of paid work.

Motherhood in particular, as an exclusively female identity which can be celebrated and constructed as a positive source of difference for women, has been picked out as a space for women within the 'women's world' of the magazines. The subjectivity of motherhood in the maternal body represented in SHE uses a female corporeality to which men cannot lay claim. However it is not the woman centred celebration of 1970s feminism but a new articulation of essential motherhood with autonomy and independence in the competitive material world.

120

Difference between women and men may be highlighted but differences between women have a low profile. The very appeal of SHE's editor who appears to 'have it all' excludes or marginalises other women. The most significant omission is the poverty that often accompanies motherhood especially for lone parents and the dependence on the state which positions a large number of mothers outside the range of choices presented in SHE. Lack of child care is more than a problem to be solved for many women; it is a hurdle they cannot overcome that prevents them from participating in the labour market and ensures their dependence on the state ,or increasingly in the 1990s on their child's absent father. However what is important here is the way in which SHE's editor presents new ways of thinking about motherhood and ' a place from which mothers can speak'. We are not presented with dependence on a man as the solution to the problems of single parenthood.

Most notably SHE recognises the increased number of women in paid work over the last decade, the increasing numbers of children born to unmarried mothers, the increasing numbers of 'late mothers' and the beginning of a decline in the number of marriages and increasing number of divorces along with the higher frequency of cohabitation. These trends are illustrated in the lives of Linda Kelsey and Nadia Marks, where SHE's mother matches many of the features of women's lives. There is a much closer fit between the discourses of motherhood in the magazine as illustrated by its editorials, and evidence about the experience of women in British society in the 1980s than arguments about familial ideology as a distortion of reality would claim (Gittins 1985). The SHE mother is not an idealised domesticated figure, concerned only with child care and household activities. SHE suggests much more support for the idea of the 'working mother' than New Right political rhetoric would endorse, or even envisage. SHE's editor offers a closer synthesis between representation and the motherhood of lived experience, as recorded in the evidence of social trends. The example of Linda Kelsey is of course selective, especially in terms of economic class, access to resources and ethnicity but SHE's mother does incorporate social change and suggest a new figure of motherhood offered to readers/ mothers as a way of making sense of their own experience.

The marginalisation of men is also supported by evidence of the lives of many women. Ann Phoenix's research suggests that working class young mothers have little

need for the fathers of their children, as a young man out of work is only an additional drain on the family's resources (Phoenix 1991) and teenage mothers no longer require the presence of a man/husband as a signifier of respectability (Campbell 1984).

The removal of the stigma attached to unmarried motherhood in previous generations is an important component in SHE's construction of maternity. Linda Kelsey creates the possibility, in fact she personally embodies the reality of being successful in both paid work and relationships, a sexually attractive woman who is not dependent on a man, but who is a mother. She's caring, working, sexy and a mother. Not only is it the case that there are more women choosing late motherhood and single motherhood, whether through never marrying or by divorcing, but SHE constructs this as a positive and attractive choice which becomes possible to consider as without stigma and even desirable.

SHE was relaunched at a time of economic and social change. More women were participating in the labour market and it was a time of escalating numbers of births to unmarried mothers and a rising divorce rate. The magazine chose to focus on motherhood and the way this is reflected and constructed within the editorials suggests a new articulation incorporating paid work and the independence it can afford women to make choices, notably not to be dependent on men, even if the figure of motherhood emerging here is seen as having a heterosexual identity. It draws on different repertoires of political ideologies of Thatcherism and feminism but has resonance with changing social and economic trends. A figure of motherhood is emerging in SHE which I investigate in the next chapter in more detail. I turned to SHE in the year following its relaunch in order to find out the ways in which the magazine attempts to confront and resolve some of the contradictions and conflicts of new motherhood could reveal more about the mother of the 1990s .

Chapter 7.

The Independent Mother.

This chapter explores a new figure of motherhood emerging in the 1990s.This figure draws on previous figures of motherhood and combines Thatcherite individualism with feminist collectivism, continuities in the emotional concerns of women with relationships with resistance to the old constraints of domesticity. This new mother rearticulates the 'caring' and the 'working' mothers of Chapter Three into a composite new representation of motherhood which includes sexuality and sexual attraction. This figure of motherhood combines the independence of paid work with motherhood in a positive, attractive discourse as illustrated by SHE's relaunch editorials, making this the 'Independent Mother'.

The ' Independent Mother' contests the attempts of the political Right to repathologise single motherhood, and suggests a significant change from an association of single motherhood with dependency and poverty, to a representation of a positive attractive choice for women at an historical moment of change where the elements in the construction of this new figure are picked out and the figure is thus 'put into discourse' (Foucault 1987 p.11). These components combine at a particular historical point in the 1990s, to form a new identity produced through a synthesis of discourses .

I have chosen SHE because of the high profile which its relaunch gives to motherhood and because Its relaunch editor provides a personification of some of the elements of Independent Motherhood which I want to explore in more depth. My aim here is to explore the construction of this figure through detailed textual examination of selected articles from SHE in the early 1990s, in the year following the relaunch of the magazine. The articles chosen are typical of those in SHE during this period and take up many of the concerns identified in the relaunch editorials.These articles illustrate the social and economic changes identified in Chapter Six, especially mothers' participation in the labour market and changing patterns of domestic living. They share some explicit concern with motherhood and include social and personal issues of concern to mothers as well as representations of children, which were taken as signifiers of motherhood in my work on the 1988 monthly magazines. The inclusion of babies and children is still relatively unusual especially in fashion features but this is becoming a more regular feature of SHE. The

articles chosen are

1) The Mothers' Mafia by Anthea Gerrie ,(SHE Feb.1991 p. 86-p.87)(Appendix 10:1)

2) Christmas and the Single Mother by Angela Phillips (SHE Dec. 1990 p.112-p.114).

(Appendix 10:2)

3) You Look Stunning! A Fashion Feature by Louise Pearce and Elaine Farmer

(SHE Dec. 1990 p.100-p.110).　(Appendix 10:3)

4) Other Ways to Make a Family by Madeleine Reiss, (SHE July 1990 p.72-p.74).

(Appendix 10:4)

The three feature articles here address the issue of motherhood and the family directly. They retain SHE's focus on controversial issues and attempt to engage with contemporary debates. Two are about alternatives to the two parent nuclear family, showing awareness of social trends. This suggests the possibility of finding out about what SHE constructs as alternatives and what position is taken on these. Are 'alternative' forms of domestic living presented as problems or positive choices ? Two are taken from a Christmas edition of the magazine. Christmas is an important signifier which carries connotations of familial ideologies, acting as a condensation of traditional discourses around the family and gender roles. The 'Mothers' Mafia' is perhaps somewhat different in its acerbic style, disrupting the cosy intimacy of the women's magazine,making it rather incongruous. It is however in the SHE tradition of presenting provocative,even contentious articles, and illustrates well the conflict between mothers in paid work and mothers at home which SHE takes on board as stated in the first relaunch editorial (SHE March 1990 p.3). Here the editor Linda Kelsey states the dilemma for women as mothers facing the competing demands of paid work and child care and the ideological conflict between being a paid worker in the public arena and a successful, caring mother in the private world of the home. In the 'Mothers' Mafia' this conflict is expressed through representation of the division between 'good' and 'bad' mothers, a tension which women have to negotiate. This article and the other two are both complementary and contradictory, and offer good examples of what Barthes has called the text as 'a multidimensional space in which are married (sic) and contested several writings' which are 'multiple writings from several cultures' (Barthes 1986 p.52), which can thus be read in several different ways, having a range of meanings.

In this chapter I employ Foucault's notion of power as neither positive nor

negative but productive. Power is seen as diffuse and 'a composite result made up of a multiplicity of centres and mechanisms' (Foucault quoted in Sheridan 1980 p.218). I seek to examine further the relation between pleasures, knowledge and power and the operation of 'micro powers' in the construction of the figure of the Independent Mother. Micro powers refer to the multiple and diffuse levels at which power, which permeates discourse and social relations, can be exercised, challenging the notion that there is one overarching source of power. As suggested in Chapter Six in analysing the SHE relaunch editorials, commercial interests combine with discourses of feminism and individualistic and collectivist political discourses to produce the emerging figure of the Independent Mother. This chapter explores how this figure is created in the magazines through different features images and texts in SHE, through what is explicit and through the spaces and omissions. This also involves looking at how the Independent Mother can be seen as a construct which involves a systematisation of pleasure in relation to changing articulations of power (Foucault 1987 p.141) within society, notably in relation to patterns of employment and changing familial and domestic relations as explored in chapter five.

The other theoretical model I draw on here is that of psychoanalysis, to which I have taken an eclectic approach, as in earlier chapters. I apply psychoanalytic theory in conjunction with discourse analysis, in the way that feminists such as Wendy Hollway (Hollway in Henriques et al 1984) have, to offer some explanation of how discourses work and why they are effective, arguing that discourse alone merely describes what is and does not offer an adequate explanation of why it is. This approach offers a useful contribution, for example in showing how discourses of motherhood in SHE can interpellate women as subjects at the level of the unconscious, making an appeal to unconscious needs and desires. The unconscious of feminist psychoanalytical approaches such as that of Irigaray which prioritises the female unconscious, rooted in relation to the maternal body rather than the paternal phallus of Freud, or the phallus as key signifier in Lacan, can be used to explain the absence of motherhood as in the monthly magazines examined in chapter three, as well as its presence in SHE. As Irigaray argues it is desire for the mother, for 'the imaginary and symbolic relationship with the mother' (Irigaray in Whitford 1991 p.35) which culture has suppressed. Independent Motherhood can be seen as mediating unconscious desires, where the maternal subject position is challenged and transformed. These ideas can be used to explain the appeal of the 'women's world' as

125

part of that female imaginary ,of the magazines and the particular construction of motherhood that I am exploring here.

Psychoanalysis is also itself a discourse, a set of ideas which constructs its own truth and has even become part of common sense within everyday interaction and especially within the medium of women's magazines. Thi s was apparent in Chapter Three in both the language of the article on 'Sons and Mothers' and in the visual representations and in the ambiguities of the SHE cover images discussed in Chapter Five. I also seek to use psychoanalytic theory as a discourse the concepts and processes of which are employed in the creation of the Independent Mother, especially the notions of Narcissism and the Mirror Phase in the construction of identity. These are part of the symbolic system of representation used by women's magazines and thus offer examples of psychoanalysis as discourse, as **well** as being part of the explanation which psychoanalysis affords. I am not using these concepts as universal laws, but as concepts which are part of culture and which inform systems of representation such those within women's magazines. These magazines are much concerned with what Laura Mulvey has called the 'long love affair/despair between image and self image' (Mulvey 1975 p.10), and present women with mirror images, often literally using a mirror in the representation, through which identities are constructed.

The next section examines the four articles in some detail showing how the figure of the Independent Mother is constructed in the text as part of a new discourse of motherhood .

'The Mothers' Mafia'.

This article is signposted in the editorials, as controversial and likely to provoke reader response,

'I suspect that many of you will be outraged by Anthea's remarks'

(SHE Feb.1991 p.3)

Linda Kelsey, the editor acknowledges the tension in these words, especially given the relaunched SHE's commitment to breaking down the barriers between mothers in paid work and those who stay at home in full time child care. As she goes on to say in the editorial however,

'I'm afraid Anthea Gerrie's diatribe against the Mothers' Mafia

suggests that the gulf is still great and possibly growing'.
Controversy and conflict are signalled before we even read the article.

This article follows the usual magazine format of addressing a topic using personalised experience with the opinions and experiences of a small number of people whether famous or authorities or experts in the field, or ordinary women whose authenticity is endorsed by their being named.

The reader is immediately addressed as 'you' and thus drawn into a shared intimacy with the author who has the subject position of the 'working mother'. Thus the reader is also interpellated as a modern 'working mother'. Given the tenor of this article it would be very difficult to identify with the figure of the 'stay at home mother', except perhaps as part of a very angry protest at the injustice of her representation here. It is more possible to think positively about the working mother because the mother at home is so negatively represented.

The introductory paragraph constructs the successful career woman who, nonetheless, is denied access to the world of mothers at home. A very successful woman,'the head of public affairs for a multi national ' company is used to reinforce the binary opposition of the 'mother at home' and the 'mother at work'. There is even the explicit use of 'Us' and 'Them' to characterise this dichotomy. Two mother figures are thus constructed through the text, but not in predictable ways. The author champions the working mother, so that it is this subjectivity which is most positively put into the discourse of motherhood. It is the 'Mothers' Mafia' identified with mothers at home which is constructed as alien. The contradiction in the title is further compounded. Not only is there the absurd and unexpected juxtaposition of mothers with the Mafia, but it is the mother who stays at home with her children who is part of the Mafia. A crucial feature of this construction of motherhood is that it involves contradiction as well as conflict. The idealised domestic ideology of the 1950s mother at home may be part of the genealogy of motherhood but it is not an attractive proposition, nor a possible one for many women as is suggested by the empirical evidence on women's increased participation in the labour market in Chapter Six.

Further contradiction is shown in the way that in this article the existence of the figure of the 'mother at home' divides women and denies them the camaraderie which is presented here in the 'companionship around the coffee machine, the company of people

127

who have a preference for a ' "jaw session" ' (SHE Feb.1991 p.87) and the support which the author eventually finds in another working mother, a solicitor with whom she shares child care in the school holidays.

It is also significant that this supportive friend is a solicitor. Motherhood here is very middle class.The working mother seems idealised by being represented as successful, identified with Anne Klahn, 'the head of public affairs', or in an attractive career such as that of a journalist or a solicitor. Working mothers occupy higher paid professional posts here, which may be the kind of work which working mothers are more likely to do full time (Appendix 9:15) but as Chapter Six 's consideration of the kind of low paid, part time work most women do, the majority of working mothers are not so employed. The mothers at home are also represented as very middle class . The two figures are located within a relatively narrow socio-economic grouping, with no reference to the economic problems of the mother in paid work, who does low paid, low grade, probably part time work or of the single mother without paid work. The author refers to 'one of the prep school mothers' indicating that the educational context here is one of private education. The absence of any reference to race or ethnicity may suggest assumptions that these mothers are white,implying an ethnic norm of the white middle class. Motherhood is explicitly class based and middle class in its construction here although class, gender and status articulate together in different ways in the text. The contestation here is in a middle class ideological terrain, between traditional and progressive values.

Class is made explicit through the occupations of the working mothers. The 'mother at home' entertains other such mothers to elaborate 'luncheons', with the best china and three courses, traditional bourgeois signifiers of status. The 'at home' mother might be an appropriate title for such a woman, who may well issue 'At Home' invitations to her friends. The working mother presents a new challenge to these outdated class status symbols, further endorsed by the mockery of the 'at home' mothers who look 'as if they've baked a cake for the summer fete before breakfast' (SHE Feb.1991 p.86).

Status also articulates with gender. The working mother derives status from being a surrogate man in some of her attributes. This status can be the power of the public arena of paid work, signified by wearing a 'business suit and full make up'. For men, suits signify status, and to be still wearing a 'business suit' at a school function or even collecting the child after school , suggests pressing demands which are too important to allow one time

to return home to change. Men's status from the public arena of paid work is here accredited to working mothers.

The mother at home by contrast is pale and faceless, with no name and wearing a 'fluffy cardigan' with 'fluffy hair'. She seems like a child's soft toy, suggesting a projection of the fear of this lack of power and control onto this other, alien mother figure. Freud (Diamond in Wright 1992 p.352) sees projection as taking place when the subject's ego disowns unacceptable impulses by attributing them to someone else. Thus the mother at home, who is constructed as pathetic through this pallor and bizarre fluffiness, is frightening to the working mother. If a woman does not have paid work she will be relegated to this position of dependency, which is presented as the only alternative for women. In rejecting domesticity the 'working mother' needs to make this figure one which is unattractive and even absurd. In order to put the successful 'working mother' 'into discourse' this alternative figure needs to be made ludicrous because the apparent security of domesticity and dependence may have a seductive appeal, as argued by Colette Dowling in The Cinderella Complex (Dowling 1982), especially in a society where participating in the labour market presents logistical difficulties for mothers because of the lack of child care. The existence of the 'mother at home' figure makes the task of the working mother even more difficult, which may explain the projection of hostility onto this mother figure.

Sexuality seems absent in the construction of the mother at home, though heterosexuality seems assumed as is, presumably, dependence on a man and his earnings, though the man himself is absent from the text. However there is some hint of sexual excitement in the life of the working mother, through the power which can be exercised in the public arena of paid work, and its equation with men's power, as in the wearing of suits and in the somewhat unexpected reference by the journalist to her working clothes of 'black leather'. This signifier of sexuality is exceptional, however, and motherhood and sexuality are still largely separate.

Men are absent from the text and the images here, even though the semiotic associations of 'Mafia' involve aggressively masculine codes of machismo. The main contradiction of the article title is the association of mothers with the Mafia, further exaggerated when we discover that it is the 'fluffy' mothers at home who are so indicated. Male codes operate but men/fathers are largely absent.

129

ot
're
ub
an
n.
ve
id-
nd
ive
his
re-
I-
lic
os-
ict-
up
the
've
ner
nes

The illustration here is very much in contrast to the description in the text. The fluffy mothers at home of the text are here depicted as sinister figures, attired in the guise of gangsters with even a violin case reminiscent of Al Capone and the St. Valentine's Day Massacre. The juxtaposition of mothers at the school gate with the Mafia is particularly bizarre, both in the association of ideas and in the style of the drawing, so unlike the more usual genre within the mainstream of popular culture of the fashion photograph of attractive women. These sinister figures further enhance the idea of their representation as the projection of the hostility which the working mother feels towards the constraints of the 'mother at home'.

In Melanie Klein's explanation of the child's construction of its own identity (Klein 1946) the process of 'splitting' occurs, whereby negative feelings are projected onto the 'bad' mother whereas the 'good' mother receives the positive feelings of the child. Splitting, through projection and introjection, is the early mechanism of defence where both the ego and the object may be split into the ideal (good) and the destructive (bad) parts; through projective identification the primitive self tries to eliminate the unwanted parts of the self to protect them and resolve, or avoid, internal conflict. As the child 'splits' its mother here, we can see women as mothers splitting their own perception of the role of mother into these two categories to resolve psychic conflict. This article is not simply an attack on one group of women, the mothers at home, but a recognition of idealised constructions of motherhood as an institution with which women have to contend.

I have suggested that one component of the ideal of the mother at home could be represented by the traditional role of mothers in the 1950s. This idealism goes back much further historically, as Kaplan suggests, arguing that the ideal of the patriarchal, Christian cultural mother is a significant discursive figure (Kaplan 1992 p.42), which situates motherhood in religious and ethical discourses, using the language of sin, transgression and guilt for those who rebel against the constraints. This cultural mother has been used to construct the working mother as 'other' within a discourse of morality, but it is she who is 'other' and alien, in the psychic struggle between the two conceptions of motherhood and the battle for the identity of the Independent Mother.

The Independent Mother is herself idealised through the class and status with which she is endowed, largely through her position in paid work particularly of professional status. The Independent Mother has some of these attributes which have been associated

131

with men especially in the public arena of paid work. She is also the more attractive because of the negative representation of her alter ego, the mother at home, whom it seems she has to overcome in order to create a new identity.

The text uses the language of psychoanalysis in addressing feelings of guilt, jealousy and anger and represents some of the conflict in the emergence of the Independent Mother as a choice for women, giving space to some of the psychic struggles which this involves. This language also constructs that conflict, giving voice to a binary opposition, where the mother at home is constructed as the 'other', who is part of the genealogy of motherhood which is here rejected.

The figure of the Independent Mother presented in this article offers an articulation of class, gender and status. She emerges within a middle class framework, as a progressive, new figure, associated with paid work and economic independence. She is multi-faceted as a new ideal with feminist implications of freedom and independence and some desire for collective support from other women, notably from other working mothers. She is contradictory and represents fragmented elements of individualism and collectivism and the tension between the two. Her status derives more from the public world of paid work associated with men, whose symbols of power she sometimes appropriates. The Independent Mother bridges the public/private divide in her concerns with paid work and child care.

This article represents some of the struggle in which conflicting mother figures are engaged and particularly highlights the oppositions in the construction of a new identity and a new mother figure. Other articles suggest continuities and highlight different aspects of the Independent Mother.

The next two articles are taken from the December 1990 edition of SHE and each has a Christmas focus. Christmas editions of women's magazines often feature children, on the cover for example, as shown in Chapter Three, with conventional portrayals of a family Christmas, with snow, Christmas trees and presents, even, or perhaps especially, in magazines where children do not usually have a high profile. The two articles chosen here from the Christmas edition of SHE are both typical and atypical. The first has a focus on the family, but it is not the traditional nuclear family; the second is a typical fashion feature on glamorous party wear for the festive season, but it also includes children and babies, who

are usually absent when magazines seek to signify glamour for women. Thus the articles illustrate both continuity and change and have been chosen for the ways in which each contributes to the development of the figure of the Independent Mother. Each offers different as well as complementary elements in its construction .

Christmas connotes a whole set of meanings associated with gender, family, production and consumption. Some of these meanings are explicitly addressed here, whereas others are assumed. 'Christmas and the Single Mother' (SHE Dec.1990 p.112-114), by its existence in the magazine, acknowledges a disruption of some of the assumptions about Christmas and family, which it accepts in signalling the link between single motherhood and loneliness at Christmas, with its cover trailer of 'coping with the loneliest time of the year'. The article follows a familiar women's magazine format, taking a topic for discussion and supporting points made with personal statements from named people. These are personalised accounts of women's experiences, in this case friends of the author rather than famous people or 'experts'. This reinforces the intimacy of the shared experience of the readers and shows a recognition that this is an issue with which many readers have to engage, as supported by the evidence in Chapter Six of the increase in the number of single mothers. The article starts by introducing the stereotype of the 'family Christmas' described as 'that Hovis time of year', recognising the influence of commercial advertising in constructing the norm of the family. It offers personal anecdotes showing the problems which single mothers experience, and invites recognition from the reader who may well have herself felt the same hopes, fears and disappointments. The starting point for the construction of the Independent Mother here is the traditional nuclear family and the inadequacy and failure of the dependent mother position within that family, whatever its claims to happiness, especially at Christmas. The main thrust of the examples here is to show the failure of attempts to reconstruct the past and the traditional, historical family represented by ideals of the 1950s, and the need to reconstruct the role of mother for women. Using the 'repressive hypothesis' Foucault argues that movements for sexual liberation themselves construct regulatory discourses, and that it is regulatory discourses which produce those of liberation (Foucault 1987 p.7). It can be argued that, in giving motherhood a high profile, SHE can be seen as part of a mechanism of power and regulation in the production of a new discourse of resistance to traditional conceptions of the family. The first feature of Independent Motherhood here is resistance.

The article concludes with a very positive section advocating 'doing what you and your children enjoy' and creating an active and attractive alternative, showing another feature of Independent Motherhood to be choice and the negotiation of alternatives to traditional family discourses for the single mother.

The Independent Mother challenges the patriarchal nuclear family of which she was once part and attempts to return to the traditional, married, heterosexual relationship of that family are described as unsuccessful. The wish fulfilment of trying to recover the apparent unity of the traditional family is illustrated, for example in Jane's experience of the romantic Christmas dinner, subsequent claims by her estranged husband that they would 'try again' only to be devastated by the disappointment that he had gone back to his girl friend. The message of this modern morality tale is that women need to consider other possibilities, not to revert to former relationships, but to look forward to new alternatives. The high profile given to the traditional family as the starting point and as that which sets the agenda acknowledges the ideological and psychological pull which such a family grouping has as an historical discourse.

The article gives expression to anger and jealousy, legitimising these feelings in the event of relationship break down but also prompting positive action,especially through resistance. One of the strategies of resistance of Independent Motherhood is to establish opposition to traditional family subjectivities, which are represented negatively in narratives taking the form of morality tales, warning women against attempts to recover subject positions within traditional familial discourse.

Psychoanalysis is used as a discourse and its language used to describe the anger and jealousy and impossible dreams which cannot be satisfied.These dreams are also shown to be undesirable dreams. The anger and jealousy of the abandoned wife/mother is brought out in the case of the woman who sent her child's first tooth to the father so that his new partner's Christmas would be ruined.This retributive act however does not seem sufficient victory in itself, though it gives some indication of women fighting back and not merely accepting their abandonment passively. This is another component of Independent Motherhood; activity rather than passivity.

The Independent Mother as a subject position within a discourse of resistance is one which involves choice and agency. Women can negotiate new subjectivities. The article suggests that the scenario of the traditional nuclear family which these women

have all left is not the only possibility. There is a brief reference to a 'perfect picture of contented monogamy' but rather than being held up as realistically attainable and desirable, it serves to reinforce the need for the single mother to seek her own solutions and to construct her own experience of motherhood, positively as an active agent. Independent Motherhood is concerned with moving forward and developing new strategies, and rejecting 'that claustrophobic family stuff'. The article suggests mothers should 'ignore the traditional routines and do what makes you and your children happy'.

