CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN THE U.S. MAGAZINE *GOOD HOUSEKEEPING* FROM THE 1920s TO THE 1940s.

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1. Introduction.

According to Thomas and Meriel Bloor, language is "a human social phenomenon, it develops and changes as people use it for social purposes" (Bloor T. and Bloor M. 2004, 228). The way we look at reality is influenced by our language and the way we use it. We are also partially conscious of this and therefore we might think we write and speak independently. But if we examine the way language is used around us and apply a method of analysis, we can highlight how much lexicon and grammar say about us and how much they influence our perception of reality. Thus, it's also true that "language uses us as much as we use language" (Lakoff 2004, 39). Journalists and authors of content for mass media consumption have developed several linguistic strategies that can subtly influence not only our opinion of the society in which we live, but also the opinion we have of ourselves. As I will expound more in detail in Chapter 5, in the United States many of these techniques started being massively diffused between the 1920s and the 1930s, to be then perfectioned during the 1940s. These strategies aim at creating an Ideal Reader, through a representation of the ideal reader desired by the writer, or the representation of how the reader should be hidden in the text. Readers might then unconsciously compare themselves with this Ideal Reader. Linguistic techniques in mass media are used to influence the reader into conforming into an identity, which, among others, can be a political identity, a national identity, or a gender identity: this is the Identity Construction.

This dissertation presents a corpus study that focuses on highlighting the journalistic linguistic techniques used in the American magazine *Good Housekeeping* and their evolution throughout the years from the 1920s to the 1940s, using data analysis software and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The focus will specially be on Gender Identity Construction and National Identity Construction linguistic strategies used in the magazine and their potential effects, or intended effects, on the development of gender, national and ideological identity of the targeted reader. The choice of *Good Housekeeping* as a source, stems from the fact that the magazine contains articles and other items featuring several kinds of identity construction strategies. The magazine's staff makes vast use of Gender Construction Strategies because the content is female-oriented, but we can also find other identity construction strategies thanks to the magazine featuring political and job–related content, social commentary and fashion columns. Sometimes we can find different kinds of Identity Construction strategies in the same article.

Of course, these Identity Construction strategies existed before the 1920s, but the decades analysed in this dissertation (1920s, 1930s, 1940s) are fundamental to also demonstrate, through this research, in which years such strategies find their way into the more popular

contents and publications and when exactly they become systemic in the work of editor and staff. In other words, what do they look like, when they clearly become a ‘skeleton’ upon which entire articles are written? In addition, the number of issues of the magazine that will be examined, spanning from the years between the World Wars to the 1940s Wartime included, show a shift in the context and purposes of the linguistic strategies used between a time of peace and Wartime in America.

When it comes to publications massively printed between the 1920s and the 1940s, such as magazines, it is easier to find works that examine them through a historical perspective or a socio-cultural point of view, but without the use of a linguistic analysis. Extensive, fundamental research by White (1970), Beetham (1996) and Rooks (2004) on women’s magazines is basically historical research. Linguists using the CDA or Corpus Linguistics as methods of analysis, instead, often focus on much more recent texts; for example, Robin T. Lakoff initially examined the English language of the mid-1970s; Talbot (1992 and 1998) and Hermes (1995) focus on much more recent periodical publications; Thomas and Meriel Bloor, and Linda McLoughlin examined many texts from the 1990s and early 2000s. In her work *The Language of Magazines*, McLoughlin applies the CDA to selected texts from British magazines from the years 1998-2000. Jane Sunderland writes that gendered discourses abound, but “relatively few are documented” (Sunderland 2004, 51). In the year 2002, McLoughlin writes in her ‘Further Reading’ section that "there aren't any books which deal specifically with the language of magazines, but there are several useful texts” (McLoughlin 2002, 114). Indeed, especially **when it comes to magazines from the first half of the Twentieth Century, linguistic analysis becomes scarce**. For example, Sproule’s propaganda studies (Sproule, 1987) focus on the same concept and era, but not solely on popular magazines: Sproule examines the rise in the 1920s and 1930s of a critical framework for analysis of social influence, called Propaganda Analysis, in American social science, subsequently weakened by attacks on social critics and displaced by a rival paradigm, called Communication Research, used for politically, noncontroversial wartime and post-war service to government and private grantors. A paper by Klinta Ločmele, which examines the double scope of the Latvian magazine Zeltene: practical advice and the promotion of "nationalistic goals", which were meant to "revitalize the Latvian lifestyle” (Ločmele 2010). However, this analysis inevitably uses a corpus of texts in Latvian language. Finally, innumerable contemporary research studies on discourse – based analysis focus on corpora of spoken language, from real dialogues stemming from vis-à-vis everyday interactions to politicians’ spoken interviews and public speeches.

In conclusion, linguistic analysis of popular magazines in the English language is more often focused on contemporary publications. The issues of the magazines examined by most linguists are usually no older than the 1990s. The linguist's work often highlights linguistic strategies used in these magazines as means of persuasion of the reader, but rarely these persuasion techniques have their origins explained. There is still much to explore when it comes to US magazines printed in the first half of the Twentieth Century, and the aim of this dissertation is to demonstrate that that is the period during which such strategies began to be systematic, and subsequently massively diffused. In particular, the first gender-oriented magazines, (in this case female-oriented) are more often researched from a historical perspective, than a linguistic perspective. In the case of magazines targeting African American women, the first widely published magazines might not have been researched at all, as we will see later.

Linguistic strategies are here defined as techniques and lexical choices adopted by text producers to engage with the reader in constructing a subject position for themselves and one for the reader, and to convey the ideological stance of the text producer. These lexical choices and linguistic constructs can repeat themselves issue after issue of a magazine, implying that they are intentional (hence the words 'choices' and 'strategies') and established before the rest of the contents of the articles.

In each chapter of this dissertation, I will introduce a specific linguistic strategy, and I will illustrate it using examples extrapolated from texts of the Corpus using CDA. I will then look for this linguistic strategy in the whole Corpus via data-based Corpus Analysis. I will then offer an interpretation of relevant phenomena that might emerge from the total data, and from possible comparisons. In later chapters I will compare the Corpus with other American English corpora, and, wherever it is relevant, with its context. During this research, several kinds of contexts resulted to be important for the comprehension of the Corpus. Examples can be the literal context of the article, such as the kind of advertising that precedes it or follows it, co-texts, layout and positioning of information on the page, which can itself convey meaning, the way written texts and visual images interact to convey information, and, last but not least, the social and historical context, as reconstructed by historians. Single chapters will be dedicated to advertising texts, and contextual issues emerged during this research, such as the relationship of the contents of the magazine with advertisers' needs (see Chapter 6) and the presence, or absence, of African American women and Native American citizens from said contents (see Chapter 12).

2. Language and Power: Methodology.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter illustrates the framework which constitutes the basis for this analysis, especially the Hallidayan approach and subsequent evolution(s) of such approach, narrowing down the linguists who have been most influential for this analysis, given that Functional Linguistics is historically characterised by a vast number of scholars and schools of thought. The following paragraphs will then move on to describe the criteria used in selecting and building the corpus that is going to be analysed, the main instruments and methodologies used in this work, mainly Corpus Analysis through a computer-based first exploration of the texts, and Critical Discourse Analysis, with a caveat on their advantages and limitations.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Halliday (1990) explored how much of our understanding of reality is dependent on language. Usually, we take this for granted and imagine that we can talk and write about the world in a completely objective way, but the language that we use or the language that is used around us, can "picture reality in certain ways that at the same time reflect our attitudes and influence our future perception of the world" (Bloor 2004, 228). A particular ideology can become set into the form of the language. Thomas and Meriel Bloor present a poignant case concerning the use of possessive pronouns:

> "…The use of the word *my* or *our* in conjunction with nominals representing things that, in fact, cannot be owned in any real sense, as for example in well-attested examples like *our language*, *my country*, *my home town*, *my wife/husband*. It seems likely that the use of possessives in this way can colour people's attitudes to the world and, as well as encouraging traditional loyalty and care, can also encourage possessiveness, nationalism, and other negative emotions. If we think our national group for example as belonging to 'us' we may seek to exclude others from having any right to live in that community" (Ibid. 228).

To Andersen (1998) this influence can be consciously examined so that we can re-articulate our experience:

> "Language can help us to become aware of the unconscious pressures that operate on the ways we think and behave. These pressures are not all related to deep and distant

> experiences lost in our infancies, but also to immediate social expectations that we should act out certain roles, behave and talk in certain ways. We can become more aware of these pressures and so make ourselves less liable to be influenced by them" (Andersen 1988, qtd in Bloor, 229).

Indeed, instead of 'writer' and 'reader' we speak of 'text producer' and 'text interpreter' because the reader is not considered completely passive anymore, although the active part of the reader is a relatively recent concept. It was not until "the semiological school (Umberto Eco and others) that the potential for different decodings of a message was acknowledged. There can be as many divergent interpretations of a single message as different groups or even individuals you can find in society, and it may even provoke an array of contrasting responses" (Álvarez-Benito, Fernández-Díaz, Íñigo-Mora, 2009, 2), and "the receiver is as active in the receiving process as is the source in the transmitting process. The attitudes and beliefs of the receiver mediate the way in which messages will be received and responded to" (Bettinghaus, Cody 1973, qtd in Álvarez-Benito 2009, 2). The differences in elicited responses will also vary depending on political affiliation, age, ethnicity, gender, etc. Eco presents the concept of textual cooperation this way: "A text is a lazy (or economic) mechanism that lives on the surplus value of meaning introduced by the recipient…" (Eco 1979, 52). Reading is essentially a work of cooperation between the author and the reader.

In order to examine this relationship between text producer and text interpreter, we are going to use the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Critical Discourse Analysis has been defined as "a variety of different approaches to the study of texts, which have developed from different theoretical traditions and diverse disciplinary locations" (Gill 2000, 172) or a unique analysis with a "problem-oriented interdisciplinary research movement, subsuming a variety of approaches" (Fairclough, Mulderrig, Wodak 2011, 357). Linguists, in general, are concerned with the way language or discourse 'works', and study language for its own sake, while Systemic Functional Linguistics is a model of grammar stressing the importance of social context. Critical discourse analysts, in particular, are interested "in the way language and discourse are used to achieve social goals and in the part this use plays in social maintenance and change" (Bloor 2007, 2). This means that Critical Discourse Analysis is a vast interdisciplinary field, sharing interests with anthropology, sociology, ethnography, ethnomethodology, cognitive and social psychology, literary theory and philosophy of language and communication. Its methods, such as context analysis, observational and recording techniques, etc., are often shared with these disciplines, too. The reason why Critical

Discourse Analysis is fundamental in linguistic studies, has been highlighted by Norman Fairclough:

> "…Language is widely misperceived as transparent, so that the social and ideological 'work' the language does in producing, reproducing, or transforming social structures, relations and identities is routinely 'overlooked'. Social analysts not uncommonly share the misperception of language as transparent, not recognizing that social analysis of this course entails going beyond this natural attitude towards language in order to reveal the precise mechanisms and modalities of the social and ideological work of language" (Fairclough 1992, 211).

Therefore, CDA is an interdisciplinary study of all forms of communication that is primarily focused on power and its relationship between inequality and society, by examining the discourse's producers and receivers and its socio-political contexts, or to "examine social inequality and how it is produced and reproduced through many different types of communication" (Catalano and Waugh 2020, XVI). This analysis will be developed within a Hallidayan theoretical framework, especially inspired by applied CDA by Norman Fairclough and the Bloors. Given that linguists applying Critical Discourse Analysis have sometimes expressed the same concepts with different names, henceforth the terminology used will be that of Fairclough. However, the expression Critical Discourse Analysis coexists with Critical Discourse Studies, now. CDA already replaced the 1970s expression 'Critical Linguistics'. Catalano and Waugh (2020) consider CDA an older term on which CDS is built. Van Dijk (2016) considers them interchangeable but poses that CDS is preferable: "…Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), more traditionally called Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I avoid the term CDA because it suggests it is a *method* of discourse analysis and not a critical *perspective* or *attitude* in the field of discourse studies (DS), using many different methods of the humanities and social sciences" (Van Dijk 2016, 62). CDA and CDS exist as part of the same overall research domain. Some critical discourse scholars (most notably Van Dijk, Wodak, Meyer) use more or exclusively CDS, some have kept with the original term which is also widely used in the rest of the world, and particularly there is "a large amount of work using the label CDA emerging in other parts of the world in other languages…" (Zang, Paul, Yadan, Wen 2011:95 qtd in Catalano and Waugh 2020, 156). Other linguists use them "more or less interchangeably or they see CDS as an organic extension of CDA. […] For others CDS is more commonly used to refer to the field as a whole while CDA denotes the methodology or 'analysis' in the narrow sense" (Catalano and Waugh 2020, 155). This latter definition, specifically, is the reason why

I am using CDA, given that at the moment of writing this dissertation the two terms are still co-existing.

2.3 Corpus Linguistics.

Functional Linguistics in not just concerned with words and sentences, but also with collections of texts (*corpora*), above the level of the sentence. Progress in computer technology has also meant progress in Corpus Linguistics, which involves the computational analysis of vast collections of textual data. Corpus Linguistics is not a model of language like Halliday's, Bloomfield's, or Chomsky's, but rather a tool for analysis. Many systemic functionalists are committed to corpus-based work because according to Bloor "it can support the notion of markedness which is based on the relative frequency of forms" and "it has the ability to provide powerful challenges to common assumptions about linguistic phenomena, enabling the analyst to discuss such issues as frequency of occurrence and patterns of collocation (i.e., co–occurrence) of items whose relationship is not transparent to intuition." Halliday, whom, together with Norman Fairclough, has inspired this work, was closely involved in the Cobuild Project and has used Corpus Linguistics explicitly in his own research (for example, Halliday and James, 1993; Halliday 2004b). Bloor thinks that "in fact, Chomsky's refusal to use a corpus might be viewed as an eccentric departure from normal practice in twentieth-century linguistics." (Bloor 2004, 246-247).

Much corpus work operates on a large scale without any concern for differing domains and registers: amongst notable corpora are the Brown University corpus of American English and the Lancaster–Oslo-Bergen (LOB) corpus of British English established by Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik. But there has recently been an increase in the use of 'small corpora', more selective samples of the language (e.g., from a specific genre), which allows various kinds of investigation. Indeed, for the purpose of this research the corpus that is going to be examined will be built from the articles of only one magazine, *Good Housekeeping*, and, as mentioned, only from the issues published between the 1920s and the 1940s.