Not only is Independent Motherhood new and progressive, rejecting old values, but it is also active and practical. The reader is exhorted 'to organise Christmas for yourself and others like you' and to 'make plans well in advance'.This suggests that the Independent Mother is able to take control of her own life and to construct her own identity which has resonance of the language of the free market in Thatcherite individualism.

In presenting different choices available to women the genealogy of Independent Motherhood includes different discourses, notably those of individualism, in suggesting that mothers can negotiate their own solutions, and of feminism, in breaking away from past, patriarchal constraints.

The positive image of motherhood produced in the second part of the article has resonances with Adrienne Rich's description of her own happy experiences of the unconstrained elements of her relationship with her children which challenge the patriarchal constraints of the institution of motherhood (Rich 1977 p.194-195),as also suggested in the NEW WOMAN 'Sons and Mothers' article (Chapter Three). As Irigaray argues , it is the desire for the ' imaginary and symbolic relationship with the mother' (Irigaray in Whitford 1991 p.35) which culture has suppressed. Independent Motherhood opens up some space in the symbolic system for this representation and offers some entry into a female Imaginary and the maternal genealogy which patriarchy can be seen as denying, as argued by Irigaray in her critique of psychoanalysis (Irigaray 1985,1993). Irigaray argues that patriarchal culture lacks representation of 'the imaginary and symbolic relationship with the mother, with the woman-mother' (Irigaray in Whitford 1991 p.35). To create an attractive figure of Independent Motherhood a positive representation of the mother-child relationship is essential to women's autonomy as **women**, and not only as mothers, a point stressed by Whitford (Whitford 1991). Relationships between women, the sisterhood

which is part of feminist discourse, is only possible if recognition is given to the maternal genealogy within culture.

Independent Motherhood includes feminist notions of valuing female attributes, and some autonomy and agency, including the idea of mothers choosing to please themselves. The article closes with the recommendation that mothers indulge themselves with some luxury. A maternal subjectivity can thus include pleasure and consumption and is not only concerned with pleasing others. This also suggests that Independent Motherhood is a marketable identity. The reference to luxury does raise the question of material resources, which in this article, as in the 'Mothers Mafia', is not presented as problematical. A middle class position is still largely assumed. There is one brief reference by Radience Strathdee to ' living on benefit', but the major emphasis is on women negotiating emotional rather than economic problems. This stage in the construction of the Independent Mother draws on the 'caring mother' of earlier texts, especially in addressing and acknowledging the emotional struggles in the creation of identity.

that sin-
demned to
yless day.
works for
rganisation
ilies. She
arent and
g on bene-
nd hardly
o out be-
't pay for
d save up
Christmas
ich to my
al family
many peo-
d go out
ing to the
"

the best
ly in the
paration.
s, parents
le the un-
and affec-
he parents
this solu-
s difficul-
ge break-
feel like
ie to Mo-
ist refuge

est family
use some
sanne and
nt several
ier sister
and their
uld be a
ent. They
nd all get
there is a

mean and
't think I
Christmas
re just so
ere am I
r year of
elf-reliant,
ngle par-
ddled up
drinking
a perfect
d mono-
me feel
ejected."
e said for
yourself
ers in the
her than
lse to ask
are busy
cook the
ime as ▶

The illustration accompanying the text is constructed within the genre of the family portrait. It looks like a conventional nuclear family with a man, woman and child, but it becomes clear that although it employs the codes of the traditional family portrait, the central figure is a woman, the mother, the shorter figure her daughter and the little child the younger sibling. The mother occupies the central, traditionally male, position enclosing her family in her arms. The Independent Mother occupies a very different position in this representation of the family from the one which mothers are usually accorded in the traditional nuclear family. She is the adult centre of the group, in a strong position as the 'head of the family'. This is a new articulation of family using existing, familiar symbols, which it nonetheless unsettles by disrupting conventional expectations.

'L'Ecriture Feminine' is seen by Helene Cixous as an attempt to inscribe femininity which has been repressed within masculine symbolic order, creating the possibility of change, which ' cannot fail to be more than subversive' (Cixous 1981 p.258). Whilst not wanting to make excessive revolutionary claims for women's magazines which are a commercial venture within the mainstream of popular culture, the notion of a woman's voice challenging the masculine symbolic order, and Cixous's ideas about disruption and subversion help explain the attraction of the Independent Mother in this 'women's world'. This new figure can be seen as subverting the dominant phallocentric logic in the search for 'a new subject....(which) explodes codes and social orders, undoes censorships and repression' (Conley 1984 p.26).

Different signifiers of disruption appear in the representations here. The fact that this is not a conventional family is enhanced by the lack of a conventional Christmas setting. There is no snow; it is sunny and the family members are not even wearing coats.This Independent Mother is in control,happy and confident in her own family group, countering assumptions about single motherhood necessarily involving depression, dependency and lack of autonomy. Here is a woman who is a mother without male support , who is neither a victim nor a tragic figure.She is attractive and presents a positive image of Independent Motherhood.

In this article the Independent Mother suggests a discourse o f resistance to that of the patriarchal nuclear family and the dependent mother within it. It challenges the idea that only joint parenthood can bring happiness and that the single mother is necessarily an outsider, taking what exists as its starting point. There is the suggestion that

Independent Motherhood is a practical. proposition and not only an escape or an idealised image, though its appeal must lie in the gaps it fills in existing symbolic systems. It opens up the possibilities of being happy with one's children 'the people you like best in the world' or even without them, as in Radience Strathdee's example of eating and drinking too much 'secure in the knowledge that I wouldn't have to put any children to bed that night'. Other questions are raised by this, such as the possibility of whether the happiness outlined is **only** possible outside joint parenting and how far mothers are happy without their children, but these are not explored further. The recognition that mothers may not want to be with their children, manifest in the absence of children in the 1988 monthlies in chapter three, presents a challenge to biological assumptions about motherhood, the 'myth of motherhood' (Comer 1974) and historical constructions of the 'good mother' addressed in Chapter One. What is left out suggests something of motherhood as 'the dark continent par excellence. It remains in the shadows of our culture' (Irigaray in Whitford 1991 p.35), but the possibility of women not wanting to be with their children is at least raised here.

In the 'Mothers Mafia' there was more emphasis on the success of the working mother in paid work and on the competitive, market based aspects of Independent Motherhood, whereas here it is another element which is stressed. It is not the more masculine attributes suggesting those elements of the mother figure enveloped in 'the needs/desires/fantasies of men' (Irigaray in Whitford 1991 p.77), but those drawing more on feminist repertoires and satisfying the need for a figure located within a female Imaginary. This highlights the contradictory subjectivity of a figure who is both individualistic and competitive, cooperative and caring.

The discussion of this article has indicated some of the commonalities with the first article in the construction of the Independent Mother, the class base and assumptions, and largely heterosexual identity, though again with men either absent or negatively represented. This figure is located within current discourses of the family, to which she presents resistance. Guild argues that even *ecriture feminine* 'does not claim to operate beyond the existing cultural and linguistic order in some pure new space' (Guild in Wright 1992 p.76), but in this example of a text within popular culture there is resistance and disruption which this new mother figure can be seen as offering. The Independent Mother develops characteristics of the 'caring mother' of the earlier magazines but rearticulates

139

these features within a more overtly feminist conceptualisation, engaging directly with discussion within the context of Christmas with its condensation of associations of family and tradition.

'You Look Stunning!'   SHE December 190 p.100-112.

   This is a fairly typical fashion feature in that it has several full page pictures predominantly of a conventionally attractive female model wearing a range of party dresses. It includes small inset pictures illustrating a short text on appropriate make up and hints on dress for the party season. What makes the feature unusual is its inclusion of babies and children. Three of these full page pictures include young girls and three feature a baby. Two of the larger pictures include a man, predictably in a dinner suit, but atypically in each picture he is holding the baby. The message seems to be that mothers, as signified by the presence of children, can be glamorous and have a good time in the party season. The Independent Mother enjoys herself.

   I have chosen to analyse two of the pictures in this feature.The first (A) is the introductory two page spread featuring the female model and a young girl, signifying the mother/daughter relationship. The second (B), is a full page 'family portrait' of the woman, a man and a baby. They have been chosen as illustrative of the women's magazine genre of fashion features but also to suggest some more specific aspects of Independent Motherhood, especially insofar as they disrupt some of the expectations of the typical fashion piece and rework some of its conventions to produce a new mother figure.
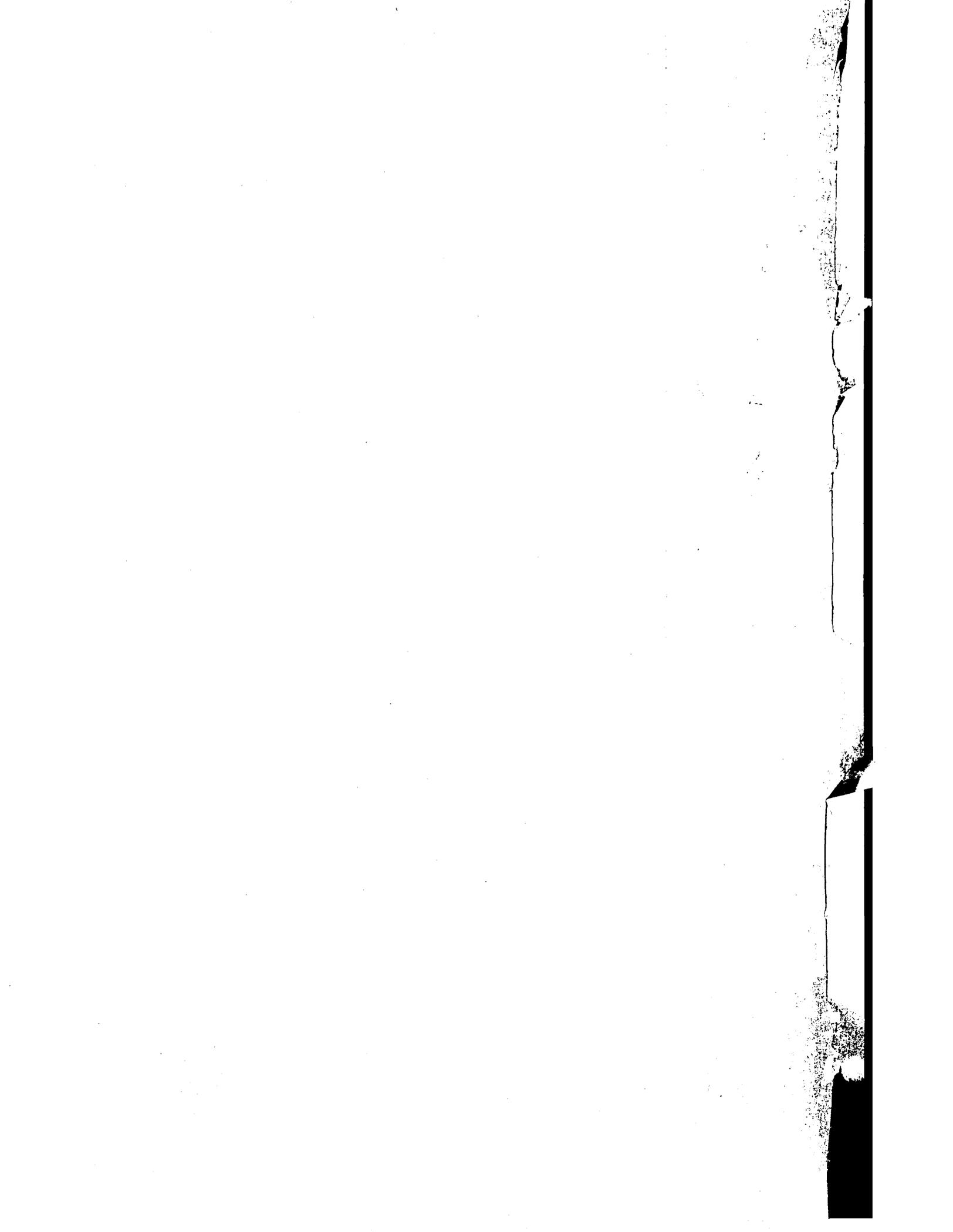
A). This two page spread signifying a scene of happy intimacy between mother and daughter is dominated by mirror images. Mirrors play an important part in representation and especially in the construction of femininity. Women's magazines present women with a mirror image of idealised femininity providing a yardstick for comparison. This image constructs and recreates a standard of beauty and women's own inadequacy in matching up to that standard by giving advice on how it could be achieved, creating the very notion that we should try. We expect the magazines to be a vehicle for constructing images of gender through the mirror of women's faces and bodies. As Felicity Edholm argues (Edholm 1992 p.155) women experience themselves from outside as well as from within- looking at themselves, here the woman looking into the mirror, being looked at, by the child in the picture and by the reader outside. The woman is making up her face and her identity where the mirror is a metaphor for constructing identity, making up the self that is this woman/mother. The choice of the mirror as part of the representation itself is significant in that within psychoanalysis, especially the Lacanian school, the identification of self in the mirror is central to the formation of ego (Minsky 1992 p.189). At the Mirror Phase we are split in two. The baby narcissistically arrives at a sense of identity - of 'I', only by finding itself reflected back by something outside itself. The baby thinks it has a unity because its 'self' is reflected in a coherent image by the mirror. This Lacanian metaphor shows the woman receiving a seductively coherent image of herself as beautiful in the mirror. For Lacan the coherence is a fantasy and the image here of motherhood is a fantasy or merely a synchronic moment of coherence. The fantasy contributes to the pleasure of the text and also illustrates the multi-faceted nature of the Independent Mother. Pleasure in constructing this glamorous image is one facet, as is an awareness that it is fantasy. The fragility of the image is reinforced by the existence of two mirrors. One is looked at by the woman and seen by the reader, the other can only be seen by the reader.

At one level the Independent Mother is coherent and seductive, yet at another she is fragmented and incoherent. The metaphor of the mirror signifies the importance of the attractive image and of identity and reinforces the notion of female narcissism.

How far this is mediated by the 'male gaze' is open to dispute. At one level it clearly is in that the woman is making up her face and conforms to conventional standards of female beauty. The sub-text suggests she is actually doing this for a man. However the two people here are a self contained unit, within a women's world, of the magazine and more

142

specifically of the bedroom, around the dressing table, sharing a female, mother/daughter intimacy. The woman as mother is presented for our gaze, and the daughter's gaze disrupts the mediation of the 'male gaze'. Her presence signifies a female collusion and the exclusion of men. There is a **mutual** gaze in this picture. It is the daughter's gaze which legitimises the woman's identity. The woman is not only the product of male desire, but in the position of the subject who has desire. Benjamin argues that in order to discover women's independent desire, 'a desire that does not have to be represented by the phallus-we should consider the intersubjective mode where the two subjects meet, where not only the man, but also the woman can be subject' (Benjamin 1988 p.126). In this picture it could be argued that ' the child has to see the mother, too, as an independent subject' (ibid p.123).

The primacy of the mother/daughter relationship in systems of signification in the construction of women's identity and autonomy, as presented in this material from SHE suggests a challenge to the 'male gaze' and the possibility of a female/mother **subject** position, a subject who has desire. This female Imaginary creates the appeal of the representation.

Sexuality is more overtly a component of the Independent Mother here, expressed in the signifiers of the low cut evening dress and the paraphernalia of make up and titivation which surrounds the woman. Heterosexuality is suggested by the presence of the man in other pictures here and the absence of signifiers which would undermine that assumption. The woman conforms to expectations of hetero/sexual attractiveness and adopts a seductive expression and pose in some of the pictures here. The Independent Mother is sexual, but her sexuality suggests an attractive hetero/sexuality which is unconstrained by the existence of children. She is still free to go to parties and to dress up, to enjoy herself and her children. The maternal body is inscribed in the same way as the body of the child-free young woman. This is the element which disrupts the more stereotypical representation of femininity here, and adds the component of sexuality to the figure of the Independent Mother.

This new figure of motherhood is contradictory and fragmented as is her mirrored image. There are continuities in the representation of the glamorous, affluent, hetero/sexual figure of the women, but also some disruption through the inclusion of the child and of a positive representation of the mother/daughter relationship.

143
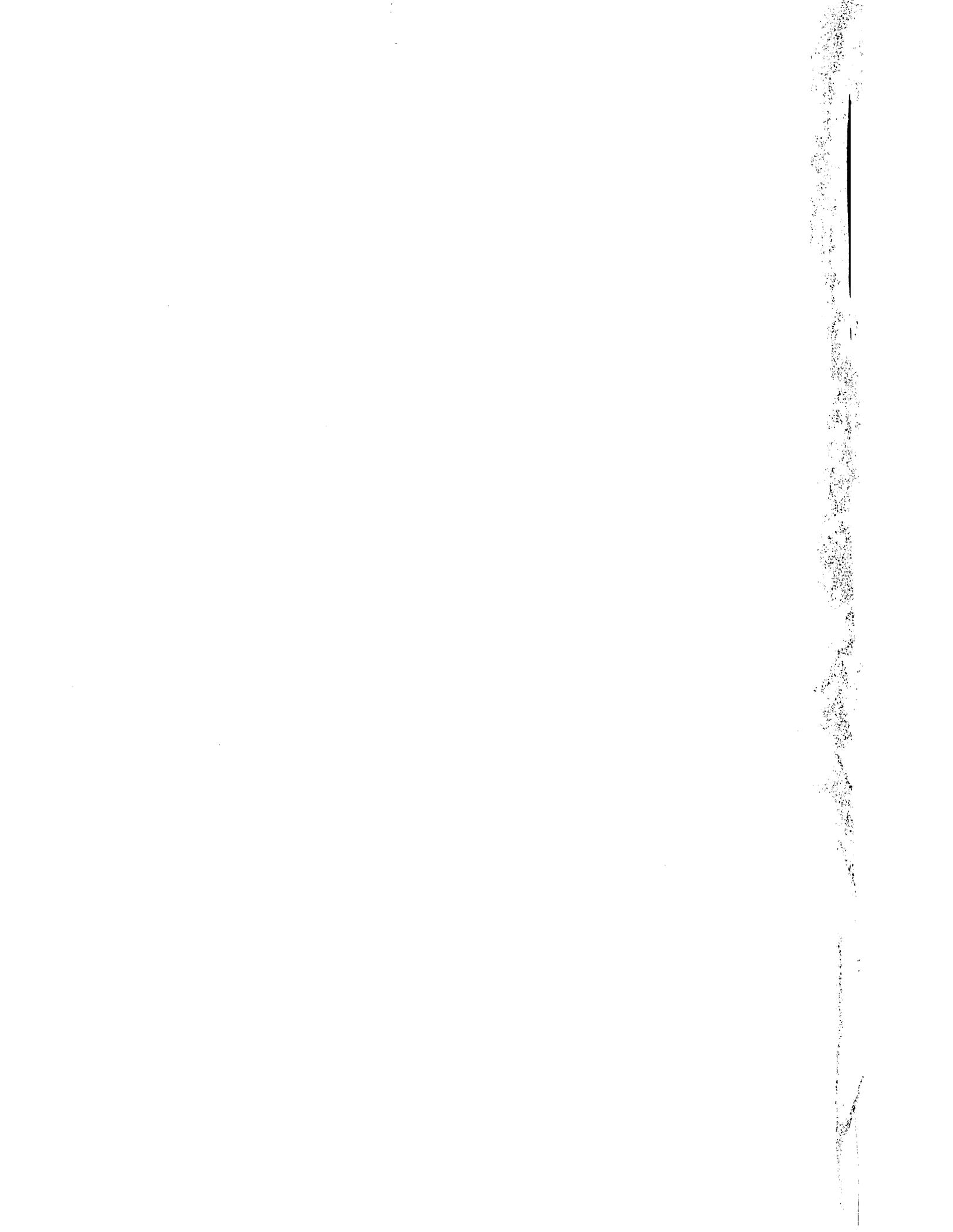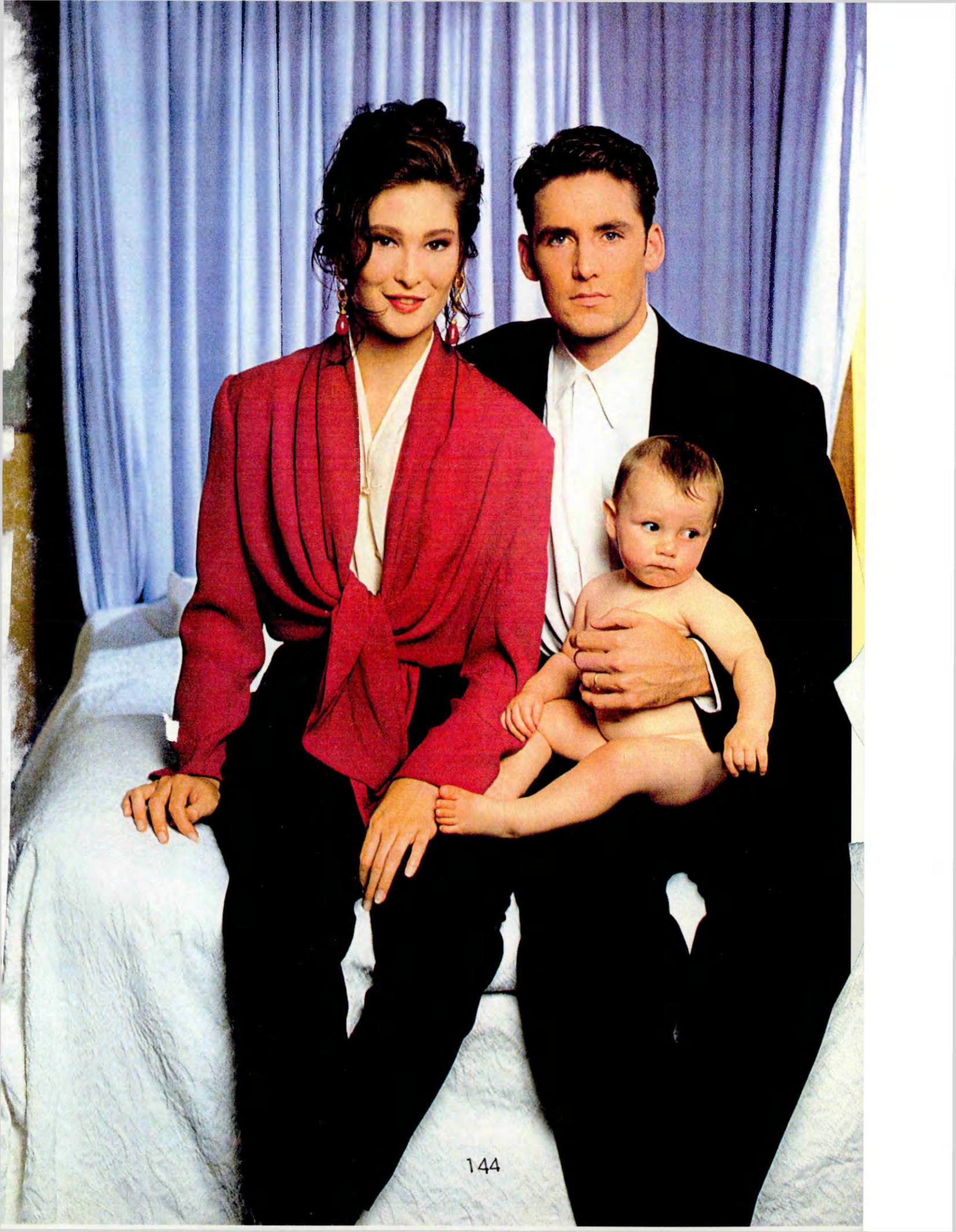
B). There is a male presence in the second picture, which I have chosen because of its construction within the genre of the traditional family portrait, as in the illustration accompanying the article on 'Christmas and the Single Mother'.

The Independent Mother is presented within a conventional, traditional framework, drawing on existing cultural expectations (Guild 1992 p.76) but also subverting that culture with some elements which are unsettling and disruptive.

There is even some suggestion of a joke, another feature of *l'ecriture feminine* (Cixous and Clement 1986 p.61). The man , wearing almost complete evening dress, looking very serious and quite unsmiling, holds the naked baby on his lap. Not only is there disruption of the expectation that it is mothers who hold babies, but the possibility that this sombre looking man/father could be the one to get wet. Perhaps this is why the woman is laughing at the camera.

Ellen McCracken has noted that men are present in the images in women's magazines, especially in advertisements to remind readers for whom they are to buy the product (McCracken 1993 p.115) . Here the man does not adopt the role of voyeur, nor of the 'approving male'. He sits beside the woman, who also looks straight out to camera, not adopting the frequent 'head tilting' pose of women in recognition of a male presence (ibid p.22). The man is not, as is also more usually the case in the 'family portrait',taller than the woman in the picture. In fact her head is slightly higher than his, and he does not occupy the more conventional,protective 'head of family' position, either by being central to the picture, taller than other group members ,or putting a protective arm round the woman. He looks more like an escort than the head of the family, suggesting a different balance in gender roles. It is the man who is the accessory and the object of the female gaze. In this picture the woman is literally 'wearing the trousers', her 'masculine' attire contributing to the signification of the woman as being the dominant party in the group. The Independent Mother within this family has a more negotiable position, as a desiring subject who has some control and autonomy within these representations.