2.4 Corpus and Sub-Corpora of this Analysis

The corpus used in this analysis is comprised of **548,860 tokens, 36,721 types, and 34,525 lemmas**. All the texts have been taken from 1920s – 1940s issues of *Good Housekeeping*,

which is a monthly publication. Not every text from the magazine is going to be used: more than a half of the contents are fiction: short stories or novels published in instalments. Contents also include chapters of biographies or autobiographies. Obviously, these texts are not useful to the purposes if this analysis, because I am going to narrow the analysis down to the non-fictional items, mostly representing aspects of everyday life and shared culture, or representations of them. Rossini Favretti (2002) inspired the different consideration of narrative and non-narrative items, which she defines as "macro-varieties" (Favretti 2002, 5:27). Depending on what we are investigating within this specific corpus, this can be divided into **sub-corpora**. For example, we can divide this corpus into **three sub-corpora:** one made up the articles from the 1920s, one with the articles from the 1930s, and the last one with the 1940s articles. The division by decade can be useful to highlight diachronic variations in the use of the language, change in its lexicon and varying purposes of the linguistics strategies[1]. These three sub-corpora can in turn be divided into **two groups each**: the first group consisting of political articles, columns on legislation, profiles of political figures, and, later, war reports; the second group consisting of articles and columns reporting on culture and society, fashion, child-rearing, and family matters. In other words, once eliminated narrative, biography, and advertising, we are left with two macro-topics: politics and everything else concerning the life (or representation of the life) lived by the reader during this period of time. We can find differences in the purposes, lexicon, ideal reader, and identity construction strategies used in these two groups. The sub-corpora identified by decade are going to be made of 100 articles each; there are slightly fewer political articles to be found on *Good Housekeeping* in the 1940s, and the reason is going to be investigated in Chapter 10.

[1] For the purposes of exploring possible diachronic variations, a corpus can be divided into sub-corpora in a number of ways. In this case the corpus could have also been divided into years of war and peace, where, for example a WWII sub-corpus could have been the years of direct involvement of the USA in the war (1941-1943), or it could be divided into sub-corpora representing the US presidents' terms of those years. However, these are options that would only concern the macro topic of politics, not the other type of texts concerning domesticity and culture.

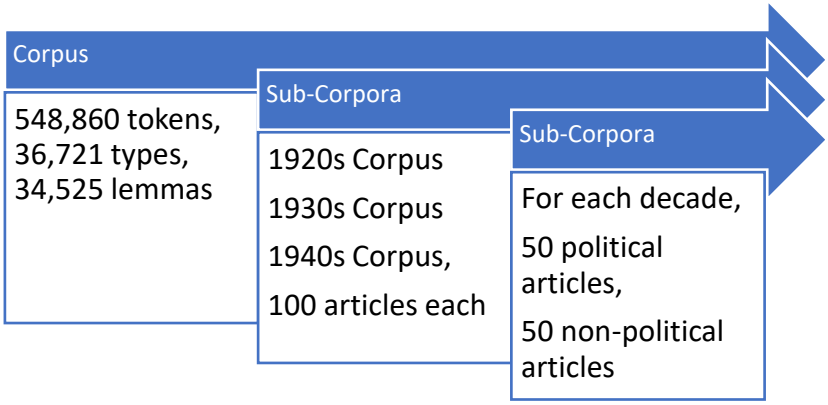


Table 1 – The Corpus used for this analysis, and its sub-corpora. The 1940s political sub-corpus consists of 36 articles instead of 50. The reasons will be explained in Chapter 10.

Besides all the articles that we are going to examine, it will be necessary to take into consideration advertising content in this magazine. Even though it will not constitute a sub - group of the corpus in itself, advertising cannot go unmentioned because it is integral to the way articles of the magazine are conceived by the staff. In fact, very often advertising is complementary to the text of the articles, so much so that it can happen that it is not the advertising accompanying the article, but the article accompanying the advertising. Sometimes the two genres of texts[2] can even be visually complementary, reprising visual patterns, colours, fonts, or layouts already used in the preceding or the following article, or the advertisement can be inserted in a box on the same page as the article. Chapter 6 specifically, introduces a few brief examples of articles which are clearly positioned before, after or in the middle of an article because they feature the same items, circumstances, aspect or writing style. This 'affinity' makes them part of the analytic material, although not part of the corpus.

Looking at the articles of *Good Housekeeping* from the first half of the twentieth century indeed gives us an idea of how this process of 'writing for the advertisements' develops through the

[2] Genre is here used in the sense of text type: "Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis scholars also refer to form, again in line with the common perception that genres are 'types' or 'kinds' of texts, with specific texts being the tokens of these types (Kress, 1985/1989; Wodak, 2001: 66). The emphasis for CDA lies in the connection of genres to social situations or activities (Fairclough, 2001: 123; Fairclough, 1992: 51-52; 125; Kress, 1985/1989: 19; Wodak, 2001: 66) a connection earlier identified and discussed by Bakhtin (1986: 60).
That is, genre is bound to what we may call the 'situational context'" (Polyzou 2008, 106) It can be argued that "various kinds of texts in magazines do not always belong to clearly identified / identifiable genres" (Polyzou 2008, 105) or that the reader recognises them by personal background knowledge: "researchers aiming to provide guidelines for genre analysis place their focus on how to conduct the analysis of a corpus of texts of the same genre, rather than on the criteria used to compile the corpus – genre identification has been broadly assumed to be accomplished merely based on background knowledge of or about the 'speech community' who is using the genre (Bhatia, 1993; Fairclough, 1992; Swales, 1990).

years. This process, in time, brought the appearance of the advertorials: features which are specially written to encourage consumption of the products mentioned in them. They are types of advertisements that, due to their close resemblance to editorial content, may be less readily identifiable as advertising. This material may appear, for example, as long-form copy presented in an analogous way as the editorial content within a publication. Nowadays, if a brand has editorial control over the content, that content is likely to become subject to consumer protection laws. After a global, drastic decline in sales of magazines and newspapers in the 2010s (Nielsen, Cornia, Kalogeropoulos 2016), even advertorials are evolving into other kinds of partnerships with brands, with the brands more and more influential on the kind of content created: the days of advertorials are long gone, and instead of simply placing their creative staff in the right titles, many brands are eager to form integrated editorial partnerships instead (Pulizzi 2012, Roderick 2017), with brand consultants working directly with the magazine's editorial staff on behalf of the company that wants to be represented. We will see how this 'dialogue' between the editorial content and the advertising content starts being much more diffused and structured in the 1920s, therefore the advertising texts cannot be ignored by this linguistic analysis.

2.5 Software.

It is necessary to build a vast collection of texts because the bigger is the collection, the easier it is to extrapolate the linguistic strategies used by the staff in this publication's content. The corpus has been uploaded to at least two Corpus Analysis softwares. However, even though hundreds of issues of this magazine have been digitalised and published in the Hathi Trust Digital Library, the digitalised pages of the magazine are all images in .pdf or .jpeg format.

Obviously, articles of *Good Housekeeping* written between the 1920s and the 1940s do not exist as digital texts, but in order to proceed to a Corpus Linguistic Analysis, we need a text that can be searched, edited, and used in cognitive computing, key data, and text mining. That is why part of the articles will be converted from image to text by an **Optical Character Recognition or Optical Character Reader (OCR)** software. Optical Character Recognition is the conversion of images of typed, handwritten, printed text, or text from a scanned document, a photo of a document, etc. into machine - encoded text. This kind of software started being developed in 1974 by Ray Kurzweil, initially as a tool for blind and visually impaired users. In the 2000s Optical Character Recognition was made available as an online

service (webOCR), both commercial and open source, in a cloud computing environment, coincidentally around the years in which linguists started using Corpus Analysis programs more diffusely.

In this case, however, Optical Character Recognition was effective only on part of the texts, either because of the 'busy' layout of the magazine's original pages, or because of the low definition of the old-fashioned texts printed in scales of grey. Sometimes it is because some of the 1920s headlines contain decoratively styled words which are not recognised as such by the programs. After initially using Optical Character Recognition programs on the pages of *Good Housekeeping*, it soon became evident that the software failed to 'read' about fifty percent of the text, so it has been necessary to type all the texts that were not recognised by OCR.

Once the corpus has been built, it can be examined using a Corpus Analysis toolkit. Even though the first generation of software tools for Corpus Analysis appeared first between the 1960s and the 1970s, it is mainly over the past thirty years that corpora of language data have started to play an increasingly important role in translation studies, stylistics, and grammar and dictionary development. A corpus is virtually useless without some kind of computer software tool to process it and display results in an understandable way. Two of the first and most popular software tools created for this are MonoConc Pro and WordSmith Tools, although many other 'concordancers' and Corpus Analysis programmes have also been developed. **WordSmith** (Scott 2020) has been one of the first Corpus Analysis programmes developed and one of the most used: it is a software package that can help linguists to search for patterns in a language. Developed by British linguist Mike Scott in 1996 it can find concordances, word lists and keywords in a text. These tools have soon been followed by software free of charge for non-profit use, like **AntConc** (Anthony 2022). AntConc was first released in 2002. It is a freeware, multi – platform, multi - purpose Corpus Analysis toolkit and includes a powerful concordancer, word and keyword frequency generators, tools for cluster and lexical bundle analysis, and a word distribution plot tool.

The central tool used in most Corpus Analysis software, including AntConc, is the Concordancer, which has been shown to be an effective aid in highlighting collocations and writing styles among other things. Indeed, software does not just show us how many times a term appears in the text: "the main purpose of the Concordancer tool is to show *how* a search term is used in a target corpus." (Anthony 2005, 729) Today we can find an extensive set of text analysis tools. Some of the most useful are: KWIC (Key Word in Context) Concordance;

Search Term Distribution Plot, which allows us to see *where* a search term appears in the text; Word Clusters / Lexical Bundles tools, that find collocations and other multi - words units, such as phrasal verbs and idioms, and the Word Lists and Keyword List tools, which are useful because they suggest interesting areas and highlight problem areas in a corpus. Word lists can also be used to find families of related word forms and lemmas in a corpus.

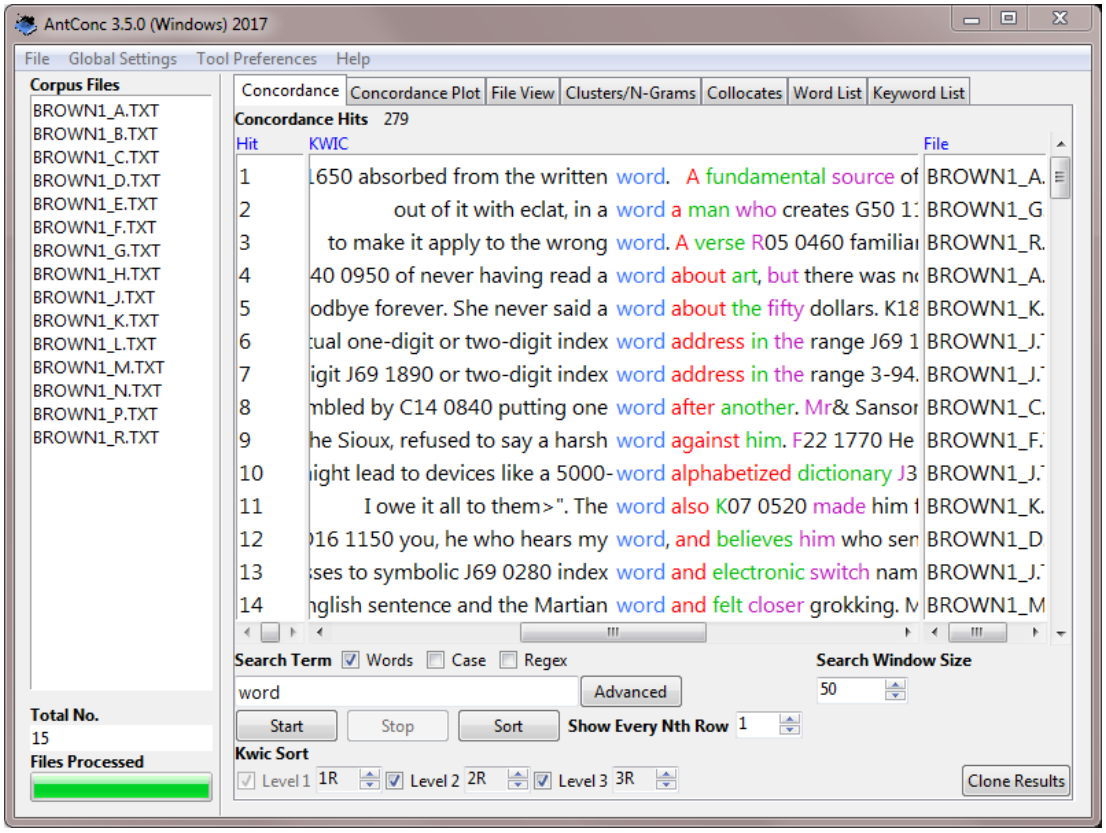


Figure 1 - Concordance results for the word 'word' in AntConc 3.5.0.

Another much more recent corpus toolbox that is going to be used for this thesis, is LancsBox, developed for the analysis of language data and corpora byt the University of Lancaster. Besides the KWIC tool, and other functions we already found on AntConc, **LancsBox** (Brezina, Weill-Tessier, McEnery 2021) can be used to compare different corpora, including existing corpora, can annotate data for parts-of-speech, visualise corpora and data, with the GraphColl tool, and, via the Whelk tool, can provide information about how a search term is distributed across corpus files, including a verb in all its forms (Fig.2).

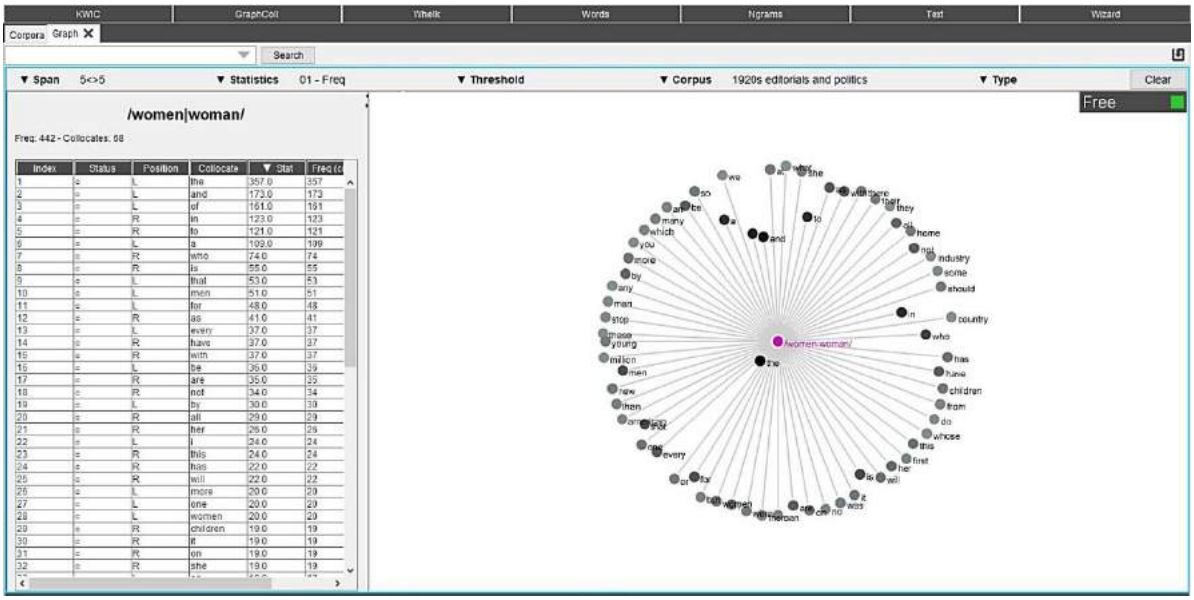


Figure 2 – LancsBox, a Corpus Analysis software developed by the University of Lancaster, UK.

Even though, for obvious reasons, they are not going to be used in this research, there are also tools used to record and analyse nonverbal communication, and that can be used to triangulate verbal and nonverbal data. An annotation tool called APOLLO - 1 "aims at covering the wide range of verbal and nonverbal communicative techniques used by politicians in interviews. APOLLO - 1 focuses on the multimodal analysis (speech and oratory, gestures, facial expressions, body posture, etc.) of political interviews. The use of cross - modality annotation tools for this task does not have a very long tradition in mass data annotation (compared to, e.g., spoken discourse analysis). The authors adopt an interdisciplinary approach to discourse and gesture analysis, thus borrowing concepts from such fields as Syntax and Semantics, Political Discourse Analysis, Speech Analysis, Interpersonal Communication, and Nonverbal Communication." (Álvarez-Benito 2009, 7). **SketchEngine** (Kilgarriff, Rychlý, Smrž, Tugwell 2004) developed by Lexical Computing Limited, will be used to make a comparison between the corpus built for this thesis and large pre-existing text collections from the same time range. Sketch Engine can be useful to explore and identify what is typical in language and what is rare, unusual, or emerging usage, in a specific period in history. This can give us an idea of how the use of language in *Good Housekeeping* can be typical of its time or differing in some features. Finally, **N-Gram Viewer,** developed by Google, and other software developed to search for tags diachronically and synchronically, can give us a bigger picture of a parallel (or diverging) development of the use of language on the pages of the magazine and in other publications of the same genre and from the same time.

2.6 Advantages and Limitations of Corpus Analysis and CDA.

Corpus Analysis software is fundamental to the linguist because it highlights elements, patterns and structures in the text which would not be immediately evident otherwise. Chomsky however refused to use a corpus and set out to study "language as an instrumental tool, attempting to describe its structure with no explicit reference to how this instrument is put to use" (1957: 103). However, Chomsky admits that "to understand a sentence we must know much more than the analysis of the sentence on each linguistic level. We must know the reference and meaning of the morphemes or words or which it is composed; naturally, grammar cannot be expected to be of much help here" (by 'grammar' Chomsky means formal grammar). Computational text analysis and big data might also be useful when it comes to types of texts which not only are extensive but also less known or less red. It has been applied to novels, but while thousands of novels are still read today the same cannot be said about newspaper articles and articles from magazines from the past.

> "Franco Moretti has been at the forefront, suggesting "distant reading" as an alternative to "close reading." In "Graphs, Maps, Trees" Moretti writes of how a study of national bibliography is made him realise "what a minimal fraction of the literary field we all work on: a canon of two hundred novels, for instance, sounds very large for 19th century Britain (and is much larger than the current one), but is still less than one per cent of the novels that were actually published: 20,000, thirty, more, no one really knows - and close reading won't help here, a novel a day every day of the year would take a century or so" (Moretti, 2005,3- 4).

Discourse Analysis has become popular within Gender and Language studies, which tended to be based "on detailed qualitative studies using smaller excerpts of texts rather than approaches that involve the techniques from Corpus Linguistics […] which work well on large amount of data, sometimes comprising millions or even billions of words" (Baker 2014, 6). Baker however, in 2014 considers Corpus Linguistics still underused in the field of Gender and Language:

> "I examined frequencies of the word corpus and its plural corpora in 63 articles published in issues 1-6 (between 2007-12) of the journal *Gender and Language*. Twenty-five articles contained at least one mention of the word corpus or corpora, although this does not necessarily indicate that this were articles which used Corpus Linguistics methods. […] I would classify only four papers (6.3% of the total) as taking

> a Corpus Linguistics approach (Johnson and Ensslin (2007), Charteris-Black and Seale (2009), Baker (2010) and King (2011)) (Baker, 2014, 6).

CL is an approach that is grounded in empiricism and has much in common with other social sciences where an investigation is carried out, or data are gathered in order to make generalisation about a wider population (Baker 2014, 7). However, data in itself can be deceptive and the researcher needs a multidisciplinary approach to reconstruct the socio political context that generated the corpora. Sometimes reading a whole concordance line, or reading the whole text (e.g., an article in its entirety) is necessary to understand the context of collocates in order to identify linguistics strategies, and this is an action that a concordance software (at the moment) cannot do on behalf of the linguist:

> "… legitimation strategies [aimed at a positive representation of homosexuality] were generally not forthcoming by simply looking at a list of words that collocated with *gay* or *homosexual*, nor were they especially apparent when looking at the few words of context provided by a concordance line. It was only in cases when the concordance line alone was inadequate at revealing how a collocate of *gay* or *homosexual* contributed towards a particular discourse that legitimation strategies well uncovered. In such circumstances I had to expand concordance lines to read an entire paragraph of text, or at times, a whole article. And in reading longer stretches of text I was able to point out cases that looked like legitimation […] so my identification legitimation strategies was somewhat fortuitous (and reliant on the application of knowledge regarding context) rather than being the result of carrying out targeted searches to elicit them" (Baker 2014, 198).

Therefore, the data gathered by the software has to be then qualitatively analysed through the Critical Discourse Analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis, in turn, might have its own limitations. As Fairclough observes:

> "Systemic-functional linguistics also has a view of texts which is a potentially powerful basis not only for analysis of what is in texts, but also for analysis of what is absent or omitted from texts […] Choice entails exclusion as well as inclusion. […] 'critical linguistics' highlights, for instance, the potential ideological significance of opting for agentless passive constructions and thereby excluding other constructions in which agents are explicitly present. […] The position I have taken has its own problems. For example, the identification or configuration of genres and discourses in a text is

> obviously an interpretive exercise which depends upon the analyst's experience of and sensitivity to relevant orders of discourse, as well as the analyst's interpretive and strategic biases." (Fairclough 1992, 212-214)

Thomas and Meriel Bloor claim that everyone has prejudices (including the author of this analysis, then.) Critical discourse analysts are advised to make their ideological orientation clear, with reference to Fairclough and Van Dijk (1993a: 252), and clearly, we can say that the ideologies to which we subscribe determine both the way we produce texts and how we receive them.

2.7 Conclusions

Nowadays, systemic functional linguistics background is made of different modern schools of thought, with different goals and methods. Therefore, this linguistic analysis will be mainly based on a Hallidayan approach to language study, and on its focus on how the language of a community has a relation to the way in which the community perceives reality. First a sufficiently large corpus must be built, which then will be used for computer-based Corpus Linguistics, and this in turn will be integral to the use of Critical Discourse Analysis, a systemic functional approach to linguistics study based on Halliday's model of linguistics, framework for the works by Norman Fairclough, Robin T. Lakoff, Thomas and Meriel Bloor. The use of several softwares for computer-based analysis provides an objective quantitative analysis; this however would constitute an incomplete work without the qualitative perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough however warned that, being the CDA an interpretative work, an implicit ideology might influence the research and the approach to the examined corpus, and it relies on the sensitivity of the analyst to produce a fair analysis.

3. Synthetic Personalisation

3.1 Introduction

After more than 150 years, *Good Housekeeping* is still being printed today and it still is one of the most massively printed publications. In this chapter we start the Corpus Analysis and the Critical Discourse Analysis of its texts, after a brief introduction on the fortune of the magazine. Since its foundation, the magazine has been designed to be aimed at a female readership[3], and today it is no exception. From a linguistic point of view, at least since the 1920s, the magazine makes vast use of the most common linguistic strategies in this genre: the 'inclusive we', the 'exclusive we' and the frequent use of deictic expressions. These are the basis of the Synthetic Personalization, which, in turn, creates a Subject Position for the reader. In each chapter of this analysis, we are going to search for, and highlight, specific linguistic strategies which are going to be extrapolated from the magazine's texts. General theory is always followed by quantitative data analysis provided by a software, and the interpretation of the main trends emerging from the data. Subsequently, selected articles are going to be analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis, as relevant examples of the use of the linguistic techniques identified. This chapter will start to highlight two characteristics of contemporary magazines which are typical, but maybe not immediately self-evident: the first one is the lack of personal styles from the contributors. Indeed, if the magazine has a Target Reader and a 'mission', and requires specific linguistic techniques from the text producers, then said text producers end up having the same style, each writer indistinguishable from the other. Every contributor certainly has to write in a captivating manner, so as to attract and keep the reader's attention. Even the cover has to be a "captivating tool" that must "compete for [the readers'] attention" (McLouglin 2000, 5). But if a text contains a linguistic strategy, and in *Good Housekeeping* we will find many, it means that a contributor is writing on a "skeleton", a structure on which the article is based. After all, a 'strategy' implies a plan of action, not spontaneity. Besides, every magazine has its own

[3] As for the 'targeting a female readership' part: the publisher went from the definition 'women's magazine' to 'lifestyle magazine', and the official website introduces the magazine in a gender-neutral 'about us'-kind of presentation of the mission, obviously trying to be more inclusive of the male homemaker. However, I believe the sections of the contemporary magazine aimed specifically at women, with the word WOMEN in the name (e.g. "WOMEN'S HEALTH"), and the visual communication (photos, people on the cover, etc.) can be easily deciphered as intentionally appealing to a female readership. The gender-neutral introduction to the website doesn't quite reflect the contents, and looks more like a façade. As for 'reaching' said target, these are data from marketing and PR analysts: "Good Housekeeping magazine (UK), one of the most popular women's magazines in the United Kingdom, reached nearly four million individuals between April 2019 and March 2020, including over three million women." (statista.com) "Who reads Good Housekeeping? The readership of Good Housekeeping is actually a pretty vast profile. It is women, aged 35-70, typically across two generations (e.g mother and daughter) which is quite a wide range for a target audience." "Good Housekeeping is a magazine that targets today's female population." (echo-media.com)

recognisable general style and profile, that writers have to maintain. Not even the choice of topic might be spontaneous: before creating the content, the editor determines such content, and what readers should receive from reading the next issue (information, gratification, entertainment…), therefore the staff has to write with the publication's editorial policy in mind. Finally, "although a page from a magazine may appear to be the product of a single author, it is more likely that several people will be involved before the page takes its final shape. It is for this reason that the term 'text producer' rather than 'writer' is a more accurate description" (McLouglin 2000, 3). The second characteristic is the transition from the Target Reader to the Ideal Reader. The Target Reader is the actually existing readership, which is enticed to buy the magazine, the Ideal Reader instead is the kind of person the writers wish for this reader to be. The linguistic techniques that are going to be analysed in this work tend to be means of persuasion aimed at making the reader think that she must conform into a certain profile of an ideal citizen or an ideal woman. The writer will build an implicit, sometimes subtle ideal profile of an imaginary reader, hoping the reader herself will unconsciously make a comparison between herself and this ideal reader, and feel conform or non-conform to this profile. Often, the casual reader will not stop and analyse this Ideal Reader, it is therefore fundamental to extrapolate and reconstruct what kind of profile of Ideal Reader emerges from the texts of this magazine.

3.2 Who is the Target Reader?

Good Housekeeping debuts on the market at the end of the 1800s and even just from the title it is clear that the magazine wants to transform the reader in a person perfectly capable of taking care of a house. We will exclusively examine the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s issues of the magazine and specifically the columns examining politics and society but also items about fashion, house decor and lifestyle typical of these decades. Historically, these years include the grave unemployment crisis in the United States, started with the 1929 Great Depression, and the financial and social hardships of the Second World War.

It is in the 1920s that the magazine reached a circulation of one million, which continued to rise even during the Great Depression and its aftermath. Its circulation kept rising during the

1930s, a decade of crisis for magazine advertising and reached two and a half millions copies in the 1940s.

Throughout its history, until the mid-1900s, *Good Housekeeping'*s cover never features a series of headlines, smaller cover lines anticipating the content inside, nor it is dominated by a photo of a celebrity, like in contemporary issues. Before the 1950s, instead, every cover is adorned by an artful picture of women, children, or women with children. If the 'Housekeeper' in the name of the publication is gender-neutral - or at least it is to a contemporary reader - the cover looks for its ideal reader by featuring images of motherhood or femininity and therefore it is exclusively targeted at a female reader. Should there be any doubt, browsing the magazine it is evident how on the pages introducing the latest fashion trends we only find female fashion designs, how every article concerning weddings (as in personally cooking for the wedding reception and receiving the guests) is often illustrated with only the bride, and every article about domestic work and child-rearing is illustrated with a drawing, a painting or the photo of a mother with her children. The text itself is often explicit on the gender identity of the reader, in sentences like: "The housekeeper **herself** is especially interested in three rooms[4] and their several equipments…" (Bentley 1923, 82-83) and when it isn't, the visual communication of the layout is complementary to the text and leaves no doubt it is addressing a female reader.