Independent Motherhood may offer some resistance but it still has to be negotiated within the expectations of the family, traditional gender roles and sexuality and, especially here the constraints of particular discourses of female beauty and attractiveness. This picture does suggest a more conventional location of the Independent Mother than the previous article. The heterosexual, nuclear family is more clearly signified

145

here and the feature takes up the point not explored in the previous article, of whether Independent Motherhood is possible **within** this family unit. It seems to be. At least mothers can be sexual, glamorous and have fun within a particular discourse of what constitutes glamour and fun. The mother/daughter relationship is included in a discourse of enjoyment in this representational system. Fashion features seem less likely to unsettle expectations in their representations of women as sexually attractive and complying with conventional codes of physical beauty. The presence of children suggests that, in something of the recent tradition of women's magazines, woman can ' have it all', here glamour and children, if they work at it. What makes this feature relevant to the Independent Mother is the focus, not only on women, but on mothers specifically and mothers as sexual beings. Earlier mother figures were 'caring' and/or 'working' but here Independent Motherhood adds sexuality to a new synthesis.

The Independent Mother is clearly not a fixed identity. As in Lacanian psychoanalytic theory, coherence is a fantasy and this fashion feature indicates some of the areas of fragmentation and contradiction. On the one hand there is the expected sexual identity and sexualised appearance of the successful woman and on the other, some disruption of gender relations through a positive representation of motherhood and the mother/daughter relationship.

The final article to be discussed in this chapter confronts the issue of social changes in the construction of the family directly, providing recognition of the evidence from Social Trends covered in Chapter Six. This article engages with particular material changes,notably in different forms of domestic living. Its exploration of 'other ways to make a family' indicates continuities with the mother figure of the other articles and identifies some additional characteristics.

4. 'Other Ways to Make a Family' by Madeleine Reiss (SHE July 1990 p.72-74).

In this article the Independent Mother is again part of a discourse of resistance to that of the traditional family. As in 'Christmas and the Single Mother' the traditional nuclear family presents the assumption of normality from which 'other ways' depart. Alternatives are categorised as 'other'. This starting point is established through somewhat stereotypical familial codes, for example reference to 'Janet and John' in the very first line.

Resistance to this norm is expressed through recognition of negotiated alternatives through changing patterns in social life and the author's own experience. Independent Motherhood as resistance is diverse and varied, the extent of diversity in forms of domestic living suggesting a breakdown in the grand narrative of nuclear familial ideology which constructs a unified conceptualisation of 'family' (Kaplan 1992 p.17-p.26)., which was illustrated in the construction of motherhood and family in the 1950s in Chapter One.

However Independent Motherhood is multi-faceted and it is identifiable here by what it is **not**. This mother figure does not feature as part of the co-resident, married, heterosexual couple with child/ren, but in a variety of 'alternative' domestic relationships. The identity constructed here is not a single 'self' but a more complex amalgam within ' a fabric of social relations that is more complex and mobile than ever before' which is how Jean-Francois Lyotard describes modern society where the meta-narratives of bourgeois society have become fragmented into a multiplicity of disrupted shorter narratives (Lyotard 1986 p.15). The article itself promotes this idea of a plurality of familial form and thus suggests a postmodernist maternal figure.

The degree of resistance which these alternatives offer is variable and their subversion of the norm takes different forms. The author's own challenge, living with her **sister**, her husband and her child disrupts the exclusivity of the heterosexual couple in Western culture with the inclusion of her adult sister in the 'family'. Reiss mentions her friends' surprise at their acceptance of 'the lack of privacy'. The hegemony of male control seems unchallenged at this point though, since her husband is 'rather pleased at the image this gives him....pretending he has two women at his beck and call' (SHE July 1990 p.73). Heterosexuality is still the norm though this article includes a lesbian couple.

This couple, Gina and Debbie are the only two people described as 'lovers' whereas other couples refer to a 'husband' or 'wife', an individual's name or a 'partner'. This sexualises the lesbian relationship at the outset. The representation of this relationship is constructed antithetically. Two paragraphs begin with 'Despite'-

'Despite her optimism and independence Gina is....defensive..'

'Despite being aware.....of...disapproval Gina feels ..being gay and having a family are not mutually exclusive (SHE July 1990 p.74)

Lesbian motherhood is not represented as an attractive or easy option. Gina is

147

described as 'tough' and 'hardened' and most of the discussion of this couple focuses on their problems, to the extent of 'vicious attacks from neighbours'. Heterosexuality seems firmly established as a feature of Independent Motherhood. This is reinforced by the contrast between the account of the lesbian relationship and that of other couples.

Patricia, who has a 'demanding job' and busy social life, enjoys the freedom which her relationship with her male 'partner' affords her. Her independence is largely financial, allowing her to have her own house, while her partner has his flat. This highlights the importance of paid work as in the discussion of SHE's editor in Chapter Six, which shows it is well paid work which creates this independence.The evidence from Social Trends shows that more women are participating in the labour market even if not at the higher levels of earning, but paid work is part of the lives of many mothers. Independent Motherhood is more possible for the older mother as it may be for the 'late mother' identified in Chapter Six. The representation of Patricia's relationship is constructed in a vocabulary of individualism and choice resonant of the rational free consumer in the liberal strand of Thatcherism. There are references to 'freedom', their 'own space', 'harmony and enjoyment', making this a very positive articulation of a relationship. Again Independent Motherhood is class based, involving a woman sufficiently well off to make choices. Living in separate households is a new choice though and the representation here makes this a possibility as a life style,consumer choice.

Paid work also has a high profile in the other relationships described here, indicating the significance of women's participation in the labour market, both in providing financial independence and interest and fulfilment. Sheila works, albeit part time, for a Labour M.P. and Charlie is an actor, a situation described as erratic, where 'household routines have to change constantly'. The relationship is attractive in its representation, ' they always have lots of new things to talk about and new experiences to share with each other' (SHE July 1990 p.73). However it is Charlie's work which determines the pattern of this household. There seems limited resistance offered by this relationship, though it suggests that a remarriage, which this is, may afford a woman more independence, which may account for the increased number of divorces and remarriages noted in Chapter Six. Sheila has a chance to 'please herself when Charlie is away....a luxury seldom granted to married couples'. This takes up the idea that a woman can be,and indeed is, happier on her own, or at least without her male partner, living in a separate

house like Patricia or for extended periods with her children like Sheila.

Two of the women here, the author and Sheila, describe the advantages of sharing their household, and their mothering tasks with another woman; in one case the sister, in the other a lodger. Independent Motherhood draws on feminist discourses of cooperation and female support, which also contributes to the appeal of the new mother positions propounded here.

149

Living with her sister Tania (right) can relieve some of the pressures of family life for Madeleine Reiss, husband John and their son Felix.

set-up in his stride. He gets on very well with my sister and knows that her presence ensures our occasional but very precious Sunday morning lie-in. Having her around means he gets to see even more of me. Sometimes they fight for the bathroom in the morning, and he gets a bit jealous when we secrete ourselves upstairs to talk girls' talk. His friends tease him about the fact that he lives with two sisters, but I think that he is secretly rather pleased with the image this gives him. He is fond of pretending to outsiders that he has the two of us running around at his beck and call.

My parents are a little perturbed by the situation: I think they feel it's time Tania had a place of her own. Friends, too, sometimes express surprise at our domestic situation. They can't believe that it works so well. They are surprised to see Tania's tolerance with a small child and our acceptance of the lack of privacy her presence sometimes creates in the flat.

But I have found that having my sister living with us means there's less pressure on me. Mothers these days have a hard job coping with children and work, often without the help of grandparents. Until

fifty years ago, extended families were quite normal. Children were brought up with help from relatives who lived, if not actually in the house, then certainly nearby. Now mothers have a lonely time of it. In my case, Felix has benefited from having another adult around. He has extra attention and an extra set of arms to cuddle him.

Sheila and Charlie Roe live in a cosy, cricket-bat infested house with their 11-year-old son Barney. Sheila's 18-year-old son by a previous marriage has now left home, and Sheila works part-time for a Labour MP. Charlie is an actor who spends long periods of time away from home. When he is on tour, his family sees very little of him for weeks at a time.

When work commitments keep couples apart, there has to be a great deal of compromise. Sheila is aware of the difficulties involved in maintaining an equilibrium. "There have always been different things happening which are a challenge to our relationship," she says, "whether it is coping with Charlie being away all the time, or coping with him being at home all the time when he's out of work."

The Roes find that their household routines have to change constantly to accommodate Charlie's arrivals and departures. Charlie himself often finds re-adapting to domestic life difficult. "Sometimes I stay in luxurious hotels in incredibly exciting

getting used to after all that indulge

His erratic work pattern means t family can seldom plan ahead, a pressure to enjoy the time that the together is sometimes great. "I used forward to Charlie coming home Sheila. "I wanted to go out as a fam do all those things that families a posed to do at weekends. But he ge wanted to stay in because he'd bee ing around all week."

In the end they found that it was wait and see what sort of mood the both in, rather than make any plans. Their time together is, howe of unexpected joys. "We get a lot sure, for example, from going t Gardens on a Monday, when every gone back to work," says Sheila.

Although Sheila does not resent C profession, she has clearly had to self-sufficient, carving a separate herself. Charlie makes a great effo at home when he is needed, but the inevitably been times when, due commitments, he couldn't be there sometimes found coping alone a when Barney was a baby, for exam

Other mothers in the area n some of the burden of looking after and the presence of the family's lodger, Janna, means that Sheila has someone to talk to. However, enjoys her solitude. The chance t herself when Charlie is away is a g ury – one seldom granted to marr ples. Recently, working in a coupl soap operas earned Charlie enough to give Sheila some time off wo to art school. They always have lot things to talk about and new exper share with each other.

Whilst acknowledging that their tic situation does produce tensio with the bonuses, the Roes beli their relationship is strong enough with the strain of being apart. T each other totally, and it is this makes their marriage work, since them each the space to follow tl careers and interests. "Marriages sussed out," says Sheila. "I don't ever reach a pitch when you think I've now reached my nirvana. W as individuals all the time."

Gina Connair lives with her five son Daniel. Her lover, Debbie Jar with them most of the time, alth does have her own flat. Gina, wh ways seems far older than her although some people might t naïve in others, says that being a

Photograph: Magda Segal

The photograph accompanying the article shows two women, the author and her sister as a very close couple within the family picture, which includes her husband and small child in a positive representation of the mother/woman/child relationship and of intimacy between women. The illustration is more within the genre of the holiday snap, a relaxed family group in the garden than the more formal encodings of the 'family portrait' of earlier articles, signifying a more fluid arrangement. The holiday snap captures a moment, in this case a moment of flux and change in the construction of the family and women's role within it.

Within the 'women's world' of these magazines some of the change involves putting motherhood into discourse as a choice which women can negotiate and one which requires positive representations of the mother/child relationship and of that between women. Women are there as sisters, as friends and supporters and as lovers, although when women are represtened as lovers it is only rarely and somewhat negatively.

Conclusion.

The Independent Mother is a new figure of motherhood, 'put into discourse' by naming what it is possible to think at an historical point of social change.This figure suggests some condensation of different elements, rearticulating and combining earlier figures of motherhood to produce a new way of thinking about motherhood. This new figure combines paid work, independence and sexuality with motherhood. 'Independence' has been conjoined with 'woman' before, suggesting woman of 'independent means' connoting a career but not children.The conjunction of independence with motherhood seemed like a contradiction in terms, yet this discourse produces the possibility of combining the two into a new discursive figure. It is a figure which 'names' motherhood and puts it on the agenda, rather than subsuming motherhood into discourses of femininity,where it was taken for granted and not directly addressed.

There is a correlation and an interrelationship between social and economic trends and discourses within women's magazines which offer readers ways of making sense of their lived experience. Changing patterns of domestic living and women's greater participation in the labour market and organic ideologies of individualism make it possible to conceive of Independent Motherhood which itself categorises and constructs ways of thinking about women's experience of motherhood.

151

This figure suggests resistance to traditional familial discourse and a rearticulation of heterosexual relations where motherhood is no longer constructed as necessitating dependence on a man. Men are present in the life of the Independent Mother but not necessarily central and the single mother is not stigmatised in any way nor represented as a victim within this new discursive formation. There is resistance to marriage, yet Independent Motherhood is characterised by a rearticulation of heterosexual relations, particularly within cohabitation, marriage and remarriage.

This figure appeals by providing representations of motherhood, so often absent even in women's magazines, and of the female Imaginary, filling the spaces in existing symbolic systems and subverting the unity of traditional maternal subjectivities. Motherhood can be seen as mediating unconscious desires, where the maternal subject position is challenged and transformed. It is a fragmented subjectivity and the contradictions suggest that Independent Motherhood is not a fixed identity; as in Lacanian psychoanalysis its coherence may be a fantasy, though no less attractive when mirrored in the pages of a glossy women's magazine.

This discourse of motherhood is both enabling and constraining in that it suggests that women as mothers can 'have it all', including children and a career. Liberation from the domestic constraints of the 'caring' mother in the home enables the Independent Mother to participate in the labour market, but the difficulties of combining paid work with child care make this a regulatory discourse which itself produces conflicts as well as the freedom it promises women through its assumption of affluence and financial independence, and its representation as progressive within contemporary genres of style and fashion. Conflict is recognised within the discourse but the focus is on emotional conflict,   , the 'caring' aspects of Independent Motherhood reconstructed as those involving expertise in the management of relationships. Independent Motherhood seems to demand being successful in one's career and being a 'good mother',even if the 'good mother' is redefined as a 'relationship expert',who is happy with her children.

The emergence of the figure of Independent Motherhood suggests an historical moment of change in the construction of motherhood in popular culture.The fragmentation may result from this historical specificity and a new condensation may emerge producing a coherent, unified figure. There is a significant degree of consonance between the discursive figure in women's magazines and changing patterns of social life, challenging the

152

notion that magazines might provide a distortion of women's actual experience.The evidence suggests a breakdown of the mother figure of the traditional nuclear family and the emergence of a new figure which has elements of the 'caring' and the 'working' mother, but which adds sexuality and agency; a new subject position for women suggesting that there is a paradigm shift taking place.

Motherhood is no longer a 'given' which is taken for granted (Kaplan 1992 p.182) and unquestioned but it is contested and the figure of the Independent Mother illustrates some of the ways in which this happens; through choices which this discourse suggests that women may make, such as whether to have children at all, when to have them,how many and with whom.

The emergence of the Independent Mother has important policy implications where it can no longer be taken for granted that the form of social organisation and the ideological assumptions about women as mothers underpinning the British post war welfare system and much of the debate in the post war period can be sustained. The disjuncture now is not so much between discourses of motherhood in women's magazines and women's lived experience,where the first distorts the second, but between the convergence of discourses within the magazines and social trends on the one hand and, on the other, political rhetoric which seeks to reinstate women's dependence on men and a unified figure of motherhood within the traditional family. Independent Motherhood creates aspirations and possibilities by constructing motherhood within a discourse of choice and agency which have to be recognised in political debates about the family and gender roles. The major problems do not concern how to get back to 'family values' with mothers at home, but what kind of social support systems are required to meet the needs of adults and children in a society where mothers are already in the workplace and are endeavouring to achieve some of the aspirations which Independent Motherhood constructs. Recognition of Independent Motherhood is one step in identifying changing social needs,especially in relation to women and children.

Conclusion

This research has sought to put motherhood on the agenda at an historical moment when motherhood, having been hidden from history and subsumed into discourses of femininity has emerged in a newly articulated form as a subject position for women in the form of Independent Motherhood.

I have traced the omissions as well as the inclusions and my first, most surprising finding was the apparent silence which surrounded motherhood, especially as denoted in the text and images of women's magazines in the late 1980s. This seemed to support Irigaray's claim that 'motherhood is the dark continent', hidden from culture, and that even in the place where I had most expected to find it, motherhood seemed to be absent. This is however an 'absent presence' in that the caring work of motherhood permeates the women's world of the magazines. It is noteworthy that the absence of denotation suggests that women are not interpellated as **mothers**, especially as constructed by the caring work of motherhood. The reader is more likely to be addressed as someone who has a mother, than someone who is a mother. In the women's world of the magazines we may seek to be mothered, rather than to be reminded of the duties of mothering. In this way the attraction of the text may be the security and reassurance it offers the reader.

The work of mothering is present in the magazines and the 'caring mother' is one of the figures of motherhood which I did find in my work on the magazines of the late 1980s, though this figure is increasingly translated into the 'relationship expert'. The other new figure was the 'working mother', a more explicit recognition of the importance of paid work for women and women's increased participation in the labour market. The 'working mother' is named, as this becomes a more attractive possibility as well as being statistically much more likely, showing the convergence of discourse and practice and the way in which a figure of motherhood is labelled and 'put into discourse'.

The period covered by the research has been one of change. Where I had expected some convergence of conservative familial ideologies with discourses of motherhood within the magazines, I found that it was the liberal market based individualism of the political New Right that had most resonance with the magazines' construction of maternal identities. Discourses of motherhood in the magazines seemed to draw more on the individualistic, entrepreneurial culture of Thatcherism than its traditional, conservative approaches to the family.

The magazines are part of a changing culture which was recognised by the publishers launching NEW WOMAN in 1988 and relaunching SHE in 1990. The publicity material, the magazines themselves and the social and economic changes recorded in official statistics all suggest a condensation of discourses indicating social change at this historical time. There is closer accord between the discourses of motherhood in the women's magazines, especially the recognition of the 'working mother' and more markedly with the emergence of the Independent Mother, and patterns of domestic living and employment. Mothers are more likely than twenty years before to be in paid work, or seeking paid work, less likely to be married, more likely to be divorced or living with a partner. There have been significant changes in the pattern of women's lives and in the discourses of motherhood, as represented in women's magazines, which both construct and reflect those changes, especially since the immediate post war period of the 1950s. The period I have studied of the late 1980s and early 1990s is one of transition when political rhetoric and moral discourses still nostalgically reconstruct the unified mother of the traditional family, but women's magazines and evidence of social trends suggest fundamental changes.

The emergence of the Independent Mother is a manifestation of these changes. This new figure incorporates different elements of previous maternal subjectivities, drawing on different repertoires. The genealogy of this new figure includes individualism, Thatcherite ideologies of the market as well as feminist ideas of collective action and sisterhood. For a woman to have a child without male support is not only empirically more likely at this historical time, but also a more attractive and desirable proposition, through this representation of Independent Motherhood, and one without stigma, although the magazines underplay the economic problems of single motherhood. The Independent Mother is constructed as a successful figure and as a woman, who, in the language of women's magazines, 'has it all'. She is a product of ideologies of the competitive free market where, although there are those who win, there are also those who lose. The figure of the Independent Mother is both enabling, in the autonomy and choice she offers women, and constraining, in that this mother figure is largely on her own, unsupported by men or the state. The success which makes her an attractive and marketable identity, also obscures the negative aspects of this identity for women, especially in a climate of diminishing state support and economic recession.

155

The magazines do address the emotional problems involved in combining the 'caring' and 'working' mother figures however, and Independent Motherhood offers a resolution to the psychic conflict between the 'good' and the 'bad' mother. Independent Motherhood has been constructed within a vocabulary of choice, inscribed on a body which is sexually attractive. The combination of paid work, and the independence it can afford women, with sexuality make Independent Motherhood a much more attractive proposition to women than earlier figures of motherhood. The inclusion of sexuality with motherhood make this a radical reconstruction of the mother figure.

This new figure of motherhood is independent in that she does not of necessity require a man, either for financial support or social acceptance and therefore has a degree of choice. The Independent Mother is not necessarily the single mother and men/fathers may be present in her life, but she is not defined only in relation to men. The representation of this figure can be sexually attractive without being mediated by the male gaze. This all suggests a paradigm shift in the construction of motherhood. It supports the contention that Independent Motherhood is a significant, new mother figure which challenges previous figures of motherhood located in the domestic arena and the nuclear family with a new, more fragmented maternal subjectivity.This challenges attempts to reconstruct that earlier figure of motherhood and to address the problems of mothers and children within the context of discourses of morality which deny this new articulation. The ideological terrain is one of contestation and I am not suggesting that Independent Motherhood constitutes the **only** way of thinking about motherhood but it does present a radical departure, especially from the taken for granted assumptions of traditional, conservative familial ideologies, and a **new** figure of motherhood.

The disjuncture in the 1990s is not so much one between lived experience on the one hand and familial ideology on the other, as has been posited by feminists for example, but between political rhetoric and policies based on nostalgia for the unified ideal of the 1950s family and current discourses of Independent Motherhood. There is increasingly a condensation between discourses which are changing practice and conceptualisations of motherhood.

The social trends identified in the 1992 data of an increase in the number of births outside marriage, single motherhood, decline in the popularity of marriage and women's increased participation in the labour market have continued as illustrated in

156

Social Trends 1994. Although no longer using the nomenclature of 'Thatcherism', the Conservative Right, by now perhaps the 'Old Right' continues to emphasise the role of the market rather than the state in the provision of welfare and retains the rhetoric of traditional familial ideology, especially as indicated by some of the media coverage of speeches attacking single motherhood (Guardian 9/11/93).SHE has continued its feature on 'You and Your Child' and its focus on motherhood, particularly Independent Motherhood ,especially in 1994, ' 'The Year of The Family' .SHE's family is not that of the Conservative Right.

The research is also my story and I have found that there are closer links between the magazines and motherhood than I had expected. What appeared to be a somewhat arbitrary correlation or concurrence in my autobiogra phy is more profoundly interconnected. Motherhood and the magazines both offer the shared Imaginary of a 'women's world' and are part of what Irigaray calls a 'female genealogy'. There is a conflation of the 'imagined community' of the 'women's world' of the magazines and 'being mothered'. The fantasies and desires to which magazines speak may include this desire to be 'mothered'. Within culture and within my autobiography as a child of the 1950s it perhaps has more resonance, as ' being mothered ' is often represented by a nostalgic familial ideology of that decade. Whether it actually accorded with lived experience is not so important as its being taken as 'true' as Foucault argues. The identification of this discourse of motherhood with a 'women's world' with the *jouissance* of the pre-Oedipal longing for a culture which is 'beyond the phallus' suggests a closer bond between motherhood and the magazines than I had anticipated.

The other significant component in the construction of subjectivity is the inclusion of representation of motherhood and of the mother/daughter relationship , for example in the relaunched SHE, which had largely been absent in the magazines in the late 1980s. The emergence of the Independent Mother in putting motherhood into discourse and on the agenda, albeit employing discourses of market freedom and entrepreneurial individualism is still an affirmation of maternal identity. The magazines offer a 'women's world ' of intimacy and 'being mothered' and some validation of a female subject position. This is a place 'from which to speak', and even if it employs existing patriarchal discourses, it also offers resistance and challenges the notion that ideologies operate to distort more fundamental truths. It is a changing subject position, fragmented

157

and contradictory, produced in particular historical circumstances and at this specific historical moment offering a significant challenge to the unified subjectivity of motherhood which seemed hegemonic in the 1950s. Independent Motherhood is a subject position which is 'becoming' as well as being and includes what might be, especially at this historical moment when it is 'put into discourse'.

The Future.

I have suggested that my findings, notably the emergence of the Independent Mother, suggest a paradigm shift in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Work has already been carried out investigating discourses of motherhood in film, such as Ann Kaplan's research mentioned above, which offers support for this thesis, although the extent to which this shift is advantageous for women is contested. Other cultural forms could be analysed to see the extent to which my arguments are supported, for example in other media such as television, popular music and novels and within different genres. I have challenged a binary opposition or simple dichotomy between the ideal and the material, or the cultural and the social by arguing that culture is embedded in practice and institutions, permeating the world so that simple distinctions cannot be made between the real and the discursive. Future research could extend this to explore different discourses to evaluate the extent of the paradigm shift which I am positing and to see how far there has been a condensation of different elements within culture.

My research raises a whole range of questions about social organisation and the extent to which the family as a social institution is changing. These have implications for state policy and clearly call into question attempts by the government to reinstate the traditional family of the 1950s and the notion that men are breadwinners who can and should be responsible for women and children. The questions raised include those relating to the implications for children and for fathers. Independent Mother/parenthood appears to be only a conceivable subjectivity for women which calls into question what the role of fathers is or should be. The independent Mother might suggest a reconstruction of the nuclear family or its demise. Independent Motherhood is one choice, but there might be a whole range of alternatives. Whilst Independent Motherhood might seem attractive, existing support systems, or lack of them for mothers might create more problems for women than it solves. This all suggests the need to rethink social policy.