3.3 Subject Position and the Ideal Reader: Instruments of the Synthetic Personalisation.

Sometimes the writer can attempt to establish some kind of personal relationship with the reader by mimicking aspects of a conversational style or personal friendly letter. The frequent use of second person singular pronoun (you) is an attempt to indicate a personal interest in the reader even though they have never met or spoken before. Through personal deixis (You, We, I) the text producer creates a **Stance**, which can be intentional or unconscious. Bloor proposes both *speaker stance* and *authorial stance* (Bloor 2007, 33). If the text producer chooses to create a relationship with the reader, they will use the **Inclusive 'we'**, putting the author and the person who is reading in the same group. If, instead, the writer introduces himself / herself as part of a group the reader is not a part of, such as the magazine staff and the contributors of

[4] The three rooms the reader is "interested" in are the kitchen, the laundry room, and the bathroom.

that issue, said writer will use the **Exclusive 'we'**. The exclusive 'we' positions the reader outside of a group the writer belongs to. It is used to assert authority, to give the impression that the magazine's staff has access to exclusive information, that said information is trustworthy and that the reader is receiving this information exclusively from experts on the matter. In a magazine like *Good Housekeeping* the stance is created intentionally, and it is a staple of the style of this kind of publication. In fact, in *Good Housekeeping* this linguistic strategy is used so frequently that if we take a sample of articles (from different years from 1920 to 1940), 'we' and 'you' are respectively the eighteenth and the twentieth most recurring words out of the whole corpus (522,699 tokens, and 35,507 types.) The words that are more frequent than 'we' and 'you' are mostly auxiliary verbs and prepositions (Fig. 3). It is also relevant how the deictic 'our' and 'your', too, are among the most frequent words (Fig. 4):

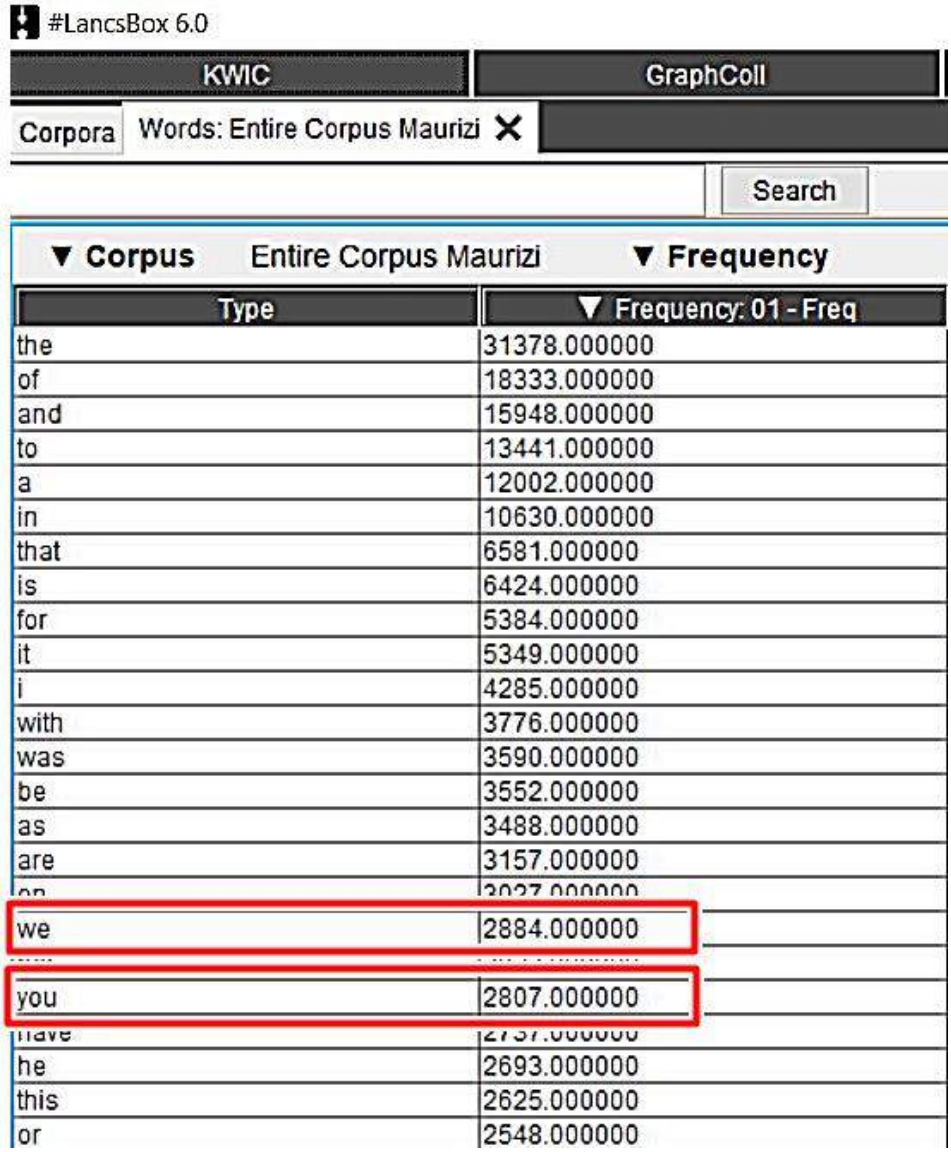
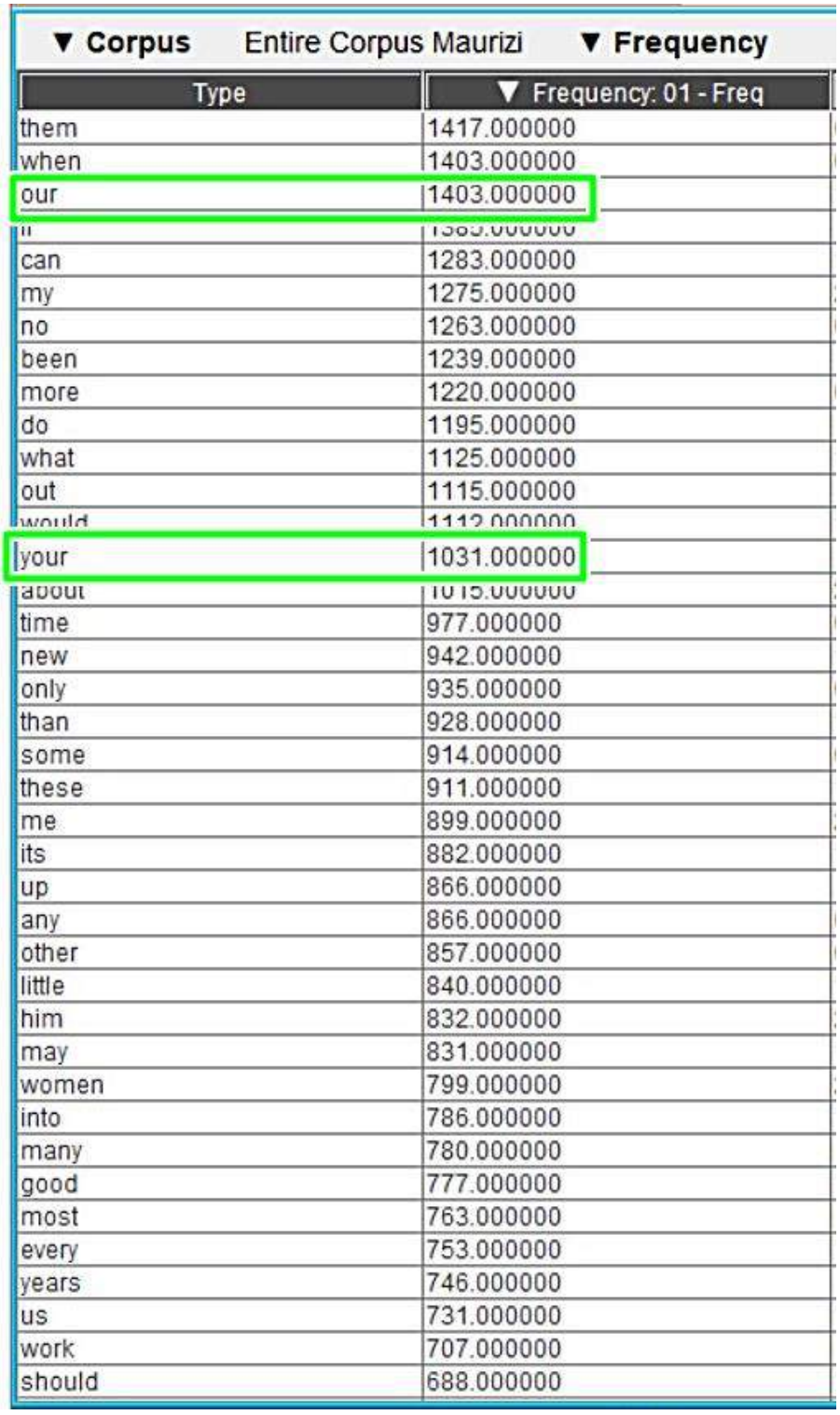


Figure 3 - Out of the corpus created with the texts from *Good Housekeeping*, 'we' and 'you' are the most frequent words after definite articles and conjunctions.



▼ Corpus Entire Corpus Maurizi ▼ Frequency

Type	▼ Frequency: 01 - Freq
them	1417.000000
when	1403.000000
our	1403.000000
[illegible]	[illegible]
can	1283.000000
my	1275.000000
no	1263.000000
been	1239.000000
more	1220.000000
do	1195.000000
what	1125.000000
out	1115.000000
would	1112.000000
your	1031.000000
about	1015.000000
time	977.000000
new	942.000000
only	935.000000
than	928.000000
some	914.000000
these	911.000000
me	899.000000
its	882.000000
up	866.000000
any	866.000000
other	857.000000
little	840.000000
him	832.000000
may	831.000000
women	799.000000
into	786.000000
many	780.000000
good	777.000000
most	763.000000
every	753.000000
years	746.000000
us	731.000000
work	707.000000
should	688.000000

Figure 4 - Deictic 'our' and 'your' are among the most frequent word in the whole corpus. “Them” has a higher frequency, it can represent inanimate objects in a collocate line, and it often does, while “our” and “your” imply possession by a human being.

In *Good Housekeeping* especially, the author often presents themselves as an advisor and the reader is often supposed to be part of a community, of a social group, or group of consumers. In most articles the text producer identify themselves with a 'we' or 'us' that give a sense of exclusivity and authority as if the magazine staff had special advice to share with the text interpreter, who, in turn, is lucky to receive this knowledge: "…we hunted up a story on one"; "…a wedding is a gala occasion […] We had this in mind when we planned the three after-the-ceremony collations suggested on page 84" (Marsh 1943, 82). Sometimes even when the staff jokes in a self-deprecating or ironic way, like in a parody of the stance of the expert on the matter, 'we' still plays an exclusivist role: "Since many of us consider a wedding without a cake almost illegal, we've given recipes for two" (Marsh 1943, 82).

Magazine discourse, since it is written, is a monologue because text producer and text interpreter are distant from each other at the time of writing. Writers of magazines' content have to address a mass audience, but they cannot possibly claim to know the identity of each individual reader. Yet they often speak as though they already know the reader, their thoughts, attitudes, likes and dislikes. In order to do this, an imaginary addressee is constructed. That imaginary reader has been called the **Ideal Reader** by Linda McLoughlin (McLoughlin 2000, 67).

This complicity between staff and reader as a linguistic strategy, is typically expressed in this mini editorial from January 1932, which graphically starts with a normal editorial font but ends with an actual signature, as a personal touch, by the fashion editor:

"WE TURN the pages to a New Year - may it unfold happiness to you. Changes there will be, especially in that delightful, fickle, uncertain thing called fashion. We are already finding new things to show you: sheer stuff for the tropics, gay warm woolies for the snows and attractive feminine-looking clothes for the most of us who stay at home. These pages are not merely to look at, but to use, and we'll gladly send you an idea from Paris, give you our advice or shop for you here in New York. For do you know, dear readers, more than a hundred thousand of you asked our advice or used our Shopping Service last year? And we hope this year we may help, or shop for, even more of you. My staff and I are always ready - just write me.

- [handwritten] Faithfully Yours, Helen Koues (Koues 1932, 64)

This mini-editorial of the fashion section of the magazine opens with a *prediction* clause which is at the same time a *declarative* clause ("Changes there will be…"): you can rest assured that Miss Koues and her staff know what they are talking about. The next sentence transpires the exclusivity of a magazine staff who is already at work for their reader and allows us to identify the ideal reader: the reader is a woman who can travel to the tropic or on the snow, obviously adequately dressed, even though Koues admits that "many of us will stay home". However, it is a given that the latter, too, will need "attractive feminine-looking clothes." Indeed, another way in which text producers imply they know the reader is by the use of **presupposition**. This kind of strategy has not changed in almost a century; we could find something similar in any contemporary magazine, if it were not for a few somewhat old-fashioned terms ("gay warm woolies"), and for the second part, which illustrates services offered by the magazine, which can directly shop for the readers, services that today have been substituted by the e-commerce. The text producers of magazines must also construct an identity for themselves. The writer can simultaneously be the reader's friend, adviser and entertainer, or their identity can shift between these roles. Part of the text producer's identity can be established by examining the degree of certainty attached to their assertions. This is referred to as **modality**. There are nine **modal auxiliary verbs:** 'can', 'may', 'could', 'must', 'might', 'shall', 'should', 'will' and 'would'; these verbs help the main verb to express doubt, ability, possibility, and obligation.

The writer, putting themselves in the same group with the reader, or in an exclusive group that leaves the reader out, creates the illusion of a symmetrical or asymmetrical relationship, or the impression that writer and reader are or aren't at the same level. In doing so, the author creates a **Subject Position**: a position for the reader and a position for themselves and maintains it within the text. Studying the Authorial Stance is important "to express the speaker's or writer's opinion, and in so doing to reflect the value system of that person and their community" (Hunston and Thompson 2000, 6). Despite the Subject Positioning, which might give a confidential tone of equality, the artificial relationship between text producer and text interpreter is always **asymmetrical**. In minimising the social distance between them, the text producer is in a powerful position to mould a like-minded reader. In the asymmetrical relationship it is always the text producer who has the authority to command the reader to do things and never the other way around.

Looking at the concordances with the word ‘we’, from the same corpus of texts from 1920 to 1940 used in Fig. 3 and 4, the Exclusive ‘We’ is most frequent in articles about fashion and domestic work, and refers to the magazine writers, like in line 3, fig. 5: “We are already finding new things to show you”, or in line 13 “We give you…” The Inclusive ‘We’ is more frequent in political articles and editorials (see lines 1, 2, 4, etc.). The rare Exclusive ‘We’ in a political article alludes again at the staff reporting exclusively for the reader, in line 5: “We are glad to be able to make you this first-hand report.”:

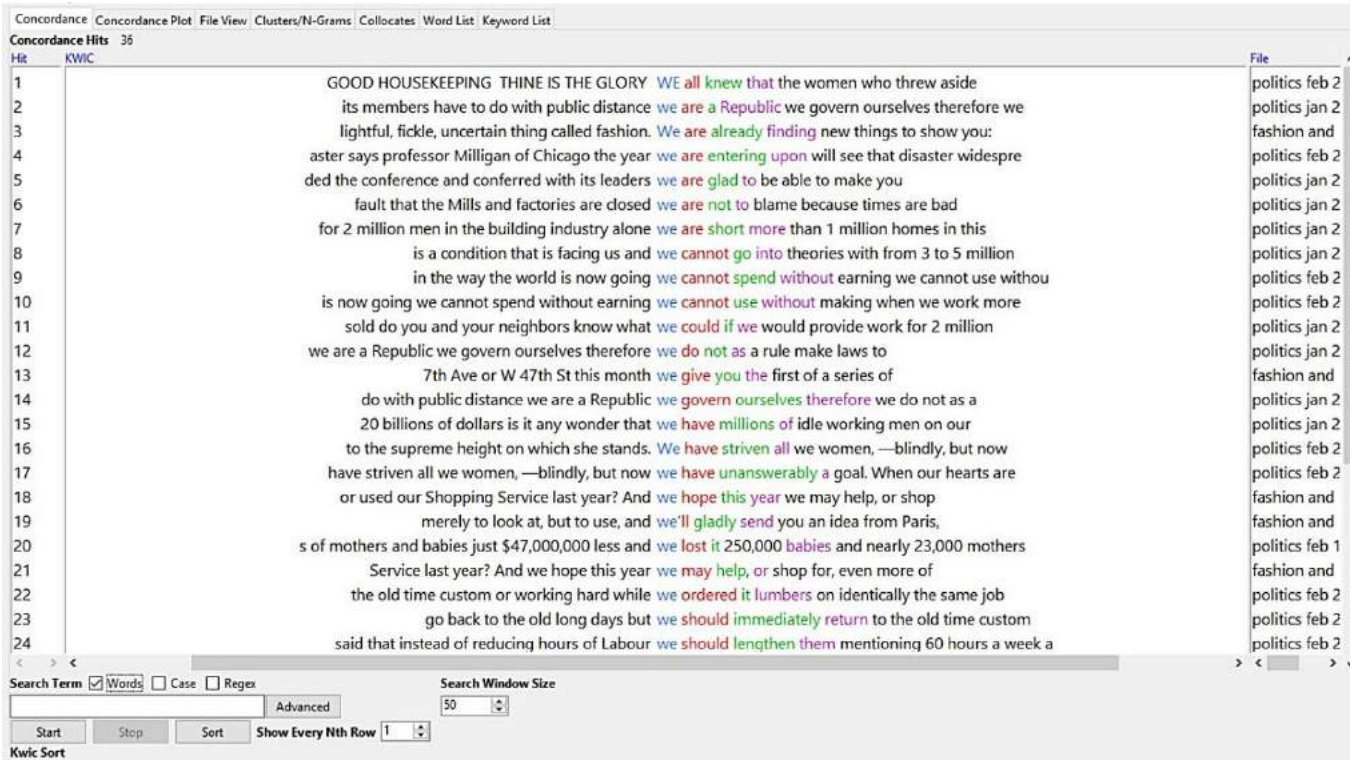


Figure 5 - Concordance results for the word 'we'. The Exclusive We features more often in the advice columns, while the Inclusive We is more frequent in political articles and editorials.

The difference is more evident when we look for Clusters / N-Grams for the word ‘Our’ (Fig. 6). With that ‘our advice’ (line 1), and with ‘our experience’ (line 10), the authors are referring to themselves and the rest of the editorial staff in advice columns and ideally exclude the reader; ‘our government’ (line 2), ‘our borders’ (line 5), ‘our children’ (line 7), ‘our country’ (line 8), ‘our land’ (line 18) are all Inclusive of the reader and used in articles about politics.

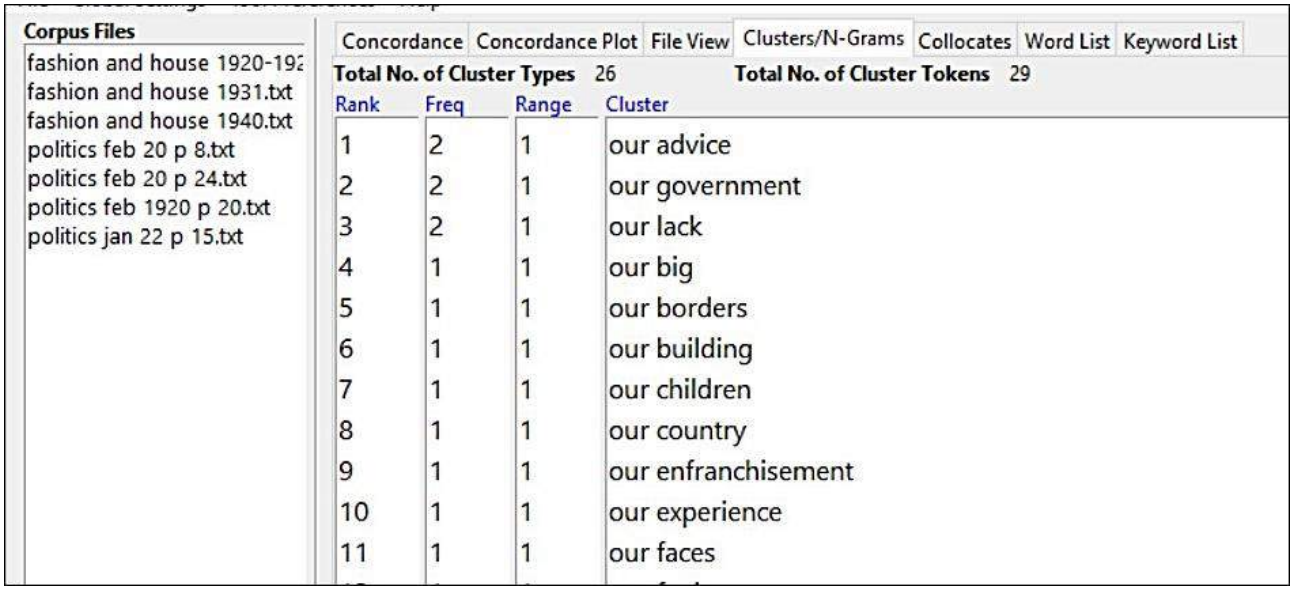
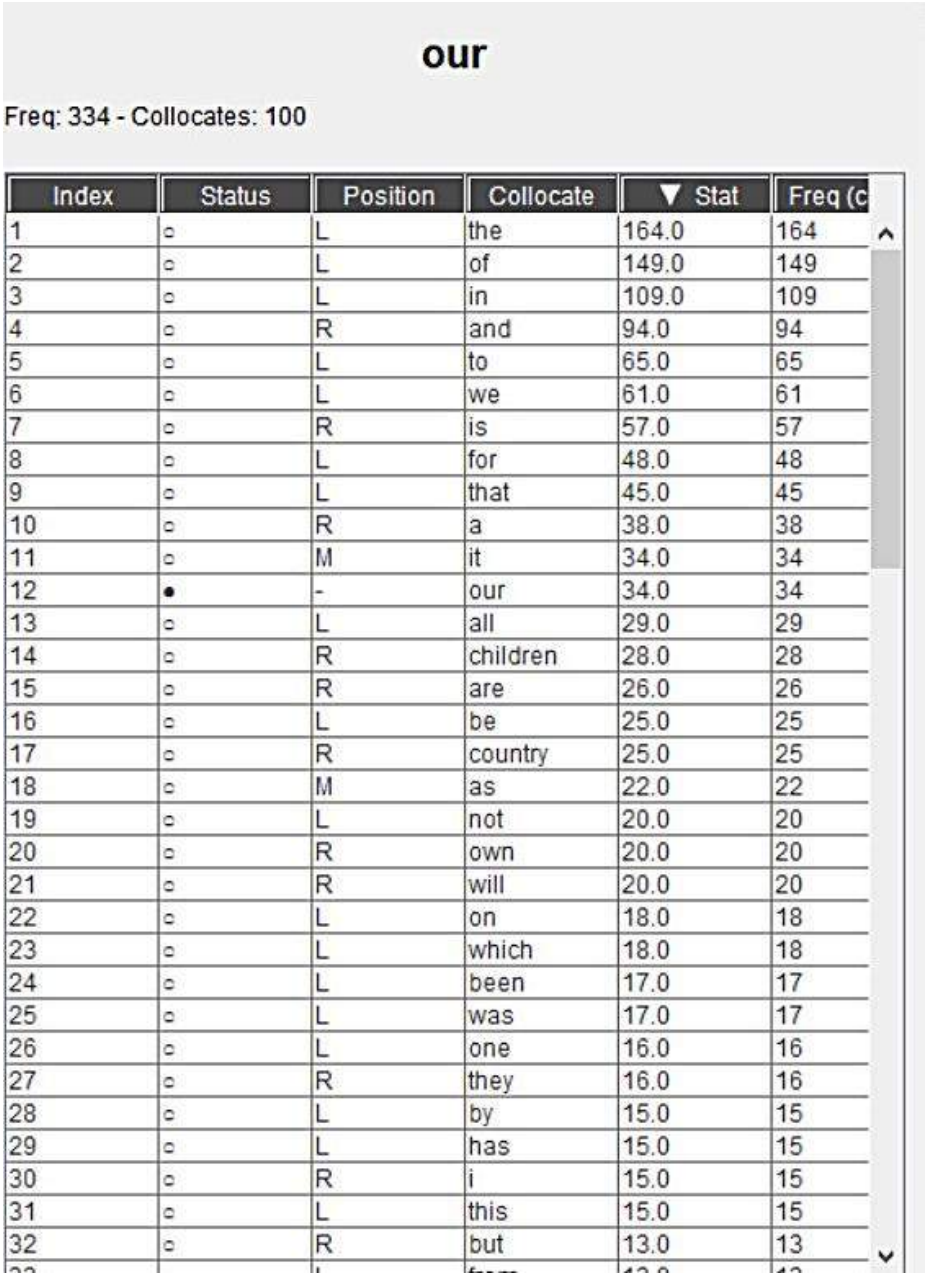


Figure 6 - Search for Collocations involving the word 'our'.

Surveying the whole corpus, divided by decade and taking the ‘only-politics' sub-corpora, we look into collocations with “our”. The most political features of *Good Housekeeping* in the 1920s make vast use of an inclusive “our”. Among the most frequent collocations with the word ‘our’ we find “our children” (line 14), “our country” (line 17), “our own” (line 20, Fig. 7):



our

Freq: 334 - Collocates: 100

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (c
1	○	L	the	164.0	164
2	○	L	of	149.0	149
3	○	L	in	109.0	109
4	○	R	and	94.0	94
5	○	L	to	65.0	65
6	○	L	we	61.0	61
7	○	R	is	57.0	57
8	○	L	for	48.0	48
9	○	L	that	45.0	45
10	○	R	a	38.0	38
11	○	M	it	34.0	34
12	●	-	our	34.0	34
13	○	L	all	29.0	29
14	○	R	children	28.0	28
15	○	R	are	26.0	26
16	○	L	be	25.0	25
17	○	R	country	25.0	25
18	○	M	as	22.0	22
19	○	L	not	20.0	20
20	○	R	own	20.0	20
21	○	R	will	20.0	20
22	○	L	on	18.0	18
23	○	L	which	18.0	18
24	○	L	been	17.0	17
25	○	L	was	17.0	17
26	○	L	one	16.0	16
27	○	R	they	16.0	16
28	○	L	by	15.0	15
29	○	L	has	15.0	15
30	○	R	i	15.0	15
31	○	L	this	15.0	15
32	○	R	but	13.0	13

Fig. 7 – Most frequent collocations with 'our' in the 1920s political features in *Good Housekeeping*. The most frequent collocation with a noun is "our children" (line 14).

Visualising the collocations, however, we notice a broader range of tokens, such as "[our] education, houses, America, system, crime, war, government, people, schools, world" etc. (Fig. 8):

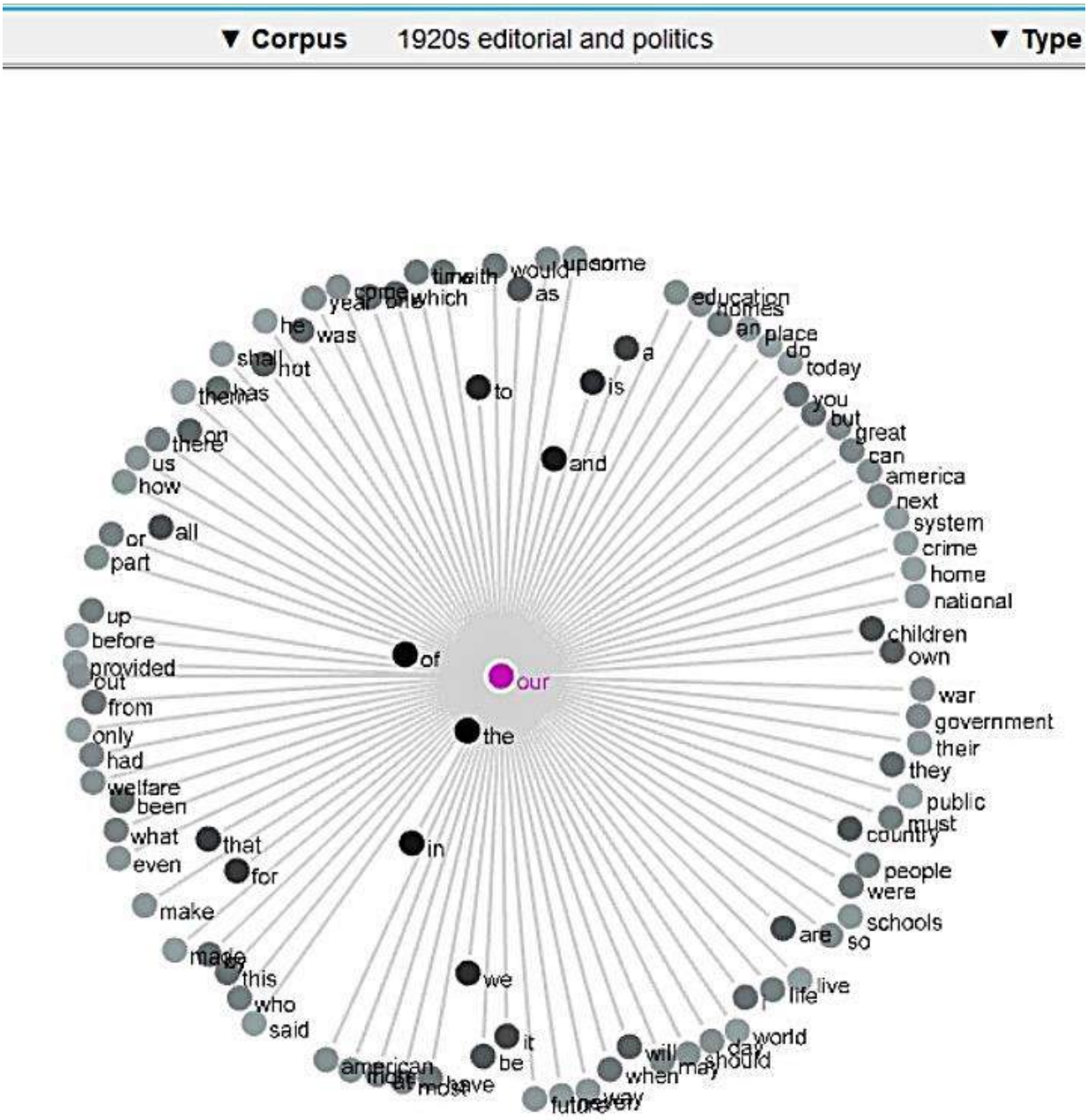
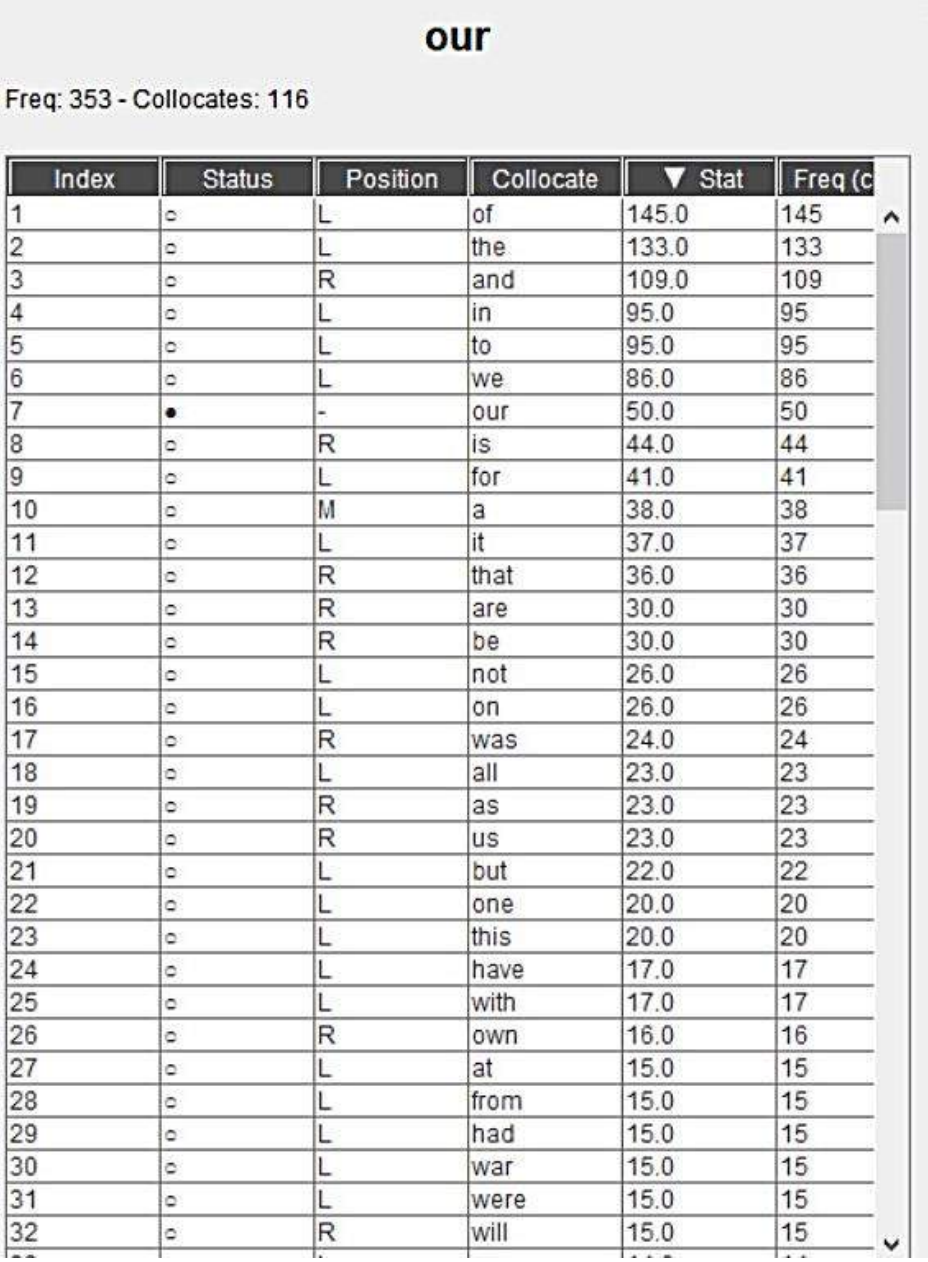