These are broad questions but all with practical implications. The two areas which appear to be particularly important here are social policy and the extent to which the interventions of the state acknowledge changes and, linked to this, the historical mothers whom this research has not addressed since its main concern has been with texts. Further research could be conducted to look at how culture is embedded in women's own perceptions of the different practices, discourses and social formations which impact on their daily lives in different socio-economic, ethnic and regional contexts. This could address the ways in which women as mothers give voice to their own positions and represent themselves, especially to find out how they see the interventions of the state whether in the form of political rhetoric and, more materially, in its social policy interventions and the degree of support the state provides to mothers, and to see if they employ a vocabulary of choice and are interpellated by the new subject position of Independent Motherhood.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBOTT P & SAPSFORD R. (1988) The Body Politic: Health, Family & Society (Milton Keynes: Open University)

ABERCROMBIE N, HILL S, TURNER B.S. (1984) Dictionary of Sociology (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

ALLEN J. (1991) 'Uneven Development and Regional Inequality', in Society and Social Science. A Foundation Course (Milton Keynes: Open University)

ALLIN P. & HUNT A. (1982) 'Women in Official Statistics', in The Changing Experience of Women, Whitelegg E., Arnot M., Bartels E., Birke L., Himmelweit S., Leonard D., Ruehl S., and Speakman M. (Oxford: Martin Robertson)

ALTHUSSER L. (1985) Lenin and Philosophy & Other Essays Trans. Ben Brewster 1971, Copyright La Pensee 1970 N.L.B., Reprinted in Beechley V. and Donald J. (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

ALTHUSSER L. (1969) (1977 2nd Edition) For Marx (London: Verso)

ANDERSON B. (1986) 'The Cultural Roots of Nationalism' in Donald J. & Hall S. Politics and Ideology (Milton Keynes: Open University Press pp 88-104)

BADINTER E. (1981) The Myth of Motherhood (London: Souvenir Press)

BALLASTER R., BEETHAM M., FRAZER E. & HEBRON S. (1991) Women's Worlds.Ideology, Femininity and the Women's Magazine. (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd)

BARBER V., MAGUIRE-SKAGGS M. (1975) The Mother Person (London: Severn House)

BARKER M. & BEEZER A. (Eds) (1992) Reading into Cultural Studies (London: Routledge)

BARRETT M. (1980) Women's Oppression Today (London: Verso)

BARRETT M. and MCINTOSH M. (1985) The Anti-Social Family (London: Verso)

BARTHES R. (1972) Mythologies (London: Jonathan Cape)

BARTHES R. (1975) The Pleasure of the Text (New York: Hill and Wang)

BARTHES R. (1977) 'The Photographic Message' in Image - Music - Text ed & trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang) 1977 pp 15-31

BARTHES R. (1986) 'The Death of the Author' trans. R. Howard in Barthes R. The Rustle of Language (Oxford: Blackwell)

BEECHEY V. & DONALD J. (eds) (1985) Subjectivity and Social Relations (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

BEECHEY V. (1985) 'Familial Ideology' in Beechey V. & Donald J. (eds) <u>Subjectivity and Social Relations</u> (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

BELL D. (1960) <u>The End of Ideology</u> (New York: Free Press)

BENHABIB S. & CORNELL D. (eds) (1987) <u>Feminism as Critique</u> (Cambridge: Polity Press)

BENJAMIN J. (1988) <u>The Bonds of Love: Psychoanalysis, Feminism and the Problem of Domination.</u> (New York: Pantheon)

BENNETT T., MARTIN G., MERCER C., WOOLLACOTT J (eds) (1983) <u>Culture, Ideology and Social Process. A Reader.</u> (Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd.in assoc. with Milton Keynes: Open University Press).

BERGER J. (1972) <u>Ways of Seeing</u> (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

BETTERTON R. (ed) (1987) <u>Looking On</u> (London: Pandora)

BEVERIDGE Sir W. (1942) <u>Social Insurance and Allied Services</u> (Cmnd 6404) (London: HMSO)

BOCOCK R.(1976) <u>Freud and Modern Society</u> (Wokingham: Van Nostrand Reinhold (UK) Co. Ltd)

BOWLBY J. (1953) <u>Child Care and the Growth of Love</u> (London: Penguin)

BRAITHWAITE B. & BARRELL J. (1988) <u>The Business of Women's Magazines: The Agonies and Ecstacies</u> (London: Associated Business Press)

BRANNAN J. & MOSS P. (1988) <u>New Mothers at Work</u> (London: Unwin Paperbacks)

BROOK D. (1976) <u>Nature-birth. Preparing for Natural birth in an Age of Technology.</u> (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

BROWN M. 'Same Old Tricks from the New Woman' in <u>The Independent</u> (13th July 1988)

BRUNT R., JONES K., PERKINS T. (1991) 'A Conversation about Contemporary Television' in <u>Women A Cultural Review</u> Vol 2. No.1. (Oxford University Press).

CAMERON D. (1985) <u>Feminism & Linguistic Theory</u> (London: Macmillan)

CAMERON D. (ed) (1990) <u>The Feminist Critique of Language. A Reader.</u> (London: Routledge)

CAMPBELL B. (1984) <u>Wigan Pier Revisited: Poverty and Politics in the 80s</u> (London: Virago)

CARTER J., DURIEZ T. (1986) <u>With Child, Birth Through the Ages</u> (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing)

CARTWRIGHT A. (1979) <u>The Dignity of Labour</u> (London: Tavistock)

CHODOROW N. (1978) <u>The Reproduction of Mothering</u> (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press)

CIXOUS H. (1981) 'The Laugh of Medusa' trans. K. Cohen and P. Cohen in <u>New French Feminisms</u>, (ed.). Marks E. and de Courtviron I. (Brighton: Harvester).

CIXOUS H. and CLEMENT C. (1986) <u>The Newly Born Woman</u> Trans. B. Wing. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)

CLARKE L. (1989) <u>Children's Changing Circumstances: Recent Trends and Future Prospects:</u> (London: Centre for Population Studies Research Paper 89-4)

CLARKE J. (1988) 'Social Work: The Personal and The Political', in <u>Private Troubles and Public Issues</u>. (Milton Keynes: The Open University Press)

COCHRANE A. & MUNCIE J. (eds) (1993) <u>Politics Policy and the Law</u> (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

COMER L. (1974) <u>Wedlocked Women</u> (London: Feminist Books)

COMER L. (1971) <u>The Myth of Motherhood</u> Spokesman Pamphlet (Nottingham: The Partisan Press)

CONLEY V. (1984) <u>Helen Cixous: Writing the Feminine</u> (University of Nebraska Press)

CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE (1987) <u>The Conservative Manifesto, Part II: The Next Moves Forward</u>

COTTERILL P. & LETHERBY G. (1993) 'Weaving Stories: Personal Auto/ biographies in feminist research.' In <u>Sociology</u> Vol. 27, No.1 p67-79 (British Sociological Publications Ltd.)

COWARD R. (1985) 'The Royals' in <u>Subjectivity and Social Relations</u>, Beechey V. & Donald J. (eds) p147-153 (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

COWARD R. (1992) <u>Our Treacherous Hearts. Why Women Let Men Get Their Way</u> (London: Faber and Faber)

CROWLEY H. & HIMMELWEIT S. (eds) (1992) <u>Knowing Women. Feminism nd Knowledge</u> (Cambridge: Polity Press)

DAVIES K., DICKEY J., STRATFORD T. (1987) <u>Out of Focus: Writings on Women in the Media.</u> (London: The Women's Press)

de LAURETIS T. (1984) <u>Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema</u> (Bloomington, Indiana University Press)

162

DIAMOND N. 'Projection' in Wright E. (ed) <u>Feminism and Psychoanalysis.
A Critical Dictionary</u> (Oxford: Blackwell)

DINNERSTEIN D. (1987) <u>The Rocking of the Cradle and the Ruling of the
World</u> (London: The Women's Press)

DONALD J. & HALL S. (1988) <u>Beliefs and Ideologies: Concepts and
Questions</u> (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

DONZELOT J. (1980) <u>The Policing of Families</u> (London: Hutchinson).

DONZELOT J. (1979) 'The Poverty of Political Culture' In, <u>Ideology &
Consciousness</u> No.5.

DOUGLAS T. "Will the New Woman last long?" in <u>The Independent</u> (20th July
1988)

DOWLING C. (1981) <u>The Cinderella Complex: Women's Hidden Fear of
Independence</u> (New York: Pocket Books)   .

DURKHEIM E. (1964) <u>The Rules of Sociological Method</u> (Toronto: Collier
Macmillan)

EDHOLM F. (1982) 'The Unnatural Family', in <u>The Changing Experience of
Women</u> Whitelegg E. et al (eds) pp 166-177 (Milton Keynes: Open
University Press)

EDHOLM F. (1992) 'Beyond The Mirror: Women's Self Portraits' in Bonner
et al <u>Imagining Women</u> (Cambridge: Polity) pp 154-172

EISENSTEIN H. (1984) <u>Contemporary Feminist Thought</u> (London: Unwin
Paperbacks)

ELLIOT C. 'Emotions on the Rack' in <u>The Times</u> (13th July 1988)

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION 'Women and Government Statistics'
Research Bulletin 4, Autumn 1980

EVANS M. (1993) 'Reading Lives: How the Personal Might be Social' in
<u>Sociology</u> Vol.27, No.1 (British Sociological Publications)pp 5-13.

FEATHERSTONE M., HEPWORTH M. & TURNER B. (eds) (1991) <u>The Body. Social
Process and Cultural Theory</u> (London: Sage)

FERGUSON A. (1989) <u>Blood at the Root</u> (London: Pandora)

FERGUSON M. (1983) <u>Forever Feminine</u> (London: Heinemann)

FINANCIAL TIMES 'Leaf taken from European Book' (12th April 1988)

FIRESTONE S. (1972) <u>The Dialectic of Sex</u> (London: Paladin)

FITZGERALD T. (1988) 'Politics and the Family', in <u>Social Problems and
Social Welfare</u>, Unit 7, Block 2. (Milton Keynes: Open University
Press)

FLETCHER R. (1973) <u>The Family and Marriage in Britain</u> (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

FOUCAULT M. (1971) <u>Madness & Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason</u>. Trans. R. Howard. (London: Tavistock)

FOUCAULT M. (1975) <u>Discipline & Punish:</u> the Birth of the Prison. Trans. Sheridan A. (New York: Pantheon)

FOUCAULT M. (1980) <u>Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-77</u> Trans Colin Gordon (Brighton: Harvester press)

FOUCAULT M. (1987) <u>The History of Sexuality</u> Vol. 1. An Introduction. Trans R. Hurley. (Harmondsworth: Penguin books Ltd. Reprinted Peregrine Books).

FOUCAULT M. (1987) <u>The Use of Pleasure. The History of Sexuality.</u>Vol 2. Trans. R. Hurley. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books)

FRANKLIN S., LURY C., & STACEY J. (1991) <u>Off Centre. Feminism and Cultural Studies.</u> (London: Harper Collins Academic)

FROSH S. (1987) <u>The Politics of Psychoanalysis: an Introduction to Freudian and Post-Freudian Theory</u> (London: Macmillan)

FREUD S. (1960) <u>Totem and Taboo</u> (London:, Routledge and Kegan Paul)

GALLOP J. (1988) <u>Thinking through the Body</u> (New York:, Columbia University Press)

GAMMAN L., MARSHMENT M. (1988) - <u>The Female Gaze.</u> (London:, The Women's Press Ltd)

GARDINER J. K. (1985) 'Mind Mother" psychoanalysis and feminism' in Green G. and Kahn C. <u>Making a Difference. Feminist Literary Criticism</u> (London: Routledge) pp 113-145

GAVRON H. (1960) <u>The Captive Wife: Conflicts of Housebound Mothers</u> (London: Penguin)

GIEVE K. (1989) <u>Balancing Acts. On Being a Mother</u> (London:, Virago)

GITTINS D. (1985) <u>The Family in Question</u> (London:, Macmillan)

GLEDHILL C. (1992) 'Pleasurable negotiations' in Bonner et al <u>Imagining Women</u> (Cambridge" Polity Press) pp 193-209

GORDON T. (1990) <u>Feminist Mothers</u> (London:, Macmillan)

GRAMSCI A. (1971) <u>Selections from the Prison Notebooks</u> (London: Lawrence and Wishart)

GRAMSCI A. (1986) 'Prison notebooks', in <u>Politics and Ideology</u> Donald J. & Hall S. (eds) p19-22 (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

GREENE G. & KAHN C. (eds) (1985) Making a Difference. Feminist Literary Criticism (London: Routledge)

GROSSBERG L. (1988) It's a Sin: Postmodernism, Politics and Culture (Sydney: Power Publications)

GROSZ E. (1990) 'Inscriptions and Body Maps : Representations and the Corporeal". In Feminine, Masculine and Representation in Threadgold T. & Cranny-Francis (London: Allen and Unwin).

GROSZ E. (1990) 'Contemporary Theories of Power and Subjectivity' in Gunew S. Feminist Knowledge, Critique and Construct (London: Routledge) pp 59- 120

GROSZ E. (1991) Jacques Lacan. A Feminist Introduction. (London: Routledge)

GUILD E. (1992) 'Ecriture feminine' in Feminism and Psychanalysis Wright E. (ed) p. 74-76 (Oxford: Blackwell).

GUNEW S. (1990) (ed) Feminist Knowledge. Critique and Construct (London: Routledge).

HALL S. (1985) 'The Rediscovery of Ideology: the return of the repressed Media Studies'. (Milton Keynes: Open University Press). In, Beechey V. & Donald J. Subjectivity and Social Relations.

HALL S. (1988) The Hard Road to Renewal (London: Verso)

HALL S. (1990) 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' in Rutherford J. (ed) Identity, Community, Culture, Difference (London: Lawrence and Wishart)

HALL S. (1992) 'The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power', in Hall S. and Geiben B. (eds). Formations of Modernity (Cambridge: Polity Press)

HAWKES. T (1988) Structuralism and Semiotics (London: Routlegdge)

HIMMELWEIT S. & COSTELLO n. (1991) 'Work and the Economy' in Work, Markets and The Economy, Brown V. (ed) (Milton Keynes: Open University Press) pp 7-48

HOGGART R. (1958) The Uses of Literacy) (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

HOLDSWORTH A. (1988) Out of the Doll's House (London: BBC books).

HOLLOWAY W. (1984) in Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity. Henriques J., Holloway W., Unwin C., Venn C., and Walkerdine V. (eds) Chapter 5. pp 227-63. (London: Methuen)

HUDSON C. 'What's So New About The New Woman?' in Evening Standard (14th July 1988)

165

HUGHES-HALLETT L.(1987) 'The Cosy Secret of a Jolly Good Reed'. The Standard, 8th February 1982), quoted in Winship J. Inside Women's Magazines. (London: Pandora)

HUTCHEON L. (1989) The Politics of Postmodernism (London: Routledge)

INGLIS F., (1990) Media Theory (Oxford: Basil Blackwell)

IRIGARAY L. (1981) 'And the One Doesn't Stir Without the Other'. Trans H.V. Wenzel. Signs 7.(1).

IRIGARAY L. (1991) 'The Bodily Encounter with the Mother', trans David Macey in Whitford M. The Irigaray Reader (Oxford: Blackwell).

IRIGARAY L. (1985) This Sex Which Is Not One. Trans. Catherine Porter and Carolyn Burke. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press)

IRIGARAY L. (1993) Je, tu, nous. Towards a Culture of Difference. Trans. Alison Martin. (London: Routledge)

JAGGAR A. (1983) Feminist Politics and Human Nature (Totowa N.J: Rowman and Allanheld)

JAGGAR A. (1992) 'Human Biology in Feminist Theory: Sexual Equality Reconsidered' in Crowley H & Himmelweit S. Knowing Women (Cambridge: Polity Press) pp 78-89

JOHNSON M. (1988) Strong Mothers, Weak Wives (Berkley: Univ. California Press)

JOHNSON N. (1991) 'The Break-up of Consensus: Competitive Politics in a Declining Economy' in The State of the Market, Loney et al (eds) (London: Sage)

JOWELL R. (1992) Brook L., Prior G., Taylor B. (eds) British Social Attitudes: The 1992 Report (Dartmouth, Social and Community Planning Research)

KAPLAN E.A. (1992) Motherhood and Representation. The Mother in Popular Culture and Melodrama (London: Routledge)

KENNY M. 'The New Fax of Life' in The Sunday Telegraph (17th July 1988)

KIERNON K. & WICKS M. (1990) Family Change and Future Policy. (London: Family Policy Studies Centre).

KIERNON K. (1992) 'Men and Women at Work and at Home' in Jowell R. et al (eds) British Social Attitudes: the 9th report (Dartmouth, Social and Community Planning Report)

KING C. (1992) 'Making Things mean: Cultural Representations in Objects', in Bonner F., Goodman L., Allen R., Janes L. and King C., Imagining Women (Cambridge: Polity Press)

KITZINGER S. (1978) Women as Mothers (London: Fontana).

166

KITZINGER S. (1980) <u>The Experience of Breatfeeding</u> (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

KLEIN M. (1986) Reprinted in <u>The Selected Melanie Klein</u>, Mitchell J. (ed) (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

KRISTEVA J. (1977) <u>About Chinese Women</u>. Trans. Anita Barrows (New York: Urizen Books)

KRISTEVA J. (1980) 'Motherhood According to Bellini', trans. T.Gora, A.Jardine and L.S.Roudiez in <u>Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art,</u> ed. L.S.Roudiez. (New York: Columbia University Press).

KRISTEVA J. (1982) <u>Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection.</u> Trans. L.S. Roudiez. (New York: Columbia University Press).

KRISTEVA J. (1985) 'Stabat mater', Trans. A. Goldhammer in <u>The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives</u>. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press).

LACAN J. (1966) <u>Ecrits</u>. (Paris: Editions du Seuil).

LACAN J. (1977) <u>Ecrits: A Selection</u>. Trans. Sheridan A. (London: Tavistock).

LACLAU E. (1977) <u>Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory</u> (London: New Left Books)

LACLAU E. & MOUFFE C. (1985) <u>Hegemony & Socialist Strategy</u> (London: Verso).

LAURIE J.W. (1969) 'The Listener' October 31st 1963, quoted in <u>Women's Magazines 1693-1968</u>, White C. Michael Joseph.

LASCH C. (1977) <u>Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Beseiged</u> (New York: Basil Books)

LECHTE J. (1990) <u>Julia Kristeva</u> (London, Routledge)

LENTELL H. (1988) 'An Introduction to the Family' in <u>Social Problems and Social Welfare</u> (Milton Keynes, Open University Press)

LEONARD D. & SPEAKMAN M. (1983) <u>The Family, Daughters, Wives & Mothers</u> (Milton Keynes, Open University Press).

LERNER G. (1979) <u>The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History</u> (New York: Oxford University Press)

LEWIS C. & O'BRIEN M. (eds) (1987) <u>Reassessing Fatherhood: New Observations on Fathers and the Modern Family</u> (London, Sage).

LEWIS J. (1945) <u>Women in Britain Since 1945</u>. (Oxford, Blackwell).

LONEY M., BOCOCK R., CLARKE J., COCKRANE A., GRAHAM P. & WILSON M. (1991)
The State or the Market. Politics and Welfare in Contemporary
Britain (London: Sage. 2nd edition)

LOVELL T. (1987) Consuming Fictions (London: Verso)

LYOTARD J.F. (1986) The Postmodern Condition: A Report On Knowledge.
Trans. G. Bennington and B. Massumi (Manchester University Press).

MARKS E. & de COURTVIRON I. (eds) New French Feminisms. (Brighton:
The Harvester Press)

MARSHALL H. (1991) 'The Social Construction of Motherhood: An Analysis
of Childcare Parenting Manuals', in Motherhood. Meanings,
Practices and Ideologies, by Phoenix A., Woollett A. and Lloyd E.
(London: Sage)

MARTIN B. (1992) 'Feminism, Criticism and Foucault' in Knowing Women.
Crowley H. & Himmelweit S. (eds). (Cambridge: Polity Press)

MARX K. & ENGLELS F. Manifesto of the Communist Party in Feuer L. (1959)
Marx & Engels Basic Writings on Politics & Philosophy (New York:
Anchor Books)

McCRACKEN E. (1993) Decoding Women's Magazines. From Mademoiselle to
Ms (London: Macmillan)

McDOWELL L. (1992) 'Gender divisions in a Post-Fordist Era: New
Contradictions or the Same Old Story?' In Defining Women,
McDowell L. & Pringle R. (eds). (Cambridge: Polity Press)

McROBBIE A. (1978) 'Working Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity'
in Women Take Issue (London: Hutchinson and Birmingham C.C.C.S.
Women's Studies Group) pp 96-108

McROBBIE A. (1991) 'Teenage Mothers: A New Social State?' In Feminism
and Youth Culture. McRobbie A. (London: Macmillan)

MERCER C. (1986) 'Fascist Ideolgy'. In, Politics & Ideology - Donald
J. & Hall S. (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

MERQUIOR J.G. Foucault (London: Fontana Press/Collins).

MILLETT K. (1971) Sexual Politics (London: Rupert Hart-Davis).

MINFORD P. (1991) 'The Role of the Social Services: A View From The New
Right', in The State or the Market, Loney et al (eds). (London:
Sage)

MINSKY R. (1992) 'Lacan'. In Knowing Women, Crowley H. and Himmelweit
S. (eds) (Cambridge: Polity Press)

MITCHELL J. (1974) Psychoanalysis & Feminism (London: Allen).

MITCHELL J. & ROSE J. (eds) (1982) <u>Feminine Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the Ecole Freudienne</u> (London: Macmillan)

MITCHELL J. & OAKLEY A. (eds) (1986) <u>What is Feminism?</u> (Oxford: Basil Blackwell)

MODLESKI T. (1984) <u>Loving with a Vengeance: Mass Produced Fantasies for Women</u> (London: Methuen)

MOI T. (ed) (1985) <u>Sexual Textual Politics. Feminist Literary Theory.</u> (London: Methuen)

MORGAN D.H.J. (1985) (1985) <u>The Family, Politcs and Social Theory.</u> (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).

MOUZELIS N. (1978) 'Ideology and Class Politics'. In <u>New Left Review</u> No. 112 Nov. Dec.

MUNCIE J. & SAPSFORD R. 'Issues in the Study of the Family' in Cochrane A. and Muncie J. <u>Politics, Policy and the Law</u> (Milton Keynes: Open University Press) Chapter 1.

MULVEY L. (1975) 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' in <u>Screen</u>, Vol.16 No.3

NATHANSON P. 'Relationships to be New Woman's USP' <u>Campaign</u> (29th April 1988)

NEUSLATTER A. 'Who is Today's New Woman?' in <u>The Sunday Times</u> (3rd July 1988)

NEWSOM J. & NEWSOM E. (1965) <u>Patterns of Infant Care in the Urban Community.</u> (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

NEWSOM J. & NEWSOM E. (1974) 'Cultural Aspects of Childrearing in the English Speaking World' in Richards M.P.M. (ed) <u>The Integration of a Child into a Social World</u> (Cambridge University Press) pp 207-222

NICHOLSON L. (1990) <u>Feminism/Postmodernism.</u> (London: Routledge)

OAKLEY A. (1979) <u>From Here to Maternity.</u> (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

OAKLEY A. (1980) <u>Women Confined.</u> (Oxford: Martin Robinson)

OAKESHOTT M. (1962) <u>Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays.</u> (London: Methuen).

PARSONS T. & BALES R.F. (1955) <u>Family, Socialization & Interaction Process.</u> (New York: Press Press)

PETCHESKY R. (1979) 'Dissolving the Hyphen: a report on Marxist-feminist groups 1-5', in Eisenstein S.R. (ed) <u>Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism</u> (New York, Monthly Review Press)

PHOENIX A. (1991) <u>Young Mothers</u> (Cambridge: Polity Press)

PHOENIX A., WOOLLETT A. & LLOYD E. (eds) (1991) <u>Motherhood. Meanings, Practices and Ideologies</u>. (London: Sage)

POTTER J. & WETHERELL M. (1987) <u>Discourse and Social Psychology. Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour</u>. (London: Sage)

POYNTON C. (1990) 'The privileging of Representation and the Marginalisation of the Interpersonal: a Metaphor (and more) for Contemporary Gender Relations' in Threadgold T. and Cranny Francis A. (1990) <u>Feminine Masculine and Representation</u> (London: Allen & Unwin) Chp. 13 pp 231-255

PRINGLE R. (1992) 'Women and Consumer Capitalism' in McDowell L. and Pringle R. <u>Defining Women</u> (Cambridge: Polity Press) pp 148-152

PROBYN E. (1993) <u>Sexing the Self-Gendered Positions in Cultural Studies</u> (London: Routledge)

RICH A. (1977) <u>Of Women Born. Motherhood as Experience and Institution</u>. (London: Virago)

RICHARDSON D. (1993) <u>Women, Motherhood and Child-rearing</u> (London: Macmillan).

RILEY D. (1985) 'War in the Nursery: Theories of the Child & Mother' (London: Virago 1983) in <u>Subjectivity and Social Relations</u> in Beechey & Donald.