Fig. 8 – Most frequent Collocates of the word “our” in the 1920s political sub-corpus from *Good Housekeeping*.

In the 1930s, after the Congress has passed some bills on children particularly dear to the magazine’s staff, some of the most frequent Collocates of ‘our’ become “[our] own, [our] war, [our] will” slightly down the list we also find “[our] men, land, sons, neighbors, government, country, business, president”, and “children” reappears, although with a much lower frequency. (Fig. 9 and 10):



our

Freq: 353 - Collocates: 116

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (c
1	○	L	of	145.0	145
2	○	L	the	133.0	133
3	○	R	and	109.0	109
4	○	L	in	95.0	95
5	○	L	to	95.0	95
6	○	L	we	86.0	86
7	●	-	our	50.0	50
8	○	R	is	44.0	44
9	○	L	for	41.0	41
10	○	M	a	38.0	38
11	○	L	it	37.0	37
12	○	R	that	36.0	36
13	○	R	are	30.0	30
14	○	R	be	30.0	30
15	○	L	not	26.0	26
16	○	L	on	26.0	26
17	○	R	was	24.0	24
18	○	L	all	23.0	23
19	○	R	as	23.0	23
20	○	R	us	23.0	23
21	○	L	but	22.0	22
22	○	L	one	20.0	20
23	○	L	this	20.0	20
24	○	L	have	17.0	17
25	○	L	with	17.0	17
26	○	R	own	16.0	16
27	○	L	at	15.0	15
28	○	L	from	15.0	15
29	○	L	had	15.0	15
30	○	L	war	15.0	15
31	○	L	were	15.0	15
32	○	R	will	15.0	15

Fig. 9 – Most frequent Collocates of the word “our” in the 1930s political sub-corpus from *Good Housekeeping*.

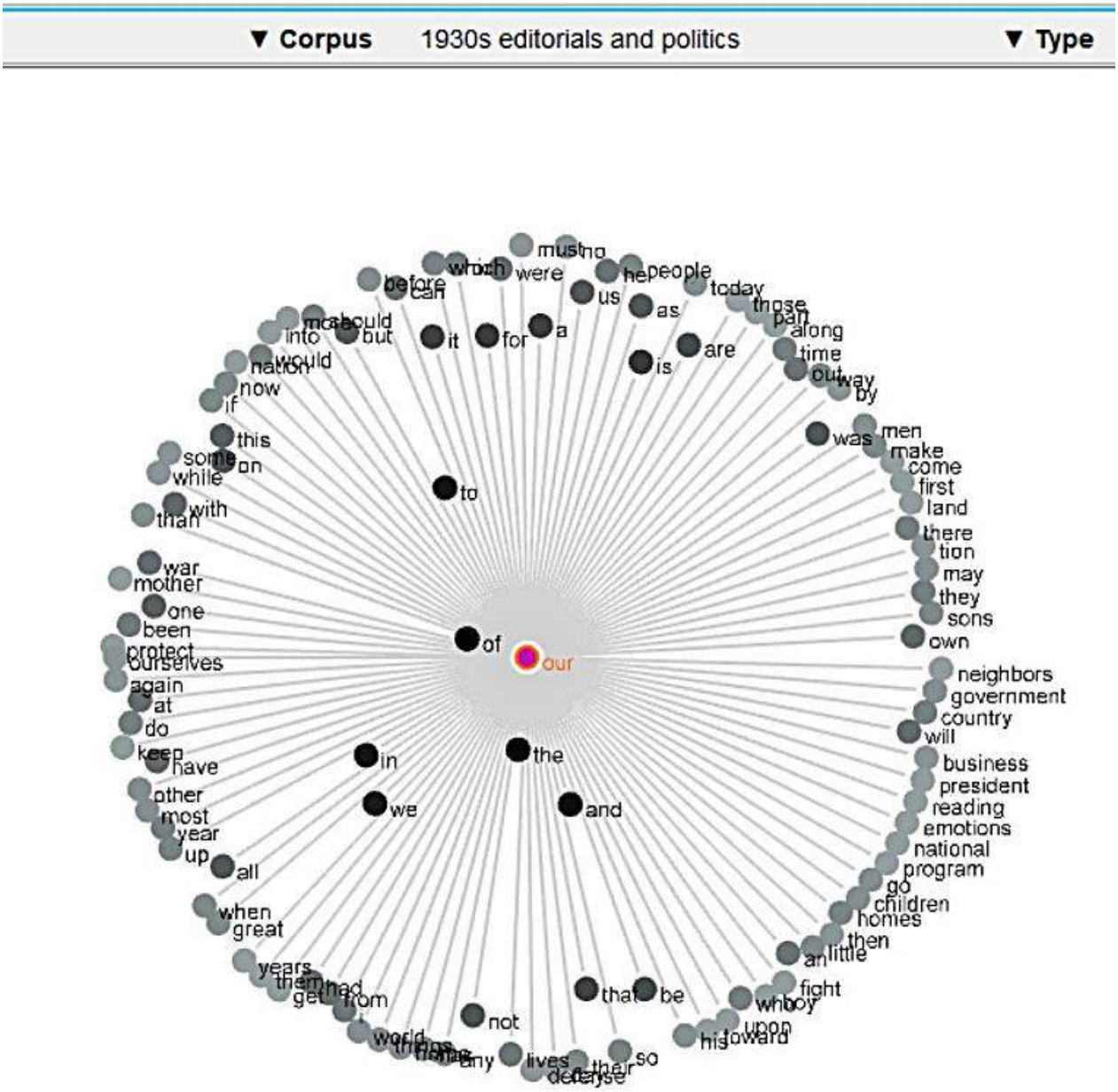
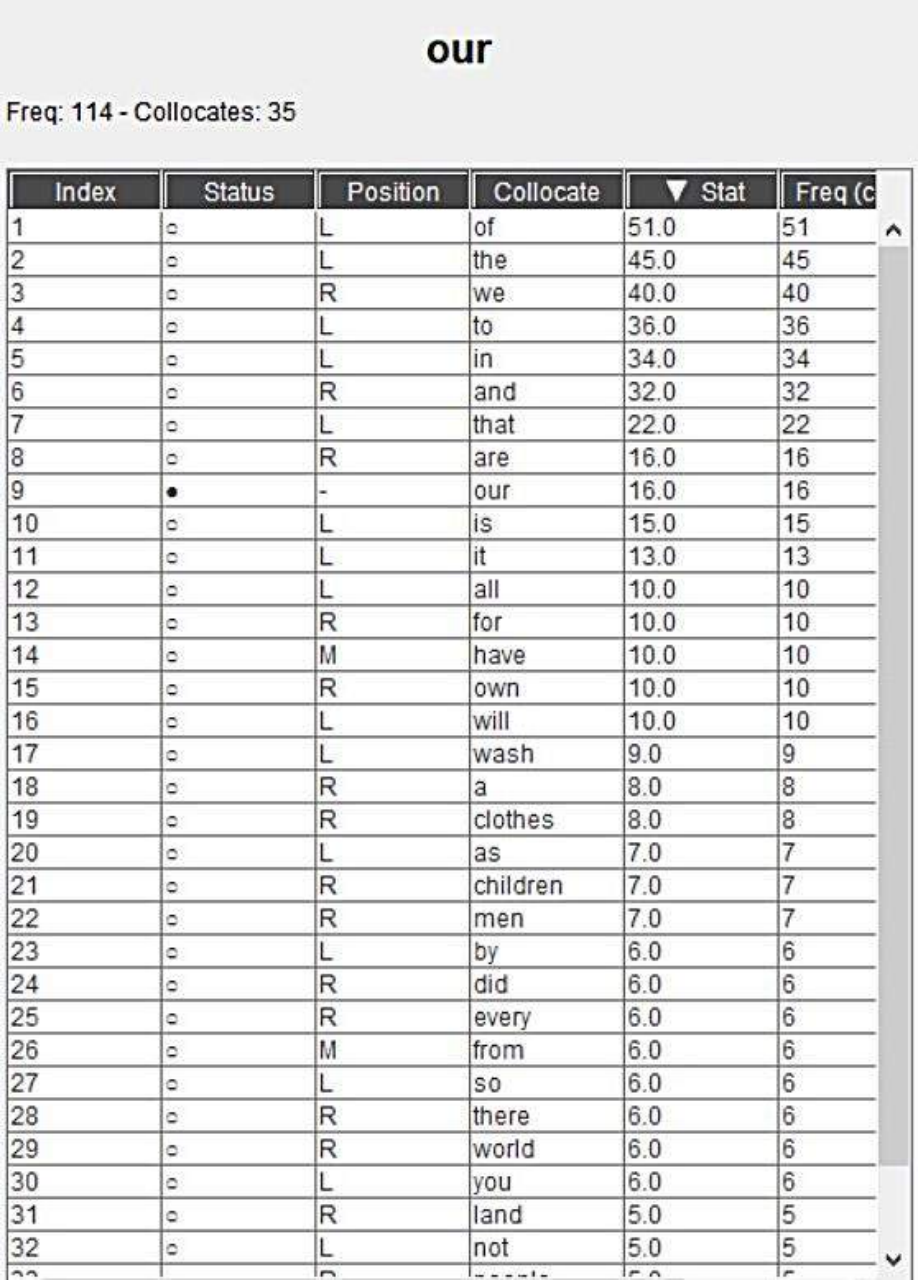


Fig. 10 - Collocates with 'our' in the 1930s political features of *Good Housekeeping*.

In the 1940s political features the collocates with similar frequency are much fewer. We will investigate the paucity and simplification of these features in wartime in a later chapter. Among the most frequent collocates we find "[our]clothes", eight times positioned to the right of 'our' (Fig. 11, line 19, 'R'). And we notice that on the left position ('L') we find the collocate "wash" nine times (line 17). The fact that in political texts from wartime we often find a "wash our clothes" or "wash our X", might be connected to the innumerable suggestions given to women dealing with electricity shortages, rationed goods, recommendations like not using electric

appliances such as the washing machine. We will investigate the paucity and simplification of wartime political features in a later chapter.



our

Freq: 114 - Collocates: 35

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (c
1	○	L	of	51.0	51
2	○	L	the	45.0	45
3	○	R	we	40.0	40
4	○	L	to	36.0	36
5	○	L	in	34.0	34
6	○	R	and	32.0	32
7	○	L	that	22.0	22
8	○	R	are	16.0	16
9	●	-	our	16.0	16
10	○	L	is	15.0	15
11	○	L	it	13.0	13
12	○	L	all	10.0	10
13	○	R	for	10.0	10
14	○	M	have	10.0	10
15	○	R	own	10.0	10
16	○	L	will	10.0	10
17	○	L	wash	9.0	9
18	○	R	a	8.0	8
19	○	R	clothes	8.0	8
20	○	L	as	7.0	7
21	○	R	children	7.0	7
22	○	R	men	7.0	7
23	○	L	by	6.0	6
24	○	R	did	6.0	6
25	○	R	every	6.0	6
26	○	M	from	6.0	6
27	○	L	so	6.0	6
28	○	R	there	6.0	6
29	○	R	world	6.0	6
30	○	L	you	6.0	6
31	○	R	land	5.0	5
32	○	L	not	5.0	5

Fig. 11 – Collocates of ‘our’ in the 1940s political sub-corpus from *Good Housekeeping*.

Other frequent Collocates of ‘our’ in this troubled decade are: “[our] children, men, world, land” (Fig. 12):

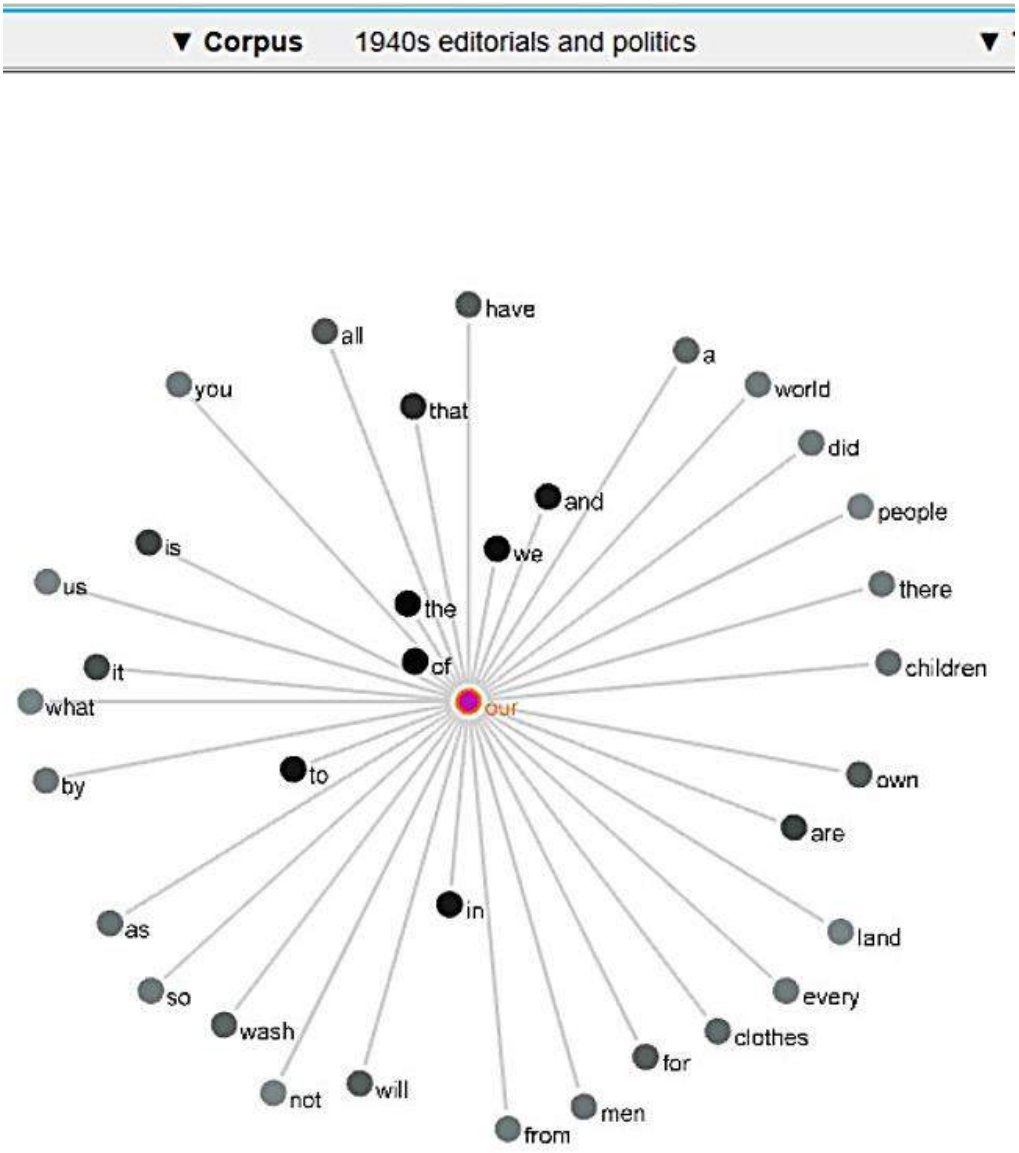
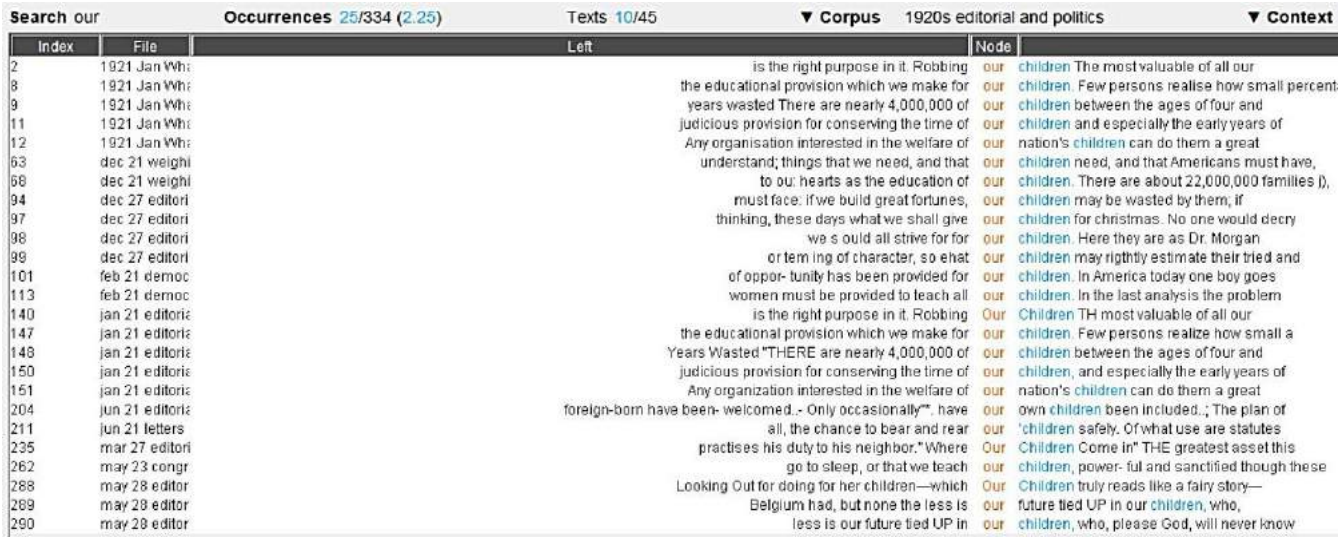


Fig. 12 – Most frequent Collocates of 'our' in the 1940s political features of the corpus from *Good Housekeeping*.

In the editorials, political columns, political figures' profiles, and articles on the Congress' legislation of the 1920s we often find campaigns and reports on legislation on children's health and safety, in which the magazine is actively involved. Indeed, when we only take the political corpus of that decade and look for the most frequent collocations, we find that the most frequent collocation with a noun is "our children". It is much more frequent than in the political features of the 1930s. (Fig. 13 and 14)



Search our | Occurrences 25/334 (2.25) | Texts 10/45 | ▼ Corpus 1920s editorial and politics | ▼ Context

Index	File	Left	Node	
2	1921 Jan Wh	is the right purpose in it. Robbing	our	children The most valuable of all our
8	1921 Jan Wh	the educational provision which we make for	our	children. Few persons realise how small percent
9	1921 Jan Wh	years wasted There are nearly 4,000,000 of	our	children between the ages of four and
11	1921 Jan Wh	judicious provision for conserving the time of	our	children and especially the early years of
12	1921 Jan Wh	Any organisation interested in the welfare of	our	nation's children can do them a great
63	dec 21 weighi	understand; things that we need, and that	our	children need, and that Americans must have,
68	dec 21 weighi	to ou: hearts as the education of	our	children. There are about 22,000,000 families (),
94	dec 27 editori	must face: if we build great fortunes,	our	children may be wasted by them; if
97	dec 27 editori	thinking, these days what we shall give	our	children for christmas. No one would decry
98	dec 27 editori	we s ould all strive for for	our	children. Here they are as Dr. Morgan
99	dec 27 editori	or tem ing of character, so ehat	our	children may rigthtly estimate their tried and
101	feb 21 democ	of oppor- tunity has been provided for	our	children. In America today one boy goes
113	feb 21 democ	women must be provided to teach all	our	children. In the last analysis the problem
140	jan 21 editoria	is the right purpose in it. Robbing	Our	Children TH most valuable of all our
147	jan 21 editoria	the educational provision which we make for	our	children. Few persons realize how small a
148	jan 21 editoria	Years Wasted "THERE are nearly 4,000,000 of	our	children between the ages of four and
150	jan 21 editoria	judicious provision for conserving the time of	our	children, and especially the early years of
151	jan 21 editoria	Any organization interested in the welfare of	our	nation's children can do them a great
204	jun 21 editoria	foreign-born have been- welcomed..- Only occasionally"". have	our	own children been included..; The plan of
211	jun 21 letters	all, the chance to bear and rear	our	'children safely. Of what use are statutes
235	mar 27 editori	practises his duty to his neighbor." Where	Our	Children Come in" THE greatest asset this
262	may 23 congr	go to sleep, or that we teach	our	children, power- ful and sanctified though these
288	may 28 editor	Looking Out for doing for her children—which	Our	Children truly reads like a fairy story—
289	may 28 editor	Belgium had, but none the less is	our	future tied UP in our children, who,
290	may 28 editor	less is our future tied UP in	our	children, who, please God, will never know

Fig. 13 - Occurrences of ”our children” in the political sub-corpus of the 1920s: 25/334 (2.25).

Search our | Occurrences 6/353 (0.66) | Texts 6/51 | ▼ Corpus 1930s editorials and politics | ▼ Context

Index	File	Left	Node	
19	dec 35 editori	we have no right not to keep;	our	children will not rise up and call
47	feb 35 calvin c	of his estate. In the course ot	our	deliberations a. Jewish home for children was
171	jan 37 roosev	pleased with Sister's letter "We think of	our	blessed children all the time." Comments by
187	jan 38 before	terms of human lives. The lives of	our	children. Here in America we have the
219	jul 39 editoria	do our part in this generation if	our	children's children, coming to their. inheritance,
251	mar 32 editori	is established the health and welfare of	our	children and our homes will be assured

Fig. 14 - Occurrences of ”our children” in the political sub-corpus of the 1930s: 6/353 (0.66).

Another feature mimicking conversation (*Conversionalisation*) is the use of a set of utterances known as *Adjacency Pairs*. In the magazine we can find this example: “What has society done to encourage the building of homes, of schools? Very little!” (Toombs 1922, 15). Question and answer mimic a spoken interaction. Since the reader is not present, they are unable to supply the answer. Nevertheless, the text producer proceeds as though the reader has said ‘Yes, you are right.’ “This technique has the effect of drawing the reader in by causing them to interact with the text in considering what the question entails, even though they are unlikely to respond aloud.” (Mcloughlin 2000, 68).

Deixis, Adjacency Pairs, Conversionalisation and Subject Positioning are all linguistic strategies constituting the **Synthetic Personalisation**, a simulation of private discourse through the mass media, or, according to Norman Fairclough, who introduced the concept, the

compensatory tendency when addressing audiences *en masse* as an individual. (Fairclough 1989, 205)

Once the articles of *Good Housekeeping* are divided in two groups, lifestyle articles and political articles, it becomes evident how the writers of the former group of items Position the reader much more frequently as part of an inclusive group, at the same level of the staff, in a confidential relationship, ready to receive precious information or useful advice. There are rare exceptions, like what can be defined as 'didactic' articles, in which the authors give proper lessons on matters like house décor and antique furniture. In these series of articles the tone is impersonal, never directly addressing the reader. The headlines can directly have a 'educational' tone:

"A Simple Course in Home

Decorating

French Period Furnishing –

Lesson IX" (Fales 1922, 33)

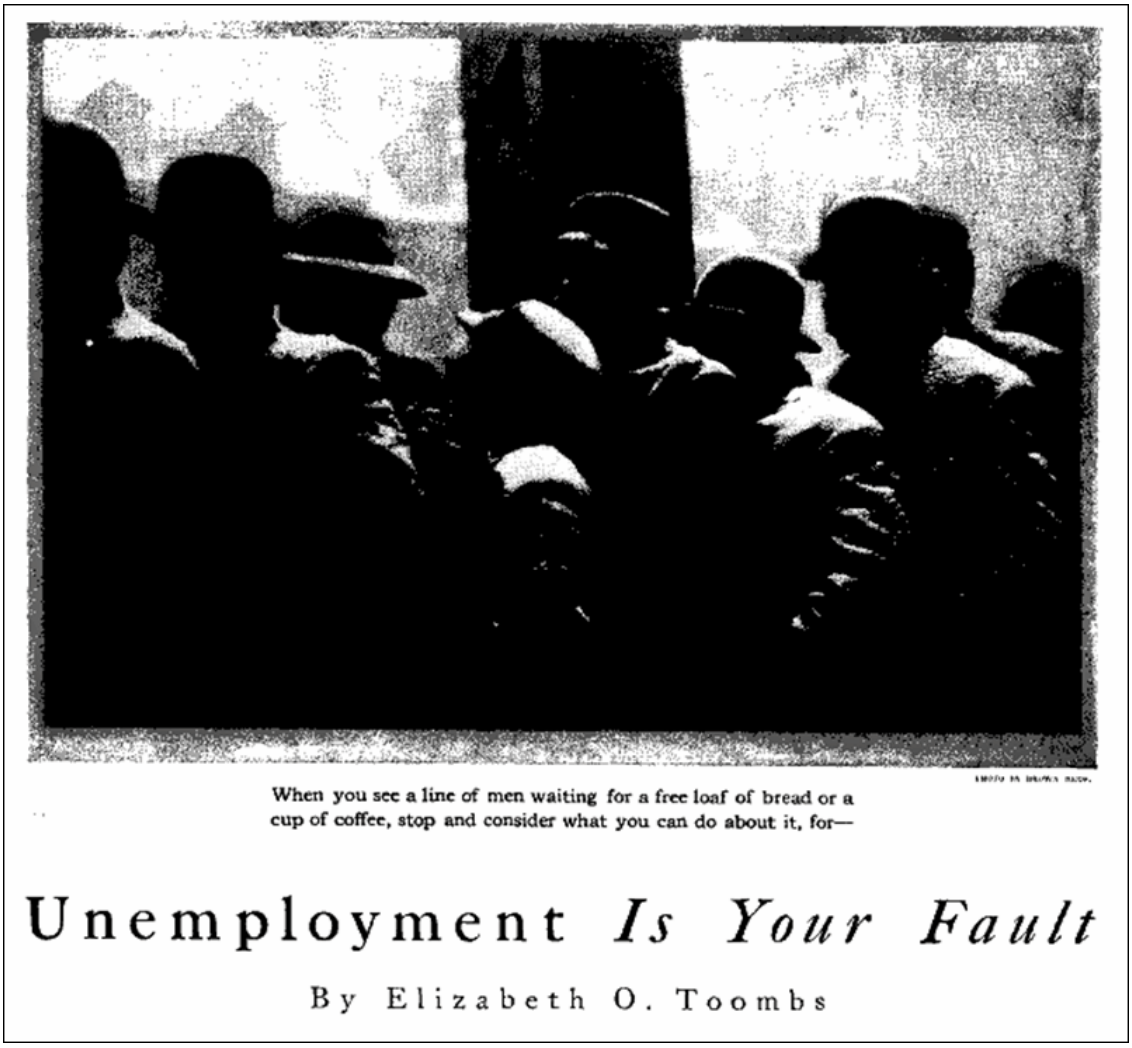
However, a box in the same page can go back using the deictic 'you' to test the reader on what she has just read:

"CAN YOU ANSWER THESE SIX

QUESTIONS?

If not, carefully reread this lesson…"

3.4 Subject Position and the Difference Between Lifestyle Columns and Political Columns.



When you see a line of men waiting for a free loaf of bread or a cup of coffee, stop and consider what you can do about it, for—

Unemployment *Is Your Fault*

By Elizabeth O. Toombs

Figure 15 - E. O. Toombs, the headline of the article appeared on *Good Housekeeping* in January 1922.