ROBERTS Y. 'The Sweet Kick of Success' in <u>The Independent</u> (20th June 1988)

ROLL J. (1992) <u>Lone Parent Families in the European Community</u>. (London: Policy Studies Centre)

ROSE J. (1986) <u>Sexuality in the Field of Vision</u>. (London: Verso)

ROSE J. (1991) <u>The Haunting of Sylvia Plath</u>. (London: Virago)

ROWBOTHAM S. (1973) <u>Hidden from History</u>. (London: Pluto Press)

RUSSO N.F. (1976) 'The Motherhood Mandate'. <u>Journal of Social Issues</u> 32(3).

SAPSFORD R. & ABBOTT P. (1988) The Body Politic, Health, Family and Society, Unit 11 of <u>Social Problems and Social Welfare</u> (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

SARTRE J.P. (1968) <u>Existentialism & Humanism</u> (London: Methuen)

SAUSSURE F. (1973 & 1974) <u>Cours.</u> <u>'Course in General Linguistics'</u> (Paris: Payot)

SEGAL L. (1987) <u>Is the Future Female?</u> (London: Virago)

SEGAL L. (1993) 'A Feminist Looks at the Family' in <u>Interactions and Identities</u> M., Wetherell, R.Dallos and D. Meill (eds). (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

SHAW S. (1991) 'The Conflicting Experience of Lone Parenthood' in Hardey M. and Crow G. (eds), <u>Lone Parenthood: Coping with Constraints and Making Opportunities</u>. (London: Wheatsheaf)

SHERIDAN A.(1980) <u>Michel Foucault: The Will to Truth</u>. (New York: Tavistock Publications)

SLAUGHTER A. 'A New Breed of Need?' in <u>The Times</u> (23rd May 1988)

SMART C. (1991) 'Securing the Family? Rhetoric and policy in the field of Social Security' in Loney M. et al <u>The State in the Market</u> (London: Sage)

SMITH A. (1979) <u>An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations</u> Campbell R.H., Skinner A.S. (eds) (Oxford: Clarendon)

SPENDER D. (1980) <u>Man Made Language</u> (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul)

STACEY J. (1986) 'Are Feminist Afraid to Leave Home? The Challenge of Conservative Pro-family Feminism'. In, Mitchell J. & Oakley A., <u>What is Feminism?</u>, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell)

STANLEY L. (1990) 'Feminist Auto/biography and Feminist Epistemology' in Aaron J. and Walby S. (eds) <u>Out of the Margins: Women's Studies in the Nineties.</u> (Lewes: Farmer Press)

STANLEY L. (1993) <u>Breaking Out Again. Feminist Ontology and Epistemology</u>. (London: Routledge)

STANLEY L. (1993) 'On Auto/biography in Sociology', in <u>Sociology</u>, Vol.27, No.21. pp 41-52. (British Sociology Association Publications Ltd.).

STEIER F. (1991) <u>Research and Reflexivity</u> (London: Sage)

STORKEY E. (1991) 'Race Ethnicity & Gender'. Unit 8 <u>Society and Social Science. A Foundation Course</u>. (D103) (Milton Keynes: Open University)

STRINATI D. & WAGG S. (Eds) (1992) <u>Come on Down? Popular Media Culture in Post-war Britain</u>. (London: Routledge)

THOMPSON E.P. (1968) <u>The Making of the English Working Class</u> (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

TONG R. (1992) <u>Feminist Thought. A Comprehensive Introduction.</u> (London: Routledge)

TONNIES F. (1963) <u>Community and Society</u> (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul)

TROWLER P. (1987) <u>Active Sociology</u>. (London: Bell & Hyman).

VOLOSINOV V.N. (1973) <u>Marxism & The Philosophy of Language</u>. (New York: Seminar Press)

WALKERDINE V. (1984) 'Some Day my Prince Will Come" Young girls and the Preparation for Adolescent Sexuality' in McRobbie and Nava (eds) <u>Gender and Generation</u> pp 162-84 (London: Macmillan)

WARNER M. (1976) <u>Alone of all her Sex. The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary.</u> (London: Picador).

WEARING B. (1984) <u>The Ideology of Motherhood</u>. (George Allen & Unwin).

WEBSTER-GARDINER G. (1988) 'Putting Father back at the Head of the Table'. Press Conference Speech 14th March 1986 Quoted in Fitzgerald T., 'Politics and the Family in <u>Social Problems and Social Welfare</u> (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

WETHERELL M., DALLOS D. & MIELL D. (Eds) (1993) <u>Interactions and Identities</u> (Milton Keynes: Open University Press)

WHAT'S NEW IN MARKETING 'Monthly for the Eighties Woman' (April 1988)

WHITE C. (1970) <u>Women's Magazines 1693-1968</u> (London: Michael Joseph)

WHITFORD M. (ED) (1991) <u>The Irigaray Reader</u> (Oxford: Basil Blackwell)

WICKS M. (1991) 'Family Matters and public Policy' in Lorey et al (ed) <u>The State or the Market</u> (London: Sage) pp 169-183

WILLIAMS R. (1953) <u>Culture and Society</u> (London: Chatto & Windus)

WILLIAMSON J. (1978) <u>Consuming Passions. The Dynamics of Popular Culture</u> (London: Marion Boyars)

WINSHIP J. (1988) 'Women's Magazines'. <u>The Changing Experience of Women</u> (U221) Unit 6. (Milton Keynes: Open University 1983, reprinted 1988)

WINSHIP J (1990) <u>Women's Magazines</u>, PU712. (Milton Keynes: Open University).

WINSHIP J. (1987) <u>Inside Women's Magazines</u> (London: Pandora)

WOLLSTONECRAFT M. (1982) <u>A Vindication of the Rights of Women</u> (reprinted Harmondsworth: Penguin)

WRIGHT E. (ed) (1992) <u>Feminism and Psychoanalysis. A Critical Dictionary.</u> (Oxford: Blackwell)

WRIGHT MILLS C. (1962) <u>The Marxists</u> (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

WRONG D. (1961) 'The Over-socialised Conception of Man in Modern Society'. <u>American Sociol. Review</u> Vol.26. p184-93.

YOUNG M. & WILMOTT P. (1973) <u>The Symmetrical Family.</u> (London: Routledge)

A.   <u>Background</u>.

        October 1988 - December 1990:

                COSMOPOLITAN National Magazine Co. Ltd.

                FAMILY CIRCLE IPC Magazine Ltd.

                GOOD HOUSEKEEPING The National Magazine Company

                LIVING IPC Magazines Ltd.

                OPTIONS Carlton Magazines Ltd.

                MARIE CLAIRE European Magazines Ltd.

                PRIMA G & J

                WOMAN AND HOME IPC Magazines Ltd.

                WOMAN'S JOURNAL IPC Magazines Ltd.

      March 1989:

                GOOD HOUSEKEEPING

                NEW WOMAN

                PRIMA

                WOMAN and HOME

B.   <u>Detailed Analysis</u>

      August 1988 - NEW WOMAN Murdoch Magazines UK Ltd.

      October 1988 - GOOD HOUSEKEEPING

                NEW WOMAN

                PRIMA

                WOMAN and HOME

      March 1989 -   SHE The National Magazine Company

C.   <u>Case Study</u>

      March 1989 - December 1992   SHE

D.   <u>Background material</u>

      NEW WOMAN Media Pack November National Magazine Company 1988

      SHE RELAUNCH Publicity Pack, Murdock Magazines, 1989

      W.H.Smith Magazine Review 1990

      SOCIAL TRENDS H.M.S.O. 1992
      (See details Chapter 6: SHE and Social Trends)

APPENDIX 2

MAGAZINE - TITLE

Fashion and Beauty

Annabel	M
Beautiful Woman	2pa
Black Tress	M
Chic	M
The Clothes Show	M
Company	M
Complete Kit	2pa
Concept	M
Cosmopolitan	M
Ebony	M
Ebony Man	M
Elle	M
Everywoman	M
Frills	M
Glamour	M
Harpers & Queen	M
Harpars Bazaar	M
Laura Ashley By Post	2pa
Libas	Q
Looks	M
McCalls Magazine	M
Marie Claire	M
Marie Clair Bis Tout Mode	2pa
New York Woman	A/M
Nineteen (19)	M
Options	M
Root	M
Seventeen	M
She	M
Tatler	M
Town and Country (USA)	M
Vanity Fair	M
Vogue (French)	M
Vogue (German)	M

ABBREVIATIONS

Please note the following abbreviations apply to the magazines listed:

W	Published weekly
A/W	Published alternate weeks
M	Published monthly
A/M	Published alternate months
2pa	Published twice yearly
3pa	Published three times yearly
Q	Published quarterly
Irreg.	Published at irregular intervals

2

Vogue (Italian)	M
Vogue	M
Vogue (USA)	M
Woman's Journal	M
Woman's Journal Beauty Book	2pa

Hair

Black Beauty and Hair	Q
Black Hair Care	Q
Celebrity Hairstyles	A/M
Hair	Q
Hair & Beauty	M
Hair and Good Looks Book	3pa
Hair Flair	M
Hairdo Ideas	A/M
Hair Flair Showcase	2pa
New Ideas or Hair Styling	A/M
Sophisticates Black Hair	A/M

Knitting

Anna Burda Knitting and Needlecraft	M
Fashions for Girls and Boys	2pa
Fashions for Toddlers	2pa
Filatura di Crossa	Q
Knit & Stitch	A/M
Machine Knitting Monthly	M
Machine Knitting News	M
Machine Knitting News - Chunky Collection	2pa
Machine Knitting News - Designer Collection	2pa
Machine Knitting News - Men's Collection	2pa
Modern Machine Knitting	M
Profitable Machine Knitting	A/M
Sabrina	M
Sandra	M
Three Suisses	2pa
Top 15	M

Vogue Knitting	2pa
World of Knitting	M

Needlework

Butterick Home Catalog	Q
Crochet Monthly	M
Embroidery	Q
Fashion & Craft	Q
McCalls Needlework	A/M
Miss B	Q
Pins & Needles	M
Simplicity Patterns	3pa
Style Patterns	3pa
Vogue Patterns	A/M
Workbox	2pa

Cookery

Cooks Collection	Q
Decanter	M
Essentials	M
Family Circle	M
Good Housekeeping	M
Home & Freezer Digest	M
Microwave & Freezer Cookbook	Q
Frima	M
Taste	M
Wine	M
Woman & Home	M
Woman's World	M
Your Microwave	Q

Furnishing & Decor

Country Homes & Interiors	M
Home Enertainment Design	2pa
Homes & Gardens	M
House & Garden	M
H.G. USA	M
Ideal Home	M
Kitchen Magazine	A/M
Living	M

Traditional Bathrooms & Bedrooms	Q
Traditional Homes	M
Traditional Interior Decoration	A/M
World of Interiors	M

Lifestyle

Country Living	M
Ladies Home Journal	M
Selfridges Magazine	2pa

Mother and Baby

Baby Magazine	Q
Child International	M
Childsplay	A/M
Jump	M
Mother	M
Mother and Baby	M
Nursery World	A/W
Owl	M
Parents	M
Play & Learn	M
Practical Parenting	M
Under Five	A/M
Young Mother	A/M

Health & Slimming

Complete Calorie Counter	Q
Complete Guide to Calories	2pa
Fitness	M
Healthy Living	M
Here's Health	M
Looking Great	Q
Practical Health	Q
Self	M
Shape	M
Slimmer	A/M
Slimming	A/M
Successful Slimming	A/M
The Vegetarian	A/M
Watch your Weight	A/M

Women's Weeklies

Bella	W
Best	W
Chat	W
Hello	W
The Lady	W
More	A/W
My Weekly	W
Peoples Friend	W
Peoples Friend Story Library	M
Titbits Monthly	M
Woman	W
Woman's Own	W
Woman's Realm	W
Woman's Weekly	W

Current Affairs

After the Battle	Q
Armed Forces	M
Caribbean Times	W
City Limits	W
Country Times & Landscape	M
Defence Update	M
The Ecologist	A/M
Economist	W
Enterprise	M
Fortune	A/W
Guardian Weekly	W
GQ (UK)	A/M
History Today	M
Illustrated London News	M
In Britain	M
Investors Chronicle	W
Irish Post	W
Irish World	W
Life	M
Listener	W
Living Marxism	M

London Magazine	9pa
Marxism today	M
Moscow News	M
Navy News	M
New African	M
New Democrat	A/M
New Internationalist	M
New Scientist	W
New Socialist	A/M
New Statesman & Society	W
Newsweek	W
New Worls	A/M
New World	A/M
New Yorker	W
Peace News	A/W
Pravada	M
Royal Air Force News	A/W
Sanity	M
Scots Magazine	M
Soldier	A/W
South Magazine	M
Soiet Weekly	W
Spare Rib	M
Spectator	W
Time and Tide	Q

Women's interest
Cookery
Fashion & Beauty
Furnishing and Decor
Hair
Health and Slimming
Knitting
Lifestyle
Mother & Baby
Needlework
Romance
Teenage
Wedding
Women's Weeklies

General Interest
Adult Humour
Art and Antiques
Collecting
Comics for younger children
Comics for older children
Current Affairs
Financial
Imported Magazines
Management
Partworks
Puzzles
Radio & TV Times
Trade and Profession

MAGAZINE - SUBJECT

Leisure interest

Aircraft

American Football

Amstrad

Angling

Athletics

Bodybuilding

Camping & Waling

Car Customising

Car Maintenance

Caravanning

Classic Cars

Computers

Cricket

Cycling

DIY

Electronics

Film & TV

Football

Gardening

Golf

Hi Fi

Holiday & Travel

Model Making

Motor Cycling

Motor Sport

Motoring

Music

Photography

Pop Music

Railways

Railway Modelling

Riding

Rugby

Shooting

Skiing

Sport

Transport

Trucks

Video

Watersports

Yachting and Boating

References to 'mother'. October 1988.

Categories here are those of the magazines' contents pages.

WOMAN & HOME

CONTENTS & EDITORIAL:			0
PULL OUT AND KEEP:			0
COMPETITIONS:			0
FEATURES:	1)	'Starting your own business' 'as a mother of two under 5's"	0
	2)	'Learning for Fun' 'busy housewives and mothers and working women'	
	3)	'Fair Comment (by Tom Crabtree) 'a mother said...'	3
CORDON BLEU COOKERY:			0
FICTION	1)	'A lesson in laughter'. 'mother' x 2, 'mothers' x 3.	
	2)	'Pretty Night' . 'his mother with her jokes'.	
	3)	'The shell seekers', 'your mother's died', 'mother's funeral', Mumma x 10. 'mother' x 6.	22
FASHION & BEAUTY:			0
KNITTING :			0
HOMEMAKING:			0
SPECIAL OFFERS:			0
REGULARS:		'Day by Day', 'well done mum', 'mothers could do a lot more'. 'Bookshelf' 'darling ma', 'her mother', 'a child looks up to mother'. Letters 'mother with your child', 'mother explains', 'child looks up to mother'. Family Matters 'mothers often warn children'.	7
ADVERTS:			0
TOTAL:			32

GOOD HOUSEKEEPING

CONTENTS:	Clothes for mothers and daughters	1
EDITORIAL		0
FEATURES:	(None, even in features on Emma Thompson or Benazir Bhutto).	0
	'The Day I Discovered my Husband was a Man.' 'more mothers will admit', 'just like my mother'.	2
FASHION:	'2 Generation Dressing', 'her mother means', 'mothers and daughters', '2 Generation Makeup', 'mothers and daughters', 'her mother'.	4
TRAVEL:		0
FAMILY MATTERS:		0
EDUCATION SECTION: 'Open line letters & problems',		
	Q. 'a single mother'. A. 'most mothers'.	2
BEAUTY:		0
FICTION:	'Coming to Grief', 'mother has died', 'mother's funeral', 'mother' x 16, 'mama' x 2.	18
CONSUMER AFFAIRS:		0
DESIGN HOMES:		0
FOOD & DRINK:		0
COMPETITION/OFFERS:		0
REGULARS, EXTRAS:	'You write to us' (letters), 'working mothers' Stargazing (horoscopes), 'as a mother you're loving kind and sympathetic.	2
ADVERTS:	Trust House Forte (story by Jilly Cooper) 'teenage children need their mother at home.	1
TOTAL:		30

CONTENTS & EDITORIAL:		'Sons & Mothers"	
		'My mother's brilliant career'	
		'Visit to your mother' (joke)	3
SPECIAL REPORT:		'Working mothers' x 2	
		'Maternity leave'	
		'Maternity allowance'	
		'Children raised by a mother'	5
RELATIONSHIPS:	1)	'Sons & Mothers', 'mother to a son', 'maternal love',	
		'I was a mum', 'mythology of matriarchy', 'proper mother',	
		'mother-son relationship', 'picture of his mother' (Freud),	
		'another mother', 'mothers in patriarchy', 'a mother's love',	
		'a mum', 'mother love', magnificient days of motherhood'.	14
	2)	'The Emotional Age of Men', 'maternal position',	
		'women find maturity through motherhood'	
		'dominant mother'.	3
	3)	'Is it dangerous to track down friends & lovers'	
		'find a mother'.	1
LOVE & SEX			0
PEOPLE		Sonia Braga	
		'my mother cleans the house'. 'her mother's part Indian'.	2
YOU FIRST			0
FASHION & BEAUTY			0
HEALTH & DIET			0
TRAVEL			0
WORK & MONEY			0
FOOD			0
REGULARS		'Connections' Ruby Wax. 'my mother was fanatical	
		in cleanliness'. Helplines (problems) 'my mother has died'	
		Wordpower. 'my mother died yesterday'.	
		'And another thing' 'My Mother's Brilliant Career'.	
		'a child watching its mother'. 'my mother thinks this'.	
		'my mother is going into property'. 'my mother has	
		decided to be a tycoon' 'my mother is a wonder woman'.	
		'irons her blouse'. 'father took mother out'. 'I wanted my	
		mother'. I looked at my mother'. 'mother wanted this'.	15
ADVERTS			0
TOTAL			41

CONTENTS PAGE & EDITORIAL: 0

FASHION: 0

BEAUTY & EXERCISE: 0

CONSUMER: 0

KNITTING: 0

HOME: 0

PATTERNS: 0

PETS: 0

GARDENING: 0

'WOMANSENSE': Health Q & As 'My grandmother is hardly able to manage her house' p109.

'Life-a look at life' by Hazel Martin.
'Mummy forgives her baby boy anything' p120.

Teenage tearaways. 'If you're the mother of a teenage boy' p122. 3

TRAVEL: 0

COOKERY: 0

COOK CARDS: 0

COMPETITION: 0

AND THE REST: PRIMA Entertains - book review.
'Loutish father and alcoholic stepmother' p104. 1

ADVERTS: 0

TOTAL: 4

he beginning was, for me, pure unadulterated love. It was all those over the top, silly, sentimental clichés rolled into one, as I gazed in loving amazement at the unimaginably tiny person cradled in my arms, flesh of my flesh, the stunning answer to nine months of unanswerable questions. What I did not stop to contemplate in the sheer, self-indulgent delight of those first magnificent days of motherhood, was the grand scale implications of being mother to a son.

Not seeing myself as a Jocasta or Gertrude, not having the dominant and desperate ways of history and mythology's matriarchs uppermost in my mind, as I cradled the tiny first-born son to my breast and felt his fingers splayed across my skin, watched as his body became plumper, his face spread into the clownish early smiles, I did not stop and take stock of the fact that as mother you are the first woman with whom a boy experiences love. For better or for worse, this mother-son relationship will provide the original intimate knowledge of the opposite sex which he will carry with him through life.

It was a realisation which occurred when Zek was a little over a year old. He was a highly emotional child, one minute all embraces, his velvety face pressed against mine or his father's as he snuggled on to a lap for a cuddle, the next a fireball of rage, protesting at some forbidden desire. On

wish to be amused or chauffeured will have to be put aside while I do *my* thing.

I want him to know that I consider myself too good for his or any chap's bovver boots to trample over me. I want him to know that I don't consider myself lucky to have found a man, his father, willing to take me on – rather the opposite. I want him to know that women are not the same as men, that the essential gender blend is very different, but that difference does not imply either superiority or inferiority. Remembering the words of Sigmund Freud, "Above all a man looks for the memory picture of his mother as it has dominated him since the beginning of his childhood", it seemed these things should be part of that memory.

Battling that one out over the past 12 years with Zek and with his younger brother Cato has involved no small amount of opposition to their essential maleness. Like the time one announced he would simply beat up anyone who didn't do what he wanted in *his* garden; like the occasion six-year-old Zek snuggled deep into our bed and commanded, "Go downstairs, make a cup of tea and do it quickly"; like the time Cato, then four, told me, "Men are better than women. They can do anything, women only have babies".

All seemed important moments for a bit of discussion to find out just why they thought it was okay to bash people up, to assume that making tea was unquestionably a female task, achieved by command rather than request, and why in almost any job you can find a woman (one if not more), if they can't do any more than have babies. "Heavy…" my partner would sigh, but thinking of the future women in these youngster's lives, my duty as a mother committed to not adding to the population of male chauvinist pigs loomed large.

But I hit a real conflict over the meaning of what loving is all about when it came to combining my career with Zek. When he was born, the drive by women to prove they could do the same jobs as men, to reach all the best boardrooms, had begun, and for many it entailed playing the male role of virtually living at work to prove their dedication. I had a full-time job on a newspaper at the time, and returned when Zek was four months old. Suddenly our life was perpetual motion and perpetual exhaustion: delivering and collecting from the child-minder, frantic shopping, the launderette and housework. My overwhelming wish by the time I got home each evening was for one of us to get the baby to bed as quickly as possible so that we could put our feet up.

Then it hit me – this small person had become the most dispensable thing in life. Evening after evening I was wishing my child, whom I hadn't seen all day, out of the way. Great. As he grew up would his view of women be that they were high achievers with no time for love, companionship, relaxation? Would women personify the very things we have protested

Angela says one of her maternal duties is to ensure son Zek isn't a male chauvinist

about in men for the last twenty years?

I left my full-time job and went freelance, and although my bank balance developed anorexia, I had several extra hours in the day in which I could play with my son, get cross with him and make it up, cuddle him, let him know what it was to have a woman who loved him around the place. And it still seems to me that any love relationship needs time, energy and involvement to make it good.

Another mother who has life organised so that she leaves work on time and can be with her children from the minute she gets back says, "To me it's all important that I have time to work out the things I care about with my children, and with the boy there are very real bits of male culture I dislike. It's not just a question of saying, 'I don't want you to have guns – they're nasty', it's having time to sit down and discuss why and how guns are used, why they appeal to boys more than girls. We owe it to our sons to help them break with the patterns of behaviour they grow up with, because they don't only make women unhappy. I think all that macho maleness makes men miserable too."

Ruth Cadby, a single parent with a 12-year-old son says, "I am very demanding of Sam. I expect him to make allowances for what I want and need to do with my time, I make a good deal of the fact that I am as good a wage earner as a man would be, but I also devote a lot of energy to getting him to talk about his feelings, to oppose the very aggressive, tough-guy stuff he picks up at school, and I know he is a sensitive, caring boy, a boy who knows how to open up his feelings. There are things I feel less comfortable about as he reaches adolescence, but I think it has been important to consider what I was doing with Sam, what cause and effect there would be in his life."

But there are issues other than the politics of women's liberation. A boy's view of female sexuality is inevitably drawn from what he experiences at home. Freud was 'dazzled' by the glimpse he got of his mother 'nudam', and while I hope Zek and Cato aren't 'dazzled' by the sight of me ▷

❝ **I want him to know that women are not the same as men, that the essential gender blend is very different, but that does not imply better or worse** ❞

hopping blearily from bed to bathroom naked of a morning, I hope it will help them to feel at ease in a daily, domestic sort of way with women's bodies. And I am glad that they walk into our bedroom without knocking, to find us closely entwined, or that they clamber unselfconsciously into the family bed.

On the other hand, if I push the frontiers and become the coquette with my elder boy, flirting lightly with him, bringing a frisson to our relationship, it clearly makes him uneasy and he becomes outraged and angry. When I asked him recently what he liked and disliked in our relationship he replied, "I like it that you talk to me and listen to me, but I hate it when you get silly and don't act like a proper mother."

But quite a lot of the time I stop constructing strategies and worrying about submitting two fully re-constructed new men to the world and just let myself enjoy being mother to two kids I adore *because* of who they are, not in spite of. At times I revel in Zek's masculinity which is so different to my way of being, and because I happen to believe two different sexes make for a good world (while thinking some of the bad side-products need erasing). I watch with amusement the boldness and enthusiasm my younger son takes in his male existence, and I feel sure that loving and enjoying them for what they are is also important in helping them to grow into men who will feel good about themselves and be able to be good to others.

But of course it is not all about bringing up a right-on chap. Returning to the essential point that a mother is the first love in a son's life, and the mother's love for a son is very particular, passionate and poignant, how does this feeling evolve? I remember when Zek was just five and very taken by the slightly older daughter of my best friend, he was invited to her party. As she prepared to troop upstairs with a couple of

"I can share at least some of my life with this unfathomable male"

girls, he tried to join them. She turned and with a look of utter disdain said to him, "Only my friends are allowed upstairs". I watched my son's face drain; I could see the tears in his eyes, the frantic biting of the lip as he turned dejectedly away. And oh the fury I felt with this young madam who had rejected my precious boy.

But as that childlike vulnerability which used to assure me of unrivalled supremacy as the woman in his life makes way for a surface sophistication, and an often disdainful adolescence where I feel myself excluded from his thoughts and actions more and more, my feelings are changing. Last summer I got the first glimpse of the loss to come. On a river beach in France, he met an exquisitely pretty French girl, a couple of years younger. As she sat in an effortless lotus position, smiling at us, clearly wishing to be approached, he shuffled, shy and ungainly, towards her and perched on a rock near enough to speak to her, but far enough not to appear especially interested, and in the most painfully fractured, schoolboy French he attempted to converse. I watched, amused, indulgent at the gauche antics of my son and, seeing myself as the experienced mediator, I joined in asking the girl questions. It was a profound miscalculation. Zek turned on me, red in the face with anger, an antipathy which was quite shocking. He then got up and left.

That was when I realised that the love and passion which he had directed at me all

his growing years would in due course be redirected towards some other woman. He might, and hopefully will, continue to love me in a benign way, allotting me the quota of love appropriate to a Mum from whom he is growing away, but he will want and choose to be with another woman. The concern then will be not with how he will take the experience of loving me on to future relationships, but how I, as mother, will cope with losing that early love.

But while grappling with worries about future girlfriends and daughter-in-law, I realise that I must help him to make that transition. The brief attempt of last summer has not, in front of me, been repeated, but in a coy way he admits to 'liking' a girl at school, and with his mates I hear raucous, giggly conversations about who fancies whom. So what is my role now? To continue encouraging the puppy dog embraces he gives me, at the same time allowing his love to be transferred to another woman when the time comes . . .

What a lot of thought goes into it all and yet for them it is just growing up, a process which happens as it happens, unselfconsciously; they cannot be aware of the turmoil at times when I feel I should do or have things otherwise, the intense miraculous joy of knowing I can share at least some of my life with these two unfathomable males. Probably as they swagger off into their own lives they'll dismiss all these maternal feelings as Noel Coward did. "Mother love is a highly respected and much publicised emotion, and when exacerbated by gin and bourbon, it can become extremely formidable." □

YOUR JOB VS. YOUR LIFE

THE TOP 6 COMPANIES FOR A WORKING MOTHER

We may be able to juggle a job and family, but do our top companies help or hinder working mothers? asks Angela Neustatter

Career satisfaction and self-fulfilment are two of the many reasons why women go out to work. We may choose to do so because we wish to contribute to the household expenses, or because we need the money and there is no alternative. In other words women work for the same reasons as men. But can we work in the same way as men with the same chances of success?

In 1975 the legislative stamp of approval was put on the Equal Opportunities policy which was designed specifically to ensure that we should be on a par with men. We know that more than 40 per cent of women now work, and the media has made much of women who have stormed boardrooms, set up successful businesses and broken into traditionally male bastions. But will the 1990s really be a brave new world for women workers?

PROMOTION STUDY

With this question on the agenda, New Woman carried out a research project, looking at 26 leading organisations which between them employ more than 1.5 million women. The aim was to look at promotion prospects for women and, because the most powerful obstacle hindering women's progress has always been the fact that they are (despite 20 years of women's liberation) the primary carers of children, to see what companies are doing to support the women who will be bearing and caring for the next generation.

Taking women's prospects at top level first, the results were markedly discouraging: with 224 employees on the boards of 25 companies, just eight are women. These are in banking and the retail trade, although the Thistle group of hotels does have one woman on the board. In the retail trade things look reasonably optimistic at managerial level for women – at both John Lewis and Burton's half the managers are women, and at Sainsbury's one-third are women. The building societies uniformly have about one-third women managers, with the exception of the Alliance & Leicester which has just 18 women out of 3,400 managers. Banks and insurance organisations were conspicuous for the low percentage of women in managerial positions – Lloyds has just four per cent out of a total of 178 managers.

Illustration: **Penny Sobr**

18

week, while others offer two to four days. But the popular concept of the New Man itching and twitching to express his involvement in parenting is not generally alive and well in the companies we questioned. When paternity leave was put to a democratic vote at John Lewis, for instance, it was the men who rejected it, with the company noting: "Men appear not to be militant about this."

CHILD CARE

Across Europe, governments offer child care facilities, acknowledging its importance as a socially valuable and suitable environment for children, while providing the opportunity for women to work on an equal footing with men. In Britain, when women's work was essential to the nation during the war, we had state-run nurseries but these have been systematically closed down by governments who saw no benefit in funding them. Today, there are only half the number of state nursery places that there were in 1945, with less than 1 per cent of our children attending state nurseries. Now, Mrs Thatcher has made it clear she has no time for state nursery care saying, "I have no intention of having state-run nurseries. I don't want state nurseries and I don't want state children."

Efforts have been made to establish workplace crèches, although so far they are conspicuous by their absence. Of the surveyed companies only the Halifax Building Society has one at its head office though next spring the Midland Bank is to open two crèches in Beckenham, Kent and Sheffield. One publishing company in London which employs thousands of women flirted with the idea but then decided against going ahead, to the fury of many employees. Crest Hotels are planning to open a crèche at one of their hotels and say they actively encourage managers to do so if there is a demand.

Mrs A'dell Batterton is responsible for marketing the concept of workplace crèches on behalf of KIDS. Based in Wilmslow, KIDS operates private and workplace nurseries in the Cheshire area and is hoping to go nationwide.

"There is plenty of research which demonstrates that children develop well in a social environment from a young age," says Mrs Batterton. "There is evidence that it is actually good for children if women work, so from this point of view alone if the state is interested in its next generation, it should be putting money into child care. KIDS has a campaigning staff who make contact with local firms to try to interest them in setting up crèches as well as lobbying MPs on the importance of official child care.

● *Just 8 of the 224 employees on the companys' boards are women*

● *Britain has one of the lowest employment rates of mothers with young children in the industrialised world*

● *"When employers say a job 'would suit house-wife' they are looking for a woman with children who is in no position to argue"*

"At KIDS we direct our energies to individual employers," explains Mrs Batterton, "and the point is it need not cost them a lot. Our nursery not only covers its costs but makes a small profit."

COMPASSIONATE LEAVE

Another problem for women, who are almost always the ones to drop everything to cope when children are sick, is the question of compassionate leave. British Airways, Rank Xerox, Nationwide Anglia and Burton's all allow some paid leave. Thistle Hotels allows parents to take time off for a sick child from their own sick leave provision, while Barclays allows parents *free* time off to look after a sick child for a short period only.

FLEXIBLE ARRANGEMENTS

If companies do not provide child care, they can at least offer women working arrangements which allow them to combine work and looking after children. New Woman found that 22 out of the 26 companies surveyed offered flexi-time, 24 part-time work; nine (five of them banks) operated a job-share scheme and four made it possible for women to work at home. Banks, building societies and retail outlets provided the highest proportion of part-time opportunities, while the Royal Bank of Scotland offered a whole range of

alternatives. Another option is term-time-only employment, which is offered by Crest Hotels, Royal Bank of Scotland and Midland Bank, but it turned out that the women were in the main employed as casual labour.

RETURNING TO WORK

One obvious problem is that women who take time off to have children get out of touch and may consequently lose the opportunity of promotion, but there is evidence of firms putting effort into strategies for dealing with this. Many of the companies have on-going training schemes so that women returning will automatically get this, but the Career Break Scheme, instituted by a number of banks, appears to be the best. This is designed specifically to bridge the time away for women who have been off, sometimes for a substantial period of time. Boots has set up network groups which offer advice and support to those who are away from work, as well as those who have returned, and Marks & Spencer do a refresher course for those coming back from maternity leave.

SIX OF THE BEST

It can be seen, then, that depending on the company a woman works for, her chances of getting to the top and their sympathy to family commitments will differ. Part of New Woman's aim in getting the research done was to pick out six companies which seemed, overall, to give women the best deal. These emerged as (in no particular order): *Boots* has one woman on the board and 23 per cent of managerial staff are female, offers part-time work and is presently formulating a policy to enable job-share in some management categories, as well as running a Returners' Network for women following maternity leave; *Royal Bank of Scotland*, which has one woman on the board and offers a very wide range of alternative working options; *Burton's* where 50 per cent of managers are women and which offers some paid leave for family concerns with children, four weeks at a time holidays for people with school-age children and attempts to integrate women returning from maternity leave; *Tesco* with a woman on its board, network groups to exchange information and provide support for women, and who make a particular effort to integrate women returning to work; *Marks & Spencer* which has a 62 per cent female managerial staff within their stores and 50 per cent at head office, offers the longest paternity leave and has a refresher course for returning women; *Crest Hotels* where almost half the managers are women, a crèche is planned and more will

the Government's White Paper *Building Businesses Not Barriers* becomes law, the protections will be still less. Women are often trapped in low grades as well. According to Government statistics one in five of Britain's workforce is employed part-time and 90 per cent of these are women. One woman summed up the situation when she said: "When an employer advertises with the words 'would suit housewife' they know exactly what they are looking for: a woman with children who is in no position to argue." And the West Midlands Low Pay Unit noted that 45 per cent of women returning to work part-time after the birth of their first child take a lower grade job.

It is here we must turn to Jo Richardson MP, who will, if Labour gets into power, set up a Ministry for Women. One of the key issues they are set to tackle is employment conditions and child care. As Jo Richardson points out, it is not simply a question of empowering women, but also of providing the next generation, and

therefore society's future, with the best possible experience.

Given that women must work, and cannot spend all their time looking after children, the best experience has to be state nurseries. These can be run with specified conditions, designed to provide the best form of social development and mother substitution. They can be happy, healthy places where children can mix and are stimulated in a way mothers often cannot achieve on their own. But with a government like the present one, it is manifestly Utopian to imagine that we will get such provision, particularly as, despite ample evidence of child abuse of all kinds, wife battering and neglect which takes place within the home, Conservatives still insist on clinging to a sentimental notion of the family as the place where, in the most traditional mould, children should be raised by a mother who stays at home to do so.

There are of course the problems of a

● *In Denmark 75 per cent of women with children under five are employed; in Britain it's 28 per cent*

● *Women with children will be the most important source of employees when school leavers from the Sixties baby boom dry up*

one in three divorce rate which leaves women alone; and of one-parent families. These women need to work if they are not to live off the state. And it is no secret how the present government feels about supporting women and children.

So here we are, 20 years of the women's movement on, and for most women combining work and children remains as difficult as ever. Because of this some women have chosen not to have babies and if we all decided thus, something would soon have to be done to make us race back to the love nest and get at it, *fast*. □

12

22

SHE

WARNING
YOUR HUSBAND CAN
MAKE YOU FAT

INCEST
"DADDY'S
DONE SOMETHING
NAUGHTY"

BEAUTY OFFERS
OVER 5,000
FREE GIFTS &
MONEY OFF VOUCHERS

EXCLUSIVE
ERICH (LOVE STORY) SEGAL:
A TEAR-JERKING
EXTRACT
FROM HIS NEW NOVEL

GAYLE HUNNICUTT
& CO ON:
★ **WORKING MOTHERS**
★ **FITNESS OVER 40**
★ **FASHION FLATTERY**
★ **EMOTIONAL CRISES**

40&FABULOUS

SEXY, PRIME-TIME WOMEN TELL HOW THEY STAY ON TOP

23

This month, SHE comes to you with a new look and a new editor. It comes with more editorial pages, more in colour, and all printed on better quality paper. We introduce an agony column with a difference — different in that Couples Counsel looks at problems in relationships from the point of view of both parties involved, rather than in the usual one-sided way. And there's a special new section each month called You and Your Child, dedicated to the business of helping you to handle and enjoy your kids.

The fact that so much in SHE looks fresh and new this month is thanks to talented Creative Director Nadia Marks. I don't mind admitting that Nadia and I have been best friends ever since working in tandem first on Cosmopolitan, then on Company Magazine, and that we've been dreaming of getting back together from the moment we went our separate working ways some nine years ago.

A lot has happened in our lives since then. Nadia, who postponed motherhood for the first ten years of her married life, has given birth to two sons — Leo, now seven, and Pablo, almost one. I've been in and out of marriage, have edited Cosmopolitan and now live with the father of my handsome, perfect, brilliant, etc, son Thomas, aged 21 months.

The reason for telling you these intimate details of our personal lives is to put across the point that Nadia and I, in common with many of SHE's staff and contributors, are nothing if not jugglers. And I believe we can make SHE even more relevant as the magazine for women of the 90s who juggle their lives.

Something I'm determined to do is break down the great divide between women who choose or need to work outside the home at the same time as bringing up their children, and those who, when the kids are young, make a positive decision not to work or are

From left: baby Pablo, Leo, seven and Nadia Marks, Creative Director; Editor Linda Kelsey and son Thomas, 21 months

unable to do so. Just as I've never met a non-frantic working mother, neither have I ever met a non-frantic, non-working mother, except in cases of the very rich with help on tap. My plea for 1990 is let's respect one another's way of life. Let's stop saying, 'Well, it's all right for you...' and let's get together on issues that really matter.

One issue that really matters — and is relevant to all women, whether they're mothers or not (as well as, of course, being relevant to all men) — is SHE's campaign for a Child-Friendly Society. I'm frankly appalled at the way we claim to be a child-loving nation, yet give more to charities for under-privileged animals than to those for under-privileged youngsters; at the way we build our supermarkets and run public transport with total disregard for the needs of young children, and generally treat them worse than anywhere else in Europe. On page 6 you'll find Yvonne Roberts speaking from the heart, backed up by some statistics that simply can't be denied.

Motherhood has proved to be a great learning curve for me. Even though I regard myself first and foremost as a woman and an individual, nothing I do these days is wholly unaffected by the fact that I'm a parent. And I know it's the same for most of you, too. So where does SHE go from here? Well, I have a mission, and here it is. To produce the first glossy magazine that celebrates self and motherhood under one umbrella. To act as a vehicle for helping to improve the image and circumstances of women who choose to work alongside raising a family. To act as a forum for debate in the area of child development. To deal with relationship problems head-on. To fill you with inspiration on fashion, beauty, homes and entertaining. To encourage you, to amuse you and to stir you. Please write and let me know what you think.   **Linda Kelsey**

N E X T   M O N T H ' S   S H E

● **When friends split,** is it crunch-time for your own relationship? ● **How green is the Queen,** the PM and other VIPs? ● **Down with Superwoman,** says Shirley Conran. Can she really be serious? ● **Lose that after-baby belly.** Yes, there's hope in sight for us all ● **Will feeding your family win you love?** ● **How violence breeds a ghastly glamour** ● **It's not unusual to have a sexual problem. We can help** ● **Confessions of a fashion failure** ● Plus brilliant ideas on homes, gardens, clothes, entertaining

April issue on sale March 22

PART 2: HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES

A household: a single person or a group of people who have the address as their only or main residence and who either share one meal a day or share the living accommodation.

Size of household: is de jure household size and counts those people who are usually resident in the household irrespective of whether or not they are present on census night. In the General Household Survey the size of the household is the number of people who normally live there.

Families

A Family: is a married couple, either with or without their never-married child or children (of any age), or a lone parent family (in the General Household Survey): consists of a lone parent, living with his or her never-married dependent children. A lone parent in the Consensus is a married parent whose spouse does not reside in the same household, or any single, widowed, or divorced parent.

A lone parent family (in the General Household Survey): consists of a lone parent, living with his or her never-married dependent children, provided these children have no children of their own. Married lone mothers whose husbands are not defined as resident in the household are not classified as lone parents because evidence suggests the majority are separated from their husbands either because he usually works away from home or for some other reason that does not imply the breakdown of the marriage (see OPCS's **GHS Monitor 82/1**). Couples describing themselves as married (or common-law married) but who are in fact cohabiting are coded and counted as married.

Children: are never-married of any age who live with one or both parent(s). They also include step-children and adopted children (but not foster children) and also grandchildren (where the parents are absent).

Dependent children: in the 1961 Census, dependent children were defined as children under 15 years of age, and persons of any age in full-time education.

In the 1971 Census, dependent children were defined as never-married children in families who were either under 15 years of age, or aged 15-24 and in full-time education. However, for direct comparison with the General Household Survey (GHS) data, the definition of dependent children used for 1971 in Table 2.6 has been changed to include only never-married children in familes who were either under 15 years of age, or aged 15-18 and in full-time education.

In the 1981 Census and the GHS dependent children are never-married children in families who are aged under 16, or aged 16-18 and in full-time education.

Divorce

A decree of divorce or of nullity of marriage may be granted on certain grounds as set out in the **Matrimonial and Family Proceedings Act 1984**. A divorce is a dissolution of marriage granted if the marriage has irretrievably broken down. Annulled marriages are either void (for example if it was bigamous) or voidable (for example if it has not been consummated). A decree nisi is granted by the Court at the time of the hearing, and normally becomes absolute after six weeks on the application of the party granted the decree nisi. The parties are then legally free to remarry. The law in Scotland did not change until the coming into effect of the **Divorce Reform Act (Scotland) 1976** on 1 January 1977.

Social Trends 22, Crown Copyright 1992

26

PART 4: EMPLOYMENT

Labour force

The civilian labour force includes people aged 16 and ver who are either in employment (whether as an employee, self-employed or on work-related government employment and training programmes, but excluding those in the armed forces) or unemployed. The ILO definition of unemployment refers to people without a job who were available to start work within two weeks and had either looked for work in the previous four weeks or were waiting to start a job they had already obtained. Estimates on this basis are not available before 1984, as the Labour Force Survey did not then collect information on job search over a four week period. The former BG Labour Force definition of unemployment, the only one available for estimates up to 1984, counted people not in employment and seeking work in a reference week (or prevented from seeking work by a temporary sickness or holiday, or waiting for the results of a job application, or waiting to start a job they had already obtained), whether or not they were available to start (except students not able to start because they had to complete their education).

Workforce

Workforce in employment plus the unemployed.

Workforce in employment

Employees in employment, self-employed, HM Forces and participants on work-related government training programmes.

GHS definition of unemployed

The unemployed consist of those who, in the week before interview, were looking for work, would have looked for work if they had not been temporarily sick, or were waiting to take up a job they had already obtained. In this context temporary sickness refers to illness lasting 28 days or less. These definitions apply whether or not the person was registered as unemployed or claiming unemployment benefit.

From 1985 full-time students were classified according to their own reports of what they were doing in the refrence week, in previous years they were classified as 'inactive'. Also, from 1985 people on the Youth Training Scheme were classified as 'working' if they were with an employer providing work experience in the reference week and as 'inactive' if they were at college. From 1989 all those on schemes YTS, ET and JIS were classified as 'working'.

27

There are difficulties in ensuring complete recording of stoppages; in particular near the margins of the definition, for example short disputes lasting only a day or so, or involving only a few workers. Any under-recording would affect the total number of stoppages much more than the number of working days lost.

The Unemployed

Definition of unemployment - claimant counts

People claiming benefit that is unemployment benefit, supplementary benefits, or national insurance credits) at Unemployment Benefit Offices on the day of the monthly count, who on that day that they are unemployed and that they satisfy the conditions for claiming benefit. (Students claiming benefit during a vacation and who intend to return to full time education are excluded).

Unemployment rate

Unemployment rates, available down to the level of travel-to-work areas, area calculated by expressing the number of unemployed claimants as a percentage of the mid-year estimate of the total workforce (the sum of employees in employment, unemployed claimants, self employed, HM forces and participants on work-related government training programmes).

Narrower rates (as a percentage of employees in employment and the unemployed only) are also available down to the level of travel-to-work areas.

Definition of unemployment - OECD concepts

The unemployment figures used in these standardised rates are estimated by the OECD to conform, as far as possible, with the definition of unemployment in the guidelines of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), and the rates are calculated as percentages of the total labour force, again as defined in the ILO guidelines. According to these guidelines the unemployment covers all persons of working age who, in a specified period, are without work, who are available for work, and who are seeking employment for pay or profit. The total labour force consists of civilian employees, the self-employed, unpaid family workers, professional and conscripted members of the armed forces, and the unemployed. The standardised rates will therefore differ from the unemployment rates published in national sources whenever the national definition of unemployment differs from that indicated above, or the denominator used to calculate the national rates is other than the total labour force.

Sector classification

The Post Office has been included in public corporations from 1961 onwards although employees were still civil servants until 1969 in 1974 water services (previous undertaken by local authorities) passed to Regional Water Authorities classified to public corporations: trust ports were reclassified from local authorities to public corporations, and most local authority health services were transferred to the Regional and Area Health Authorities which form part of the central government sector. From 1970 employees of some local authority transport under-takings were taken over by passenger transport authorities classifed to public corporations. Most of the steel industry was nationalised in 1967, and the aircarft and shipbuilding industries in 1977. The Royal Ordnance Factories, Royal Mint, Property Services Agency (Supplies Division) (now the Crown Suppliers), and Her Majesty's Stationery Office were establisehd as trading funds and reclassified to public corporations from 1974, 1975, 1976, and 1980 respectively. British Aerospace and part of Cable and Wireless Ltd. (operating mainly overseas) were reclassified to the private sector in 1981. The National Freight Company Ltd., formerly the National Freight Corporation, and Britoil were reclassified to the private sector in 1982, and Associated British Ports were transferred to the private sector in 1983. Enterprise Oil was reclassified to the private sector in June 1984. British Telecom plc was reclassified to the private sector in November 1984, and Trust Ports (Great Britain) in April 1985. Between 1984 and 1986 British Shipbuilders were transferred to the private sector. In April 1986 both United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority and English Industrial Estates Corporation were reclassified from central government to public corporations. In December 1986 the British Gas Corporation was reclassified to the private sector as was British Airways plc in February 1986 and Royal Ordnance plc in April 1987. British Airports Authority plc was transferred to the private sector in July 1986, as were subsidiaries of the National Bus Company at various dates between July 1986 and April 1988. British Steel plc was privatised in December 1988, as were polytechnics (previously in the local authority sector) in April 1989.

Industrial Disputes

Statistics of stoppages of work owing to industrial disputes in the United Kingdom relate to disputes connected with terms and conditions of employment. Small stoppages involving fewer than 10 workers or lasting less than one day are excluded from the statistics except where the aggregate number of working days lost in the dispute exceeds 100. Disputes not resulting in a stoppage of work are not included in the statistics.

Workers involved and working days lost relate to persons both directly and indirectly i involved (unable to work although not parties to the dispute) at the establishments where the disputes occurred. People laid off and working days lost at establishments not in dispute, due for example to resulting shortages of supplies, are excluded.

Employment and training measures

Current Employment Department schemes and programmes include:

Job-Share Scheme

Jobstart

Youth Training

Employment Training

Employment Action

Enterprise Allowance Scheme

Past schemes and programmes

Temporary Short-Time Working Compensation Scheme, which replaced the Short-Time Working Compensation Scheme in the textiles, clothing, and footwear industry.

Temporary Employment Subsidy

Small Firms Employment Subsidy

Adult Employment Subsidy

Job Release Scheme (full-time and part-time schemes)

Young Workers Scheme (applications approved)

New Workers Scheme

Youth Employment Subsidy

Youth Training Scheme

Community Industry

Youth Opportunities Programme

Job Creation Programme

Community Enterprise Programme

Special Temporary Employment Programme

Job Introduction Scheme

Work Experience Programme

Training in Industry

Community Programme

Voluntary Projects Programme

Old Job Training Scheme

New Job Training Scheme

Training for Enterprise

Access to Information Technology

Local Grants to Employers

Wider Opportunities Training Programme

Open Technology Programme

National Priority Skills Service

Industrial Language Training Service

Participants in work related government training programmes

These comprise participants in Youth Training (and previously Youth Training Scheme) and Employment Training who receive work experience except those who have contracts of employment (who are included in employees in employment). In Northern Ireland they consist of those on Youth Training Programme, Job Training Programme, and Attachment Training participants and other management training scheme participants training with an employer.

APPENDIX 8:3

EMPLOYMENT

Glossary of terms

The economically active - people in employment plus the unemployed as measured by household surveys and censuses.

The economically inactive - people who are not economically active, e.g. full-time students who neither have, or are seeking, paid work and those who are keeping house, have retired or are permanently unable to work.

The total labour force - the economically active.

The civilian labour force - The total labour force less the armed forces.

Employees in employment - a count of civilians in jobs, both main and secondary, paid by an employer who runs a PAYE tax scheme.

Self-employed persons - those who, in their main employment, work on their own account, whether or not they have any employees.

Work related government training programmes - in which the participants in the course of their participation receive training in the context of a workplace but are not employees, self-employed or in the armed forces.

The workforce in employment - employees in employment, self-employed, HM Forces and participants on work related government training programmes.

The workforce - the workforce in employment plus people claiming unemployment-related benefits at Unemployment Benefit Offices.

The population of working age - males aged 16-64 years and females aged 16-59 years.

Civilian economic activity rate - the percentage of the population in a given age group which is in the civilian labour force.

Unemployment - there are two main measures according to the source of the statistics. Firstly, there is the International Labour Organisation (ILO) measure used in household surveys such as the Labour Force Survey. By this measure the unemployed are those aged 16 and over who are available to start work in the next two weeks and who have been seeking a job in the last four weeks. Secondly, there is the measure derived from administrative sources. This measure counts as unemloyed people claiming unemployment related benefits at Unemployment Benefit Offices. Both measures are used in Social Trends.   (Social Trends 22, 1992)

HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE IN 1990-91, GREAT BRITAIN (percentages)

Single Person:

Pensionable age   15%

Other   11

Two or more unrelated adults   .   3

Married couple

No children   28

Dependent children   24

Non-dependent children only   8

Lone parent

Dependent children   6

Non-dependent children only   4

Two or more families   1

....

Source: Continuous Household Survey data from Social Trends No.22 1992,
         2.4, p41.

Live births outside marriage as a percentage of all births

United Kingdom

Source: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys:
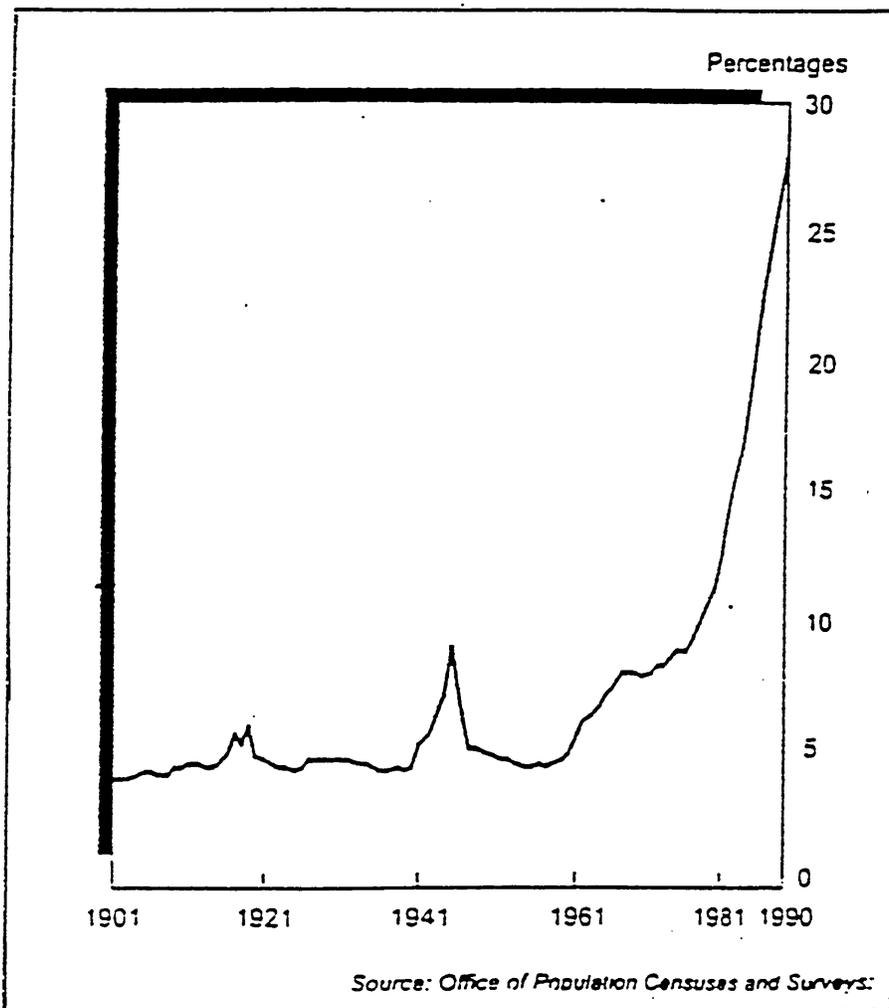
Live births outside marriage as a percentage of all births: international comparison

Percentages

Country	
United Kingdom[1]	
Belgium[2]	
Denmark[1]	
France[1]	
Germany (Fed Rep)[3]	
Greece	
Irish Republic[1]	
Italy	
Luxembourg	
Netherlands	
Portugal	
Spain[4]	
Eur 12[1]	
Sweden[1]	
USA[3]	
Canada[4]	
Australia[3]	

1960
1990

Percentages   0   10   20   30   40   50   60

1 1989.
2 1987.
3 1988.
4 1986.

Source: Office of Population Censuses
and Surveys: EUROSTAT

35
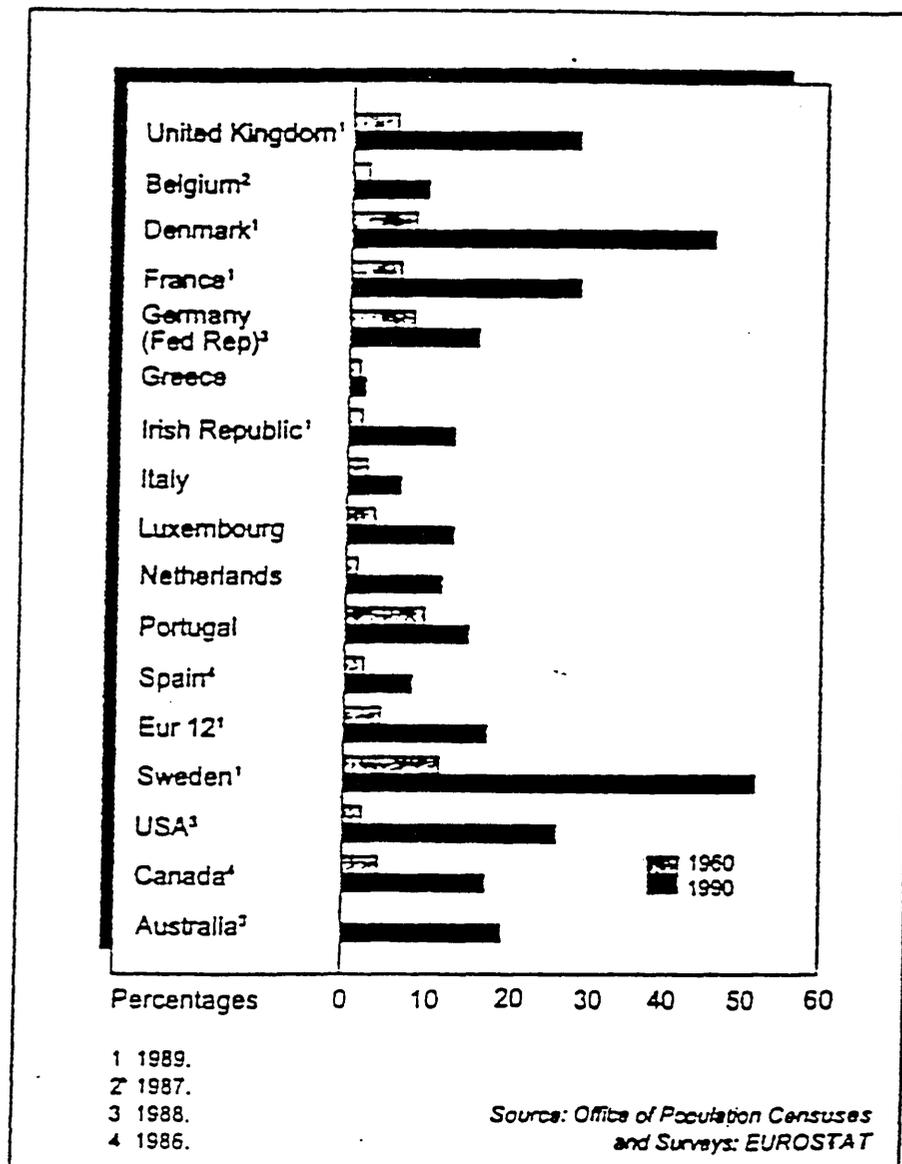
Live births outside marriage as a percentage of all births: by registration

England & Wales

Source: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys
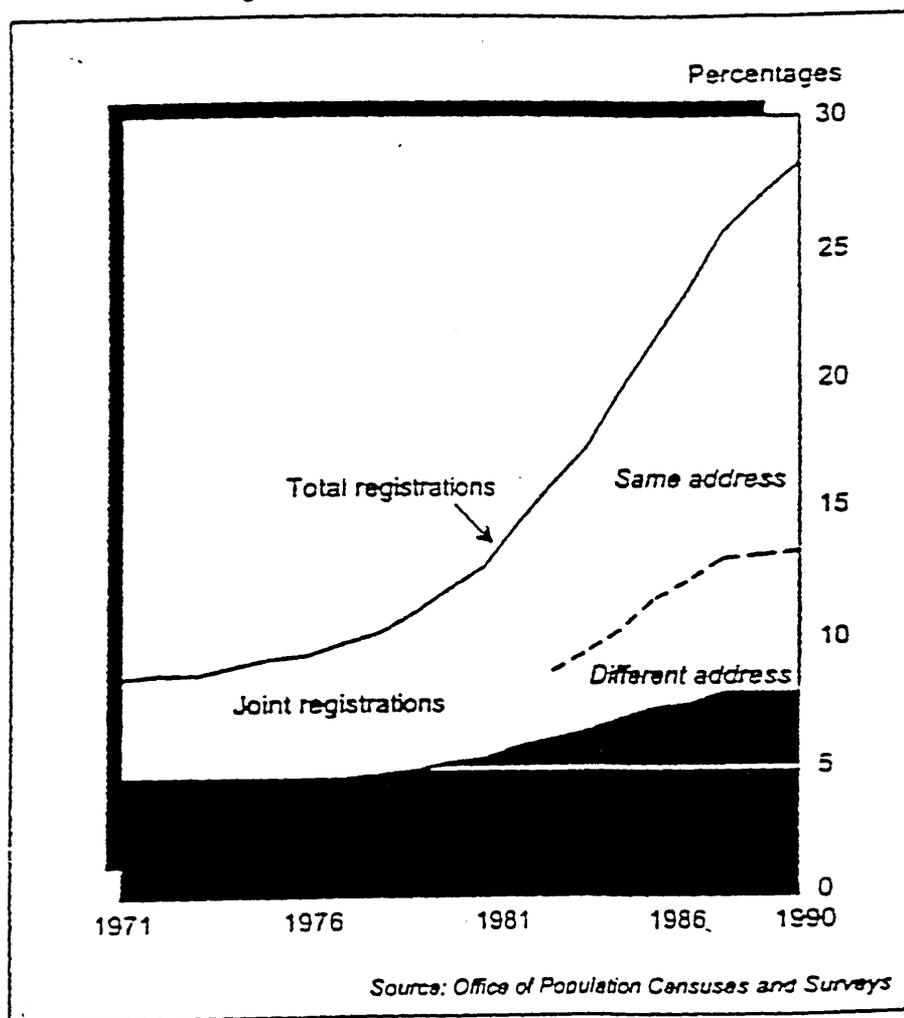
Average number of children per woman: EC comparison

Source: EUROSTAT

1 1989.
2 As constituted since 3 October 1990.
3 Eurostat estimate.
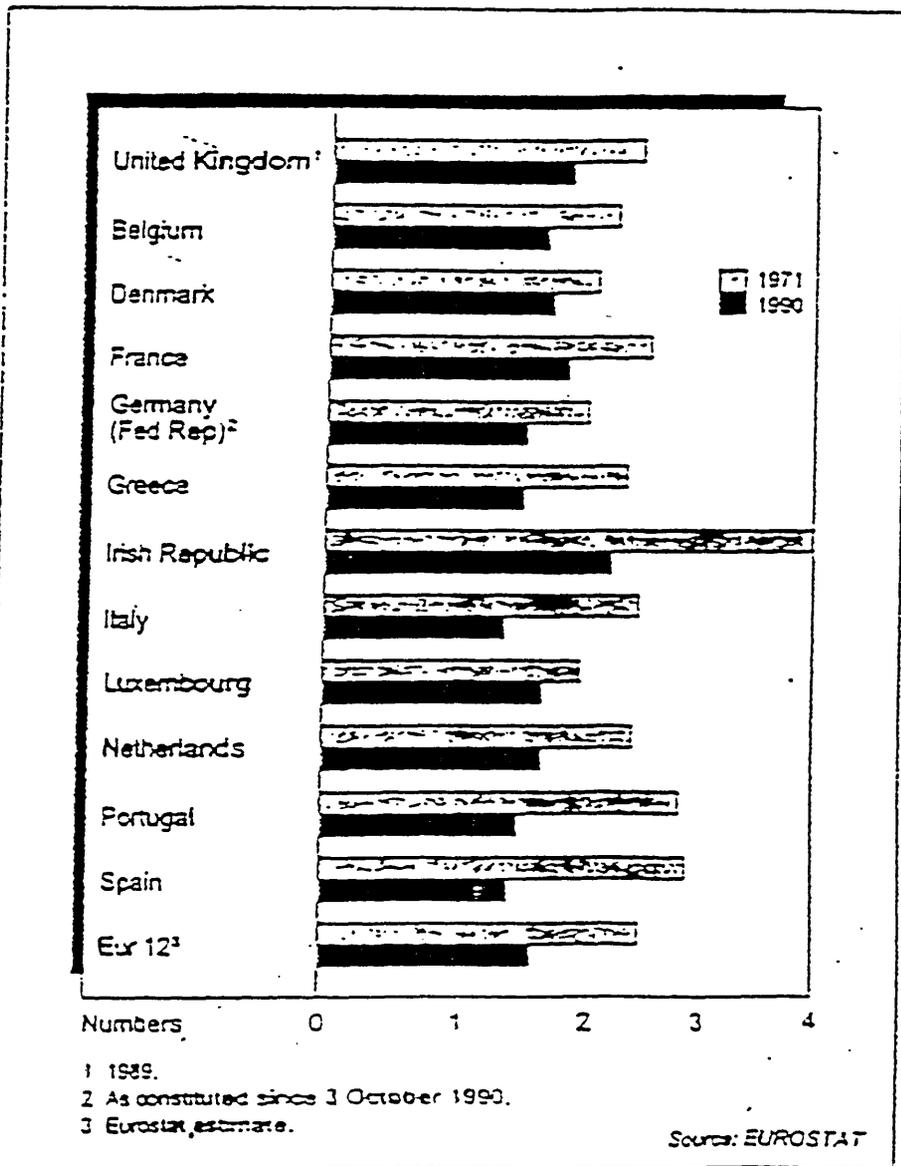
Estimated and projected[1] total number of children per woman: by woman's year of birth

England & Wales

Percentages

Projections

4 or more children

3 children

100

80

60

40

20

0

1920   1930   1940   1950   1960   1970   1980
Year of woman's birth   and later

1 1989 - based projections.

Source: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys
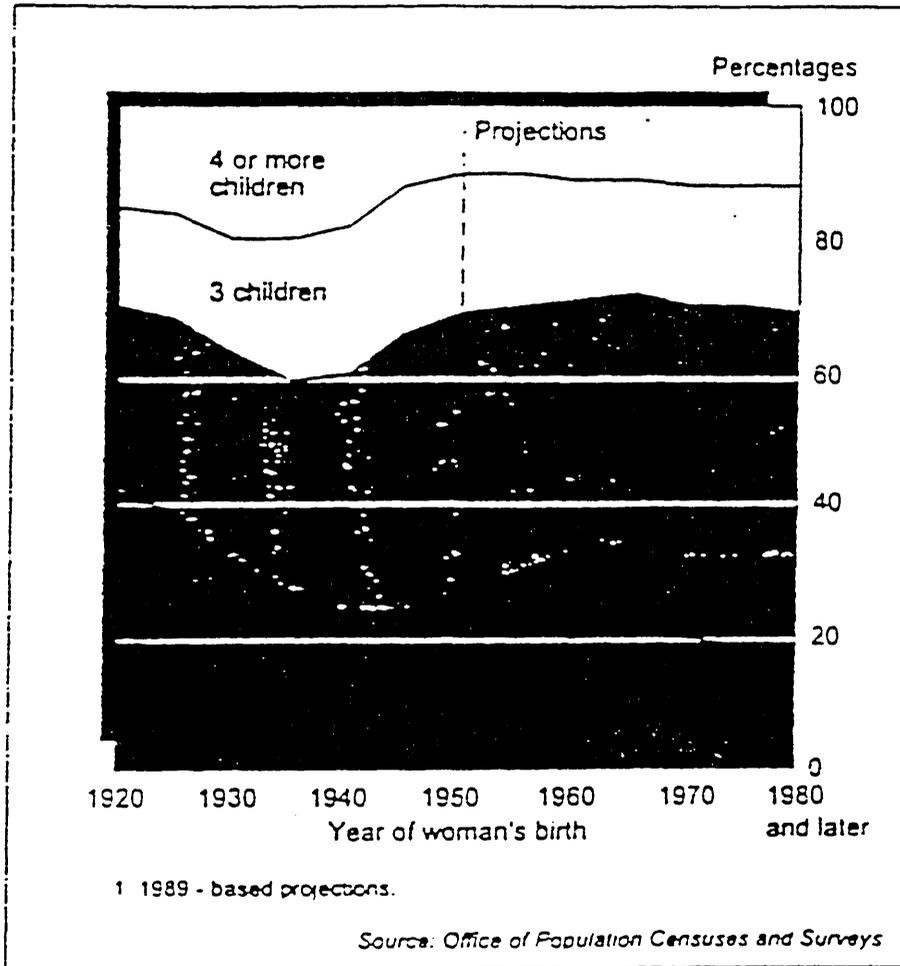
Birth intervals: by social class

England & Wales. and Great Britain   Months

	England & Wales[1]					Great Britain[2]	
	Median interval between marriage and first birth					Median interval between	
	Social class of father[3]					First and second birth	Second and third birth
	Professional and intermediate	Skilled non-manual	Skilled manual	Semi-skilled and unskilled manual	All socio-economic groups		
1971	29	26	19	13	20		
1976	39	35	26	19	29	33	42
1981	39	34	26	19	28	31	40
1986	36	32	25	19	27	32	39
1987	35	31	25	18	27	32	38
1988	34	32	25	18	27	32	38
989	32	32	25	20	27	32	38
990	34	30	25	21	27	33	37

To women married once only.   3 As defined by Classification of Occupations See Appendix, Part 2
All women.   Source. Office of Population Censuses and Surveys

Marriage and divorce: EC comparison, 1981 and 1989

	Marriages per 1.000 eligible population		Divorces per 1.000 existing marriages	
	1981	1989	1981	1988
United Kingdom	7 1	6.8	11 9	12 5
Belgium	6 5	6 4	6.1	8 6
Denmark	5 0	6 0	12 1	13 6
France	5 8	5.0	6 8	8 4
Germany (Fed. Rep)	5 8	6 4	7.2	8 7
Greece	7 3	6 1	2.5	
Irish Republic	6 0	5 0	0 0	0 0
Italy	5 6	5 4	0.9	2 1
Luxembourg	5 5	5 8	5 9	10 0
Netherlands	6 0	6 1	8 3	8 1
Portugal	7.7	7 1	2 8	
Spain	5 4	5 6	1 1	

Rates

Source. Statistical Office of the European Communities

40

| Who:	All households %	Households where man works and ...		
		... woman works full-time %	... woman works part-time %	... woman is not in paid work %
does household shopping?				
mainly man	8	4	5	5
mainly woman	45	42	51	57
shared equally	47	53	44	37
makes evening meal?	%	%	%	%
mainly man	9	7	5	3
mainly woman	70	60	75	81
shared equally	20	32	20	16
does evening dishes?	%	%	%	%
mainly man	28	28	20	18
mainly woman	33	24	41	37
shared equally	37	46	38	42
does household cleaning?	%	%	%	%
mainly man	4	5	-	-
mainly woman	68	63	82	82
shared equally	27	30	18	17
does washing and ironing?	%	%	%	%
mainly man	3	3	-	1
mainly woman	84	78	91	91
shared equally	12	17	9	8
repairs household equipment?	%	%	%	%
mainly man	82	84	85	81
mainly woman	6	3	7	8
shared equally	10	10	8	10
organises household money and bills?	%	%	%	%
mainly man	31	27	29	40
mainly woman	40	44	41	36
shared equally	28	28	30	23

41

Proportion of women who cohabited with their future husband before marriage: by year of marriage

Great Britain

Percentages

Year of marriage

Source: Office of Population Censuses and Surveys

42
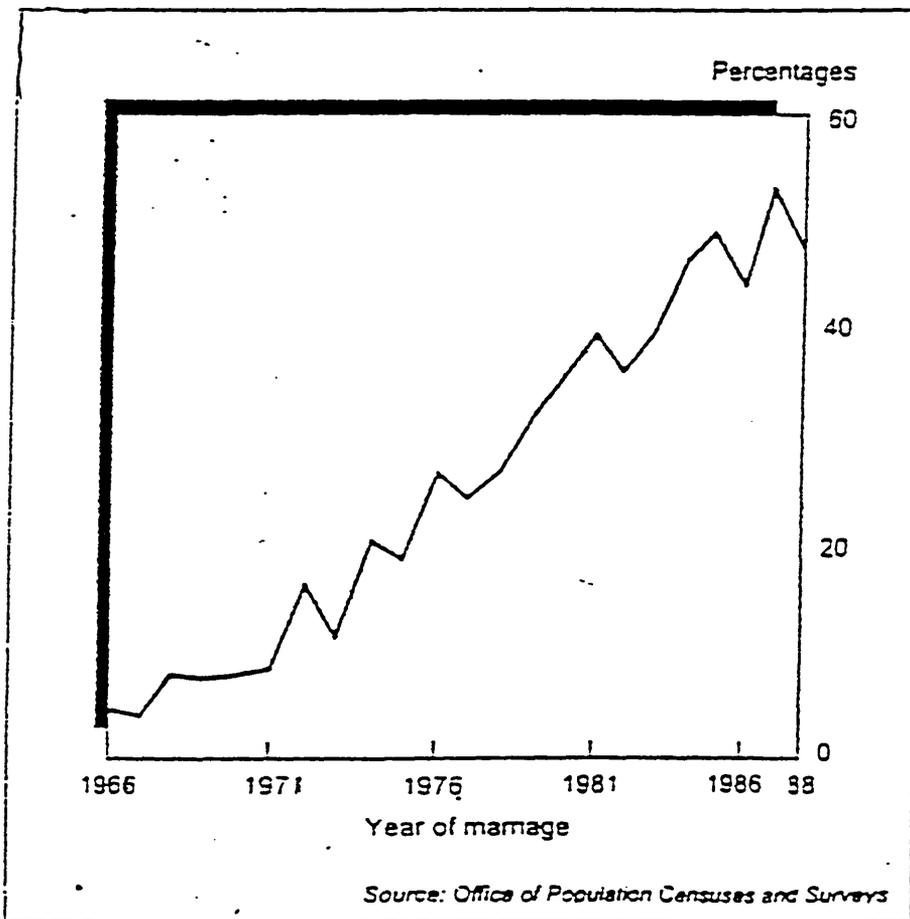
Civilian labour force[1]: by sex

Great Britain

Millions

Civilian labour force

Projections

Females

1971   1981   1991   2001

1 GB Labour force definitions up to 1984, ILO definitions
  from 1984. See Appendix, Part 4: Labour force.

Source: Employment Department
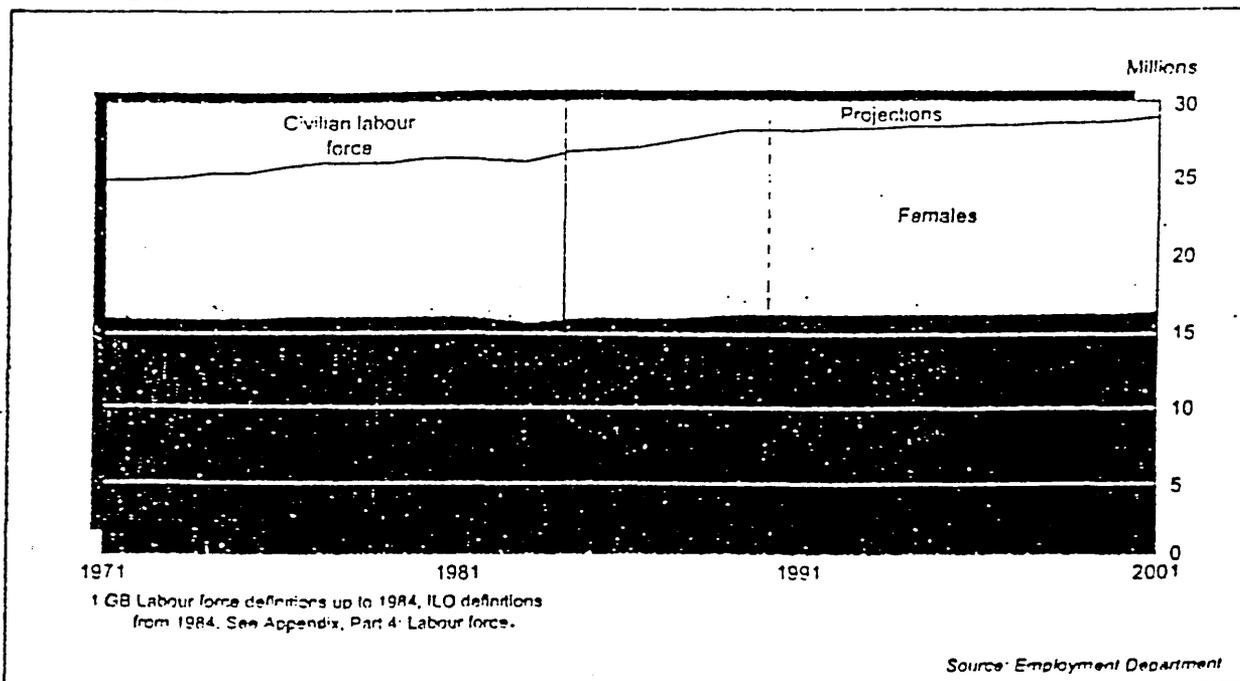
Population of working age: by sex and economic status[1]

Great Britain

| | Males aged 16-64[2] | | | | Females aged 16-59[2,3] | | | | | | | | Percentages |

Economically inactive:

Economically active:
■ In employment[4]
Unemployed

Married · Non-married

1971 1981 1986 1990 1971 1981 1986 1990 1971 1981 1986 1990

1 GB Labour force definitions for 1981, ILO/OECD definitions for 1986
   and 1990. See Appendix Part 4 Labour force
2 Figures for 1971 relate to persons aged 15-59/64 (the school-leaving
   age was raised in 1972)

3 For 1990, "married women" includes cohabitees not separately
   identified in previous surveys
4 Includes those on government schemes

*Source: Population Census 1971: Office of Population Censuses
and Surveys: Labour Force Survey. Employment Department*

Economic activity of women: by own socio-economic group and age of youngest child, 1987-1989[1]

Great Britain   Percentages

	Professional or employed manager	Intermediate and junior non-manual	Skilled manual	Semi-skilled manual	Unskilled manual	All women[2] aged 16 59
Youngest child aged 0-4						
Working full-time	30	12	16	7	1	11
Working part-time	27	27	34	22	46	26
Unemployed	3	6	5	6	6	6
Economically inactive	39	54	45	64	47	57
Youngest child aged 5-9						
Working full-time	37	19	27	11	1	17
Working part-time	39	48	43	48	76	48
Unemployed	2	4	3	5	4	4
Economically inactive	21	29	26	36	20	31
Youngest child aged 10 and over						
Working full-time	61	32	36	21	7	30
Working part-time	26	45	39	47	65	44
Unemployed	2	2	2	5	3	3
Economically inactive	11	21	22	27	25	23
No dependant children						
Working full-time	77	62	52	40	9	50
Working part-time	9	18	19	26	56	22
Unemployed	2	3	4	7	4	5
Economically inactive	11	15	24	25	31	22
All women aged 16-59						
Working full-time	65	44	39	27	7	36
Working part-time	15	27	29	31	59	28
Unemployed	2	4	4	6	4	5
Economically inactive	16	24	29	34	31	30

1 Combined data
2 Includes women in the Armed forces, inadequately described
occupations and those who have never worked.

Source General Household Survey

45

Employment[1]: by sex and hours of work

Great Britain				Millions
	Males		Females	
	Full time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
1986	12.7	1 1	5.7	4 5
1987	12 7	1 3	5 8	4.7
1988	13 1	1.3	6.1	4 8
1989	13 3	1.4	6 4	5 0
1990	13 3	1.5	6.3	5 2

1 Includes employees in employment, self-employed. HM Forces (treated as full-time) and work related government training programmes (treated as part-time)

Source Employment Department

46

The mothers' mafia

are you a member or a victim?

t's the party you're not invited to, the group you're not included in, the club to which the working woman simply can't gain admission. However high up you have climbed on the corporate ladder, cleverly juggling baby and career, when junior hits five you run slap up against this group with whom your credentials carry no clout at all – the mothers' mafia.

Anne Klahn, head of public affairs for a multinational cosmetics company, knows exactly who they are. "It's the group that hangs around outside the school, looking as if they've baked a cake for the summer fête before breakfast. The ones who know that *they* are bringing up their children properly – and instantly make you feel inadequate.

"The ones who talk to you are surprisingly human, but en bloc they really do come across as a sort of mafia," says Anne. "When I arrive at parents' evenings I feel like a total outcast – especially as I've come straight from work in a business suit and full make-up. The working mother looks different, and she's treated differently."

Journalist Vicky Woods believes not having the right uniform increases the polarity between career women with children and career *mothers*. "I've never looked the same as the other mothers, whether my children were at state primary or independent schools; there is a *fluffy* element about women who don't go to the office. They have fluffy hair and come to school in pale-coloured, fluffy cardigans; I'd turn up in black leather. If I wasn't going to work I'd wear an old T-shirt and then I'd be *underdressed* next to the women for whom dropping off at school is the daily outing."

Indeed, like the real Mafia, the Mamma's Cosa Nostra is softly spoken and immaculate, even at eight o'clock in the
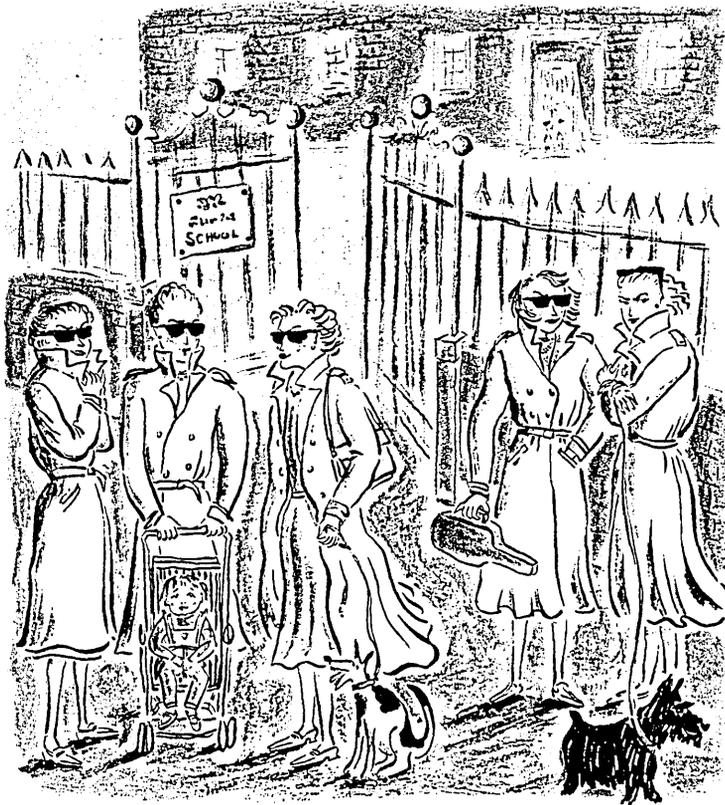
Working mums are pitied as poor drudges, and envied for their earning power. By Anthea Gerrie

morning. By their uniform shall ye know them – at my child's primary school it was pastel-coloured track suits; the prep school scene we have moved on to favours frilled-collar shirts, gathered skirts and crewneck sweaters. A chill of recognition ran right through me when I saw that newspaper picture of Princess Di running in the mothers' race. She looked friendly enough, but all those other mums, dirndls a-swirling, pearls a-swinging, grinning smugly, reinforced my belief that there is a deep division between Us and Them that is less about income than intent.

Those of us who went back to work full-time have gradually found acceptance with every niche in society except with Them. They are the women who stayed home – and made a career out of it. Freed from the

pressures of commuting, earning a crust and finding childcare, they turn their energy and talents inwards towards their homes, their committees and their social obligations towards each other. They drop their neatly turned-out children at school in plenty of time and then stand around to chat, casting you a pitying glance as you screech up one minute late again. Those who do talk to you never display the slightest curiosity about what you do; and may take pains to make it clear that the working mother has no status with *them*.

"I believe they feel threatened," says Monica, a photographer's stylist who lives near me in Sussex. "I got to know some of these women when I was a non-working mother. Since I've taken up my career again part-time, there is definitely a degree of jealousy. But they sublimate it by trying to make *you* feel jealous of their domestic skills and the spare time they appear to have.

"In my part of the world, they score points with the elaborate lunches they throw. I got into this circle when I started cultivating these rather terrifying women so my daughter would have other children from school to play with."

Monica had no difficulty getting taken up by them as one of their own. But what she hoped might prove to be a circle of new friends turned out to be rather a different kettle of fish *fumet*.

"Lunch with a group of other mothers seemed like a lovely idea – until I arrived at house after house to find the best china and glass set out and a full-blown three-course meal; not lunch so much as *luncheon*. It was intimidating – and inappropriate as most of us have toddlers to keep away from the breakables. But for the hostess who had the time and the inclination to lay it all on

Christmas

and the

SINGLE

MOTHER

IF YOU'RE DREADING A FROSTY

FESTIVE SEASON OUTSIDE THE SECURITY OF

THE NUCLEAR FAMILY, THEN

ANGELA PHILLIPS HAS SOME GOOD CHEER

It's that Hovis time of year again. Perfectly formed families sit around their communal hearths, swap lovingly wrapped presents – and fight. While single-parent families, feeling just about as perfectly formed as a three-legged horse, sit with their noses pressed against the well-frosted window of nuclear familydom begging to be let in. The fights and bickering of yesteryear fade in the nostalgic haze of memory.

OK, so your last Christmas together was a disaster which slowly dissolved into an alcoholic stupor over some post-prandial Christmas movie on TV; OK, he bought you a dress which you hated; yes, it's true you loathed his mother and swore you couldn't stand another such claustrophobic family Christmas but, on the other side of that frosted window, your memory starts to fade. And nothing twists the knife more efficiently than the knowledge that he, the man

who last year fell asleep in the turkey, is sharing this family day with another family.

One friend, a normally charming and sociable woman with a life very much her own, devised a scheme to get right in there and stir it all up. She sent him a present of their daughter's first milk tooth carefully wrapped up in a tiny gift box. She knew it would bring back a mixture of nostalgic memories and guilt. "It will ruin *her* Christmas," she confided gleefully.

Others try to recreate the family effect, often with disastrous results. Jane had fallen head first into a new affair after her marriage broke up and insisted on including the new man in her Christmas. Four-year-old Ama was not thrilled. Her father's birthday coincided with Christmas and the two events had always been rolled into one. "It was a disaster," her mother recalls. "The first thing she said when she came into my room was,

'When are we going to make Daddy's cake?' When she saw Dave she spent the entire day trying to get rid of him."

Spending the day together for the sake of the children is another popular mistake made by the newly separated. I remember weeping into the Brussels sprouts that first Christmas. Pretended family happiness is about the unhappiest thing there is. When he made his apologies and left at about 5pm I should have been relieved, but knowing that he was leaving with a glad heart to a pre-arranged rendezvous with someone else rather took the edge off it.

For Jane, a similar attempt at togetherness took a rather different turn. "He was staying at his mother's house and I joined them on Boxing Day. I arrived in the evening, the snow was falling and he took me to a wonderful restaurant in the country. It was beautiful and incredibly romantic, and the inevitable happened. A

day later we started talking about a trial reconciliation." But once the holiday was over and he had gone back to his new girlfriend, reality came back with a bump. "He rang and told me it had all been a mistake, he was sorry but it was over. God, what an awful way to start a year."

Trying to recreate a nuclear family is not the best way to get through a period which tends to be stressful even for well-glued families. Relate, the counselling organisation for relationships in crisis, gets the largest number of calls in the post-Christmas period, and more children are battered during the festive season than at any other time. Living up to a myth is hard for everyone. Christmas is the only time when family members spend an extended period together with nothing to distract them except the television. Putting this kind of strain on an uncertain relationship is almost bound to go badly wrong. But

2

◀ the stuffing you'll have a lot less time for mourning the past.

If life is hard for the parent alone with children at Christmas, it can be much harder for the parent coping without his or her children at this time. Sara told me, "Joanne spends alternate Christmases with her father and with me. The first time she went with him was the loneliest time in my life. I felt like a loose piece of turkey. I've tried spending time with childless people but I've moved on from that sort of life. I don't want to eat a late Christmas dinner off odd plates on an unlaid table."

If you know that you'll be alone at Christmas, Radiance Strathdee advises you to make plans well in advance and get involved in something completely different, not just for your own sake but for the children's sake, too. "Don't spoil Christmas for them by passing on your own fear of loneliness.

any children to bed that night. You can, of course, just opt out altogether. This may be the best time of year to take a holiday — cheaper than summer time and the party spirit will throw you together with a whole new group of people. If you can't afford Spain, you can still opt out at home. After 11 single-parent Christmases, Miranda now says, "I hate all that claustrophobic family stuff. Everyone eats too much, drinks too much and feels terrible afterwards. Last year, Peter (now 11) and I went round to some friends for a drink, came home to stir-fried turkey and then curled up together to watch Danny, The Champion of the World. It was very pleasant and peaceful."

Indeed, one of the greatest pluses of being a parental free agent is being able to ignore the traditional routines and do what makes you and your children most happy on the day.

You can ignore tradition and do exactly what makes you and your children most happy

Christmas is a time when you can reaffirm the fact that both parents love their children. Try to make it a really positive experience for them. And make sure that decisions about who will have the children are made well in advance. Don't allow yourself to fall into having the same old arguments just before Christmas."

Becoming a single person again does indeed take some adjustment but it can be fun. I was dreading last Boxing Day when my children went to their father, but in the event I drifted happily through the day on the edge of two other family parties, enjoying being part of the fun and taking no part in either the work or the emotional undercurrents. I was badly beaten by someone's nieces in a vicious game of Monopoly and ate and drank far more than was good for me, secure in the knowledge that I wouldn't have to put

Here's one recipe for a truly unorthodox Christmas. On Christmas Eve, wrap a dozen small presents (from Smarties to new socks) and arrange a treasure hunt for Christmas morning. Then make a large breakfast of their favourite food and go out for a long walk. Come back in time for the afternoon movie on TV and eat turkey sandwiches and soup in cups, followed by ice-cream or sticky chocolate cake. Finish off the day with a communal bubble bath and keep one last present for bedtime.

Then unwrap the present you kept for yourself (something you can never afford to eat or drink the rest of the year), and think about how lucky you have been to spend a perfect day with the people you like best in the world. ■

Gingerbread groups countrywide organise events around Christmas time. For the number of your nearest group ring 071-240 0953.

Ask your hairdresser to show you how to put your hair up so you can practise in advance. Strengthen brows softly with shadow and brush.

Bare exposures
● Exfoliate once a week to help keep shoulders, back and chest smooth, and give skin a healthy glow. Try the expensive but effective Terme di Montecatini Stimulating Body Refiner (£19, 200g) or Vichy Aqua Tendre Body Scrub Gel (£6.95, 150ml). Massage into warm, damp skin, using a loofah to reach awkward areas.
● Don't use an exfoliator on spots. Instead, remove dead surface cells with an astringent lotion. Clear spotty zones by applying a clay-based mask weekly. Clay draws impurities to the surface so avoid using before a party. Used regularly, Cosmetics to Go Myddvai (£2.75, 250ml) and the Estée Lauder Creme Pack (£13, 50ml) are effective. A persistent problem may benefit from a professional "back facial" at a beauty salon.

Smooth moves
Make time for a relaxing soak before you go out in the evening.
● Add bubble bath or oils that match your perfume. Layering fragrance this way means that you can then apply less perfume to achieve a more subtle effect.

Keep eyes simple. Prime lids with a matt skin-tone shade then work a deeper colour close to the lashes. To add shimmer, dust an iridescent eyeshadow over the top. Leave nails until last.

ments have maximum effect in steam, leaving your hair with a sheen. Apply a little warm almond oil and wrap your hair in a towel while you soak, then rinse and shampoo out.
● Smooth damp skin with a moisturiser, such as Vichy's new Nutri-Intense Nourishing Body Care (£8.50, 150ml) or RoC Hydra+ Corps (£9.95, 200ml) which are quickly absorbed and non-greasy.
● To lift and tighten the complexion, use Clarins Beauty-Flash Balm (£12.50, 50ml) or Vichy Sudden Beauty (£5.75, 3 ampoules). Both temporarily plump out facial lines and provide a perfect base for make-up.

Final scene
Warm winter evening light is diffused, giving a soft-focus effect. "Aim for a shimmering make-up," advises our make-up artist Ya'nina. "Too much gloss can look garish and emphasise fine lines."
● Fluid foundation gives a softer, more dewy look. We like Shiseido Fluid Foundation (£17.50) and Bourjois Teint Léger Mousse (£4.99).
● Apply loose powder in a slightly paler shade than your complexion to lift it. Boots 2000 Refined Loose Powder (£7.50) and Shiseido Rich Matt Film Translucent Powder (£16) both have a translucent satin finish and don't sit heavily on the skin.
● Go easy on your blusher – apply just enough to lightly tint the cheekbones.
● Use bright colours on lids or lips but never both. As a general rule, strong lips look striking with rich fabrics.
● Ya'nina's tip for a more vibrant lip colour: apply your usual shade, blot it right down then apply a few dabs of the new, stronger colour. Smudge it across the lips and tidy up with a lipbrush. Lipsticks with a hint of gold give a glossy sheen that looks stunning. We like Chanel Soleil Rouge (£8.50), also Elizabeth Arden Luxury Moisture Lipcolour in Plum Wine (£8.95) and Sensiq Luxury Lipcolour in Madeira Cake (£2.65). ◼

OTHER WAYS
TO **make**
A **family**

Is the nuclear family doomed?
Madeleine Reiss talks to people who
have chosen unusual ways
to live and raise their children

...and John were my constant companions when I learned to read. "Family" equalled two shining kids, a smiling and rosy-cheeked mother, a jolly father whose face seldom emerged from behind the bonnet of the car and, of course, a dog. Now that I'm an occasionally scowling mother myself, my son already knows that "family" does not necessarily mean the neat Janet and John equation. Family can mean a wide variety of things. Work commitments, a greater openness about sexuality and an increasing unwillingness to risk marriage have made changes to the way many choose to live.

I suppose that my own domestic set-up is rather unusual, although it feels perfectly natural to me. I live with my sister Tania, my husband John and our son Felix. When Tania arrived in London with nowhere to live, she moved in with us. We weren't married then, and didn't have a child. It was just like three single people sharing a house. Then I became pregnant and found that I came to rely on Tania being around. As I became fatter and more housebound, she was my link with the outside world.

After Felix was born, Tania decided that she should move out and let us get on with it. I think she felt that she was somehow an intruder, with no place in the cosy father, mother and child set-up. I think, too, that she was petrified at the prospect of sharing her home with a baby. We all were. When I returned home from hospital, the three of us sat looking at the latest addition to our household in absolute amazement. It was as if we had suddenly acquired an exotic pet.

At first, Tania stayed to help us through the early terrifying days when our house seemed in the grip of a mewling, dribbling tyrant. And then she stayed because she had somehow become an integral part of the family. Having an extra adult about the place meant that I seldom had to struggle alone. We all muddled through together, learning to cope with the delights of projectile vomiting and Felix's habit of peeing straight between your eyes.

Of course, John and I have ultimate responsibility for our son. But in many ways Tania is like a surrogate mother – in fact, I sometimes think that Felix finds her much more interesting than me. Her room is full of mystery and glamour, a place where he can find refuge when I'm fed up, where he will be guaranteed sticky sweets and interesting ornaments to play with. Occasionally I can get resentful when, after a day of his tantrums and food slinging, Tania just waltzes in and Felix flies straight into her arms like some rapturous cherub. John takes this predominantly matriarchal

Living
can reli
for
husbc

set-up in
with my si
ensures ou
Sunday m
means he
Sometimes
the mornir
we secrete
talk. His f
that he liv
th: ie is
image this
ing to outs
running ar

My pare
situation: I
had a place
times expre
ation The)
w   They
tolerance
acceptance (
sometimes (

But I ha
living with
on me. Mc
job coping
without the

had an easy time of it. Recently she was moved out of her council flat after a sustained and vicious attack from neighbours: "One woman threatened me with her bull terrier and called me a "dirty lesbian" in front of my son," she recalls.

Gina is hardened to the notion that she will never be seen as "normal" in the eyes of a large section of the population. She finds it difficult, for example, to attend mother and baby groups because she feels so different from the other women there. She feels alienated, too, by the attitude of many lesbians who condemn her because she has a son. "With them, it is hard to live down the fact that you actually had sex once with a man," she points out.

Gina has accepted her own isolation with equanimity, but is concerned about her child's future. "Daniel has asked me why he hasn't got a dad," she says. "He's so young that it's difficult to explain it to him. I said that because he has a special

she can step in whenever Danny is unwell.

Gina also has a good support network – as one of seven sisters, she is never short of a babysitter. Her minder collects Daniel from school and waits with him until Gina returns home from her job with Fulcrum Productions, a company that makes television documentaries, including *Out on Tuesday*.

Despite being aware that her way of life provokes disapproval in many people, Gina feels that it is extremely important to show that being gay and having a family are not mutually exclusive. "I think that if a child is loved, he will feel secure whatever the circumstances," she says.

Patricia Saxby and her partner have been together for 11 years. They see each other almost every evening and at weekends, but they live on their own in separate houses. Both have been married before and each has two teenage children. "Marriage has never been an issue with us," explains Patricia. "I don't see what it would bring

separate households and two sets of children, Patricia regards herself as part of one big family. The six of them celebrate birthdays and go on holiday together.

Patricia's daughters see nothing unusual in their mother's relationship. They have grown up with it and accept Patricia's partner as a second father. They are also very close to his children. However, Patricia is not in any sense a substitute mother for her partner's children. They have a very good relationship with their own mother, but like to feel that Patricia is always there for them should they ever need her. "I get on very well with his children. I sometimes call myself the wicked stepmother, but only as a joke," she says with a laugh.

One reason for the apparent harmony of their lives could be that neither was involved in the break-up of the other's previous marriage. As a result, an extraordinarily civilised dialogue exists between the two sides of the family. They discuss any problems that arise in the extended family and they see each other socially.

Some women are not confident enough to feel able to cope without a constant male presence around the house. Patricia's father died at a very early age, which may explain her determination to be self-sufficient. She seldom finds that she can't manage should the need arise. "I'm very capable, and I've got all

"Marriage has never been an issue with us, and I can't see what it would bring to our relationship. It doesn't give security"

mother like me, he doesn't need a father. He seems to accept it at the moment, but I can see it becoming more of a problem as he gets older and realises his situation is different to that of his peers. However, I'm bringing my son up to have an open mind and, when the time comes, I think he'll understand."

Despite her natural optimism and independence, Gina is clearly defensive about the possible effect of society's condemnation on the happiness of her son. She tends to spoil him with gifts and clothes to prove that he does not need a father to provide the creature comforts. She also tries to ensure that he doesn't miss out on any "male" activities such as sports.

Although caring for Daniel is mainly Gina's responsibility, Debbie "takes him out at weekends, to the park or the pictures. It's as if he has two mothers, or at least two authority figures in his life."

The two women have different interests and different circles of friends, but are very supportive of each other. Debbie has no plans to have children of her own, and having Daniel around gives her the chance to participate in bringing up a child. Her

to the relationship. I feel a lot of people get married because they assume that it gives them some sort of security. But I don't think that it does at all."

A demanding job with the Windsmoor Group and a busy social life mean that Patricia relishes the times when she can be alone. And her present relationship allows her this freedom. "We both value our independence and enjoy the fact that we can choose when to see each other. We need our own space," she says. "Small things can fester into big things if they are on top of you the whole time, but if you can make that break, even for a couple of hours, that tends not to happen."

The success of their partnership seems to hinge on their many similarities. It would not work, as Patricia points out, if either of them wanted to live together. They are in agreement about most things, even their taste in interior design – Patricia decorated her partner's flat herself. And they are refreshingly pragmatic about where they spend their time together. They usually see each other at Patricia's house simply because it is bigger, but they keep toothbrushes in both homes. Although they have

sorts of wonderful people who can do things. I've got the best plumber in the world, and the best decorator."

At first, Patricia's friends viewed her relationship with some scepticism. They kept asking her when she was going to get married and what the point of staying together was if they were never going to tie the knot. Now they are used to it, and some even envy her lifestyle. Patricia herself feels that not being married has freed her to concentrate her energies on her career. "Very often I find that married women don't have that opportunity. There is that constant guilt hanging over you – are you a wife or a career woman?" she says.

Perhaps the key to Patricia's successful domestic situation is her ability to take life as it comes. Both she and her partner are not at all anxious that they might be missing out on a blissful old age sitting in twin rocking chairs on a shared porch. They feel no pressure to conform to what might be expected of them. They know what they have works for them and see no reason why they should change it. "To some, this may seem like a cop-out," says Patricia. "But it's not, it's a choice." ▣