The writer establishes the reader's position in the text, and in *Good Housekeeping*'s lifestyle columns, concerned with everyday life, domestic work, fashion, etc., the writing style is very often characterised by many deictic Exclusive 'We' and confidential 'You', used in almost every article. As we have seen, in the articles about society, politics and current affairs, however, the style can be completely different. In 1922, during the rampant unemployment crisis, *Good Housekeeping* features this article titled:

"Unemployment *is Your Fault"*

In the article we find a peculiar use of Inclusive We:

> "We are a republic, we govern ourselves, therefore we do not as a rule make laws to control the legitimate industries within our borders…"

And, with a paraphrasis of the Constitution of the United States:

> "We, the people of these United States, are on trial today as never before in our lives."

While Koues, writing about fashion, used 'We' and 'Us' referring to herself and the staff, excluding the reader in order to convey superior knowledge on the matter, and trying to convince the reader that she needs advice, here we find an Inclusive 'We', which creates a group to which both the writer and the reader belong: the reader should feel part of the citizenship. The Subject Position changes depending on the ideal role that the woman reading *Good Housekeeping* has in her private life, or with respect to her country.

"Utterer" and "Interpreter" in this article are positioned even just by deixis alone. Person, Social, Spatial, Temporal, Discourse Deixis can be enough to give an idea of what Ideal Reader the writer wants the text interpreter to be (not who they really are). As Chilton and Schäffner note:

> In political discourse these ordinary linguistic phenomena carry particular meaning. Pronouns, especially the first-person plural (*we, us, our*), can be used to induce interpreters to conceptualize group identity, coalitions, parties and the like, either as insiders or as outsiders. Social indexicals arise from social structure and power relations, and not just from personal distance. Spatial indexicals relate to political or geopolitical space. Thus, *here* may mean 'in parliament', 'in London', 'in the States', 'in England', 'in the UK', 'in Europe', 'in the West', 'in the northern hemisphere'…. That is, *here* and its reflexes in *come/go* and the like, can require to be understood not simply in terms of a neutral physical location but in terms of some conventional frame (Chilton and Schäffner 2002, 30).

The author of the 1922 article directly addresses the text interpreter in the headline itself. Part of the headline is written in italics as if it were not only mimicking spoken language but shouting; the headline is given even more emphasis by the half-title:

When you see a line of men waiting for the free loaf of
bread or a
cup of coffee, stop and consider what you can do about it for –

Unemployment *Is Your Fault*

After the reproaching tone of the headline, the subheading explains how a reporter from *Good Housekeeping* attended an important national conference organised to discuss how to restart American factories: **"We** are glad to be able to make **you** this first-hand report." The article, however, proceeds to have a much more inclusive language: "One of the most significant events in **our** industrial history was the calling, in October, of a national conference…" Reading the article, it becomes evident that that 'you' has slightly changed in comparison with the other articles. On the other pages it clearly alludes to a woman, while here it addresses the society at large, accused of standing by while the only active protagonists are men:

> "…When certain industries are intentionally mismanaged to such an extent that a body of sixty intelligent men declares them to be indecent, surely that society which has permitted such abuses is to blame."

Unemployment is men's unemployment. It doesn't look like for women it is entirely normal to work outside of the house in 1922, at least according to the authors of *Good Housekeeping*. The "bread-lines" are lines of men; the people who declare the mismanagement of certain industries are a "commission of sixty intelligent men"; elsewhere in the article we are reminded that

> "The man who is given a beggar's dole of bread when he asks for a day's work feels himself a failure and only too frequently such a man, his self-respect wounded, slips away from his miserable home to become a don't-care floater, accepting future doles in a spirit of deadly resentment toward society. And society - far from being a generic term - is simply made up of ourselves."

Men's self-esteem is wounded by unemployment and hardships. The Great Depression is not only affecting people's finances, but their spirit, too. Women's condition is vaguer: were they

employed and lost their jobs, too? If they did, how many? The author does not say: we only know that "hundreds" of them are helping their husbands "during this emergency." In only two sentences, made up of a rhetorical question followed by an answer she gives herself, the author, consciously or unconsciously, creates a clear male semantic pattern, using the word 'man' twice and by affinity 'fathers' and 'employers' (elsewhere 'breadwinners', too):

> "How can these children secure work when their fathers cannot? The answer is that many employers prefer child labor, and, too, there are jobs that can be offered children which no man would think of offering to another man."

At least twice society is blamed for unemployment and "bear in mind that society is **you** and **me** and **our** neighbours." One of the solutions proposed during the conference is overcoming the stalling of already existing building sites but starting new public and private building projects is deferred to politicians. What should the Ideal Reader of *Good Housekeeping* of the Twenties do? Should she find a job? No, she shouldn't. The text interpreter here is asked to sympathise with the unemployed men ("It may be that when you saw the work stop on that new apartment house you gave little sympathy to the men so arbitrarily thrown out of a job.") and ask them why the work has been stopped. Women's duty is giving moral support and participate to constitute a public opinion. In fact, the duties of men and the duties of the addressed 'You' in the article are clearly spelled out, and can be easily compared so that it becomes clear the two subjects are not the same people:

"Society, however, must see to it that wages do not fall to a point where the **man** can not supply his family with the necessities of life, properly educate his children, and make systematic savings, however small. And the working man must see to it that not only he, but his fellows, do a full day's work, honestly performed, for this wage."	"The building program can be made possible if **you** and your neighbors get together and create, first, an overwhelming public opinion in favour of decency in business methods […] you and your neighbors must see to it that such building laws as you have in your town are enforced."

In the article the author mentions foreigners who had migrated to the United States during the First World War to work in the factories but now find themselves unemployed. In doing so,

she simultaneously uses a simulation of *direct speech* and an imitation of *broken English*: “In every home the explanation was the same: “My man, he out of work since mills close, our money all gone, our children hungry all the time. They cry.”

She then impersonates the rest of the citizens: ““It is not our fault that the mills and factories are closed; we are not to blame because times are bad, and no building is being done” these members [of society] say.”

The author is using the Synthetic Personalisation not only to give the impression that she personally knows the reader, but she directly builds artificial actors in the context, simulating a whole dialogue which, by definition, should have at least two participants. When it comes to the duties of citizens like those spelled out by the author, Fairclough finds “a certain irony about such recommendations: the very act of formulating recommendations directly at one participant who is assumed to be able to carry them out and impose them upon the other at will, excludes the involvement of the other participant on something approaching an equal basis which the recommendations are suggesting.” (Fairclough 1989, 216) Meanwhile, the simulation used when creating fictional generic citizens entails a “…manipulation of relational and subjective aspects of discourse through simulation.” Synthetic Personalisation refers to

> “…all phenomena in strategic discourse, weather in its consumerist or bureaucratic varieties, where relational and subjective values are manipulated for instrumental reasons. This may be a matter of constructing a fictitious individual person, for instance as the addresser and addressee in an advertisement or of manipulating the subject positions of, or the relationships between, actual individual persons (in the direction of equality, solidarity, intimacy of whatever), as in interviews. Synthetic Personalisation is a major strand in the systemic restructuring of the societal order of discourse” (Fairclough 1989, 217).

Through Synthetic Personalisation, Deixis and various Presuppositions in the text the author of the article clearly builds the identity of the Ideal Reader to whom the text is addressed. We have seen how in a series of articles about antique furnishing and palatial residences the position created for the reader is explicitly similar to that of a schoolgirl, and the simulation of the conversation reminds of that between a teacher and a child. In the political articles of *Good Housekeeping* there is a similar tendency, unless the article doesn't consist in the narration of a personal experience by an activist or a politician's wife; the text interpreter uses the Synthetic Personalization to create an immovable and knowledgeable authority. Is it possible to resist

Subject Positions? The text interpreter is invited to identify herself and can easily understand if the text is addressed to her or not. Usually, the identity of the reader is more easily recognisable by reading the editorial. It is even easier to understand who the addressee is when she is recommended *"*feminine-looking clothes.*"* However not only there is an unequal relationship between the tax producer and reader has been highlighted but there is not a one valid and unitary interpretation of text either: we all bring our own particular "baggage" to an interpretation of a text, which may be influenced by our age, sex, class, ethnicity and race when analysing texts. A *functional* perspective on language and discourse is adopted by many investigators of political discourse. After all, "speakers have *purposes*, achieved by *strategies*, strategies which are what one would broadly call political, or at least social." (Chilton and Schäffner 2002, 23). However, according to McLoughlin, *"*the unequal relationship between the text producer and reader has been highlighted but it must be remembered that the reader is the one who is ultimately in control since she can stop reading at any time and can switch loyalty from one magazine to another at whim." (McLoughlin 2000, 79). Therefore, to Fairclough every message is manipulated, and every text producer has a purpose, but to McLoughlin, ultimately, the reader is the one who has more power. Now we are going to examine the main types of identity construction strategies the reader is subjected to, in this game of mimicking and persuasion.

3.5 Conclusions

While in the 1920s *Good Housekeeping* still has a typical 1800s 'didactic' tone towards its readership, it starts systematically introducing the linguistic strategy of the Synthetic Personalization in most of its contents, which mimics a more personal relationship between the text producer and the text interpreter. The characteristics of the Ideal Reader in this decade are those of a very patriotic woman, but one who does not work outside of the house. Despite the financial crisis, and any potentially differing opinion by historians and economists, the Ideal Reader proposed by *Good Housekeeping* does not contribute to the job market outside of the household, and therefore, it is implied, neither should the Target Reader.

Usually in this magazine the only texts with a more personal touch are the editorials, but as we have seen the editorial examined here contains an invitation to use the services offered by the magazine. During the 1920s, magazines realise that their main source of income is not the number of issues sold, but the number of advertising spaces sold, therefore the more we go on

chronologically, the more we are going to see that almost *every* content in the magazine is going to be related to a commercial product or a service offered by the staff. This will become more evident in the analysed texts from the following decades: the 1930s and 1940s.

After identifying the most common linguistic techniques in this type of publication (inclusive and exclusive ‘we’, and the creation of a Subject Position), it is possible to look for another kind of strategy, which can be more or less complex, or more or less subtle, depending on what the Text Producer wants from the Text Interpreter: the Identity Construction.

4. Ideology and National Identity

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the articles of *Good Housekeeping* have been analysed through the AntConc concordance software, in search of lexicon, semantic fields, and other choices made by the authors of the magazine. Once identified using Critical Discourse Analysis, they can reveal themselves as linguistic strategies implying the attempt at a National Identity Construction by the staff. For further research, the Corpus is then divided into two sub-groups: the first group is made of articles with political content, social commentary, and editorials; the second group of articles such as columns about lifestyle, domestic work, household, fashion, and everything about domestic or private life. This division, and subsequent comparison, is aimed at finding differences (or similarities) in the way the *Good Housekeeping* staff writes about the personal and the public sphere of the reader. Looking at data, however, it became evident that beside a synchronic comparison, a diachronic comparison, too, would be fruitful when looking for National Identity Construction strategies. The Corpus, dating from 1920 to 1949, has therefore been divided in two more groups: the first group made of the 1920s and 1930s articles, written before World War II, and the articles from the 1940s, for a comparison of the ideal American woman that *Good Housekeeping* writers desired right before and during the war.

I will also include a brief analysis of the text of an advert accompanying one of the articles of the 1940s corpus. The selected text is significant not only because of its 1940s wartime patriotic lexicon, but also because in the 1940s the content of the articles starts recalling more frequently the content of advert, to the point that sometimes the articles share the same lexicon and the same semantic field found in the text of the adverts. Similarities between an article and the adverts preceding and following it are part of the context of the article itself, and I will choose several of them throughout this dissertation to maintain an idea on how much work goes not only into writing the article but also, let's say, 'around' the article.

We have seen how a frequent linguistic strategy used in *Good Housekeeping* is the imitation of the way the writer imagines the reader speaks, and also an imitation of a personal dialogue, even though this dialogue is actually a one-way communication. In wartime, this imitation game is implemented on a daily basis on the pages of popular publications. While analysing the use of language in the features of *Good Housekeeping*, it is going to be very interesting to make a comparison with the content produced in the 1940s by the United States' War Production Board, the office producing war propaganda aimed at American civilians. The

comparison is aimed at finding elements implying an influence of the government's propaganda on the language used by magazines' writers.

4.2 Language and National Identity in the 1920s and 1930s.

What social commentary and political opinion articles in *Good Housekeeping* have in common, is a language that is more informal, with frequent exclamations, many declarative sentences and modal auxiliary verbs which often express a certainty modality ("will", "must"), in other words, associated to certainty, trustworthiness, authority. The content can range from the grave unemployment rate in the USA, to suffrage ("A Senator's Wife in Europe - Francis Parkinson Keyes Attends the Rome Suffrage Convention and Meets the Dignitaries of Italy"; Keyes, 1923, 34), laws on child labour ("What Congress Left Undone"; Keyes 1923, 55) and the necessity for the readers of *Good Housekeeping* of getting more interested in politics. Curiously, articles of this kind, with a more formal register, are always present in the 1920s' issues, but they are drastically reduced or disappear entirely for dozens of issues, and therefore for dozens of months, during the 1930s. Then again, in the 1940s, the war and the necessary wartime sacrifices, make political articles come back on the pages of *Good Housekeeping*. Therefore, when the nation needs more work from the citizens, the magazine seems ready to inspire a sense of love for the nation in the readers again, although always within the conventions of the time reserved for the female readers. In the specific, technical language of the articles of the 1920s, not only the political ones, there are often hints to the heterogeneous American national identity. In the before mentioned article from 1922 about the grave unemployment crisis which has involved many migrants in America, we can find their Broken English imitated by the author, but also a quotation from the American constitution ("We the People…"); in an article about furniture from 1932, "The Stuff Your House is Made of - Fireplaces of European Tradition" (Price 1932, 59), the author links the designs of the fireplaces in the American people's houses to the many ethnicities that we can find in the USA: "…the majority of our fireplaces or mantle designs are not of native origin." By 'native' the author doesn't mean Native American, she means made in the USA. In the following sentence, as well, the author is talking about furniture, decor and fireplaces: "But what of other types and other racial inheritances? Every period, every race has developed a manner, a type, a distinctive character."

4.3. The Nation at War: Imitation of the War Language in the 1940s.

The distinction between what is American and what is not is more highlighted during the Second World War. If previously the nation was often described as heterogeneous, a society founded on many European influences and styles, now there is only one Nation. The sense of state is associated to the sacrifices the women must do in order to maintain an acceptable lifestyle while their husbands are at war: maintaining and cleaning their house without using electrical house appliances, grow a kitchen garden, take care of the children's diet, even if some kinds of food cannot be found in the shops, manage the rationed goods, organise a wedding reception without spending too much money (in the first half of the twentieth century the bride was expected to bake the wedding cake herself.) *Good Housekeeping*'s language is suddenly enriched by a war lexicon, often associated even to things that are very mundane or domestic. Before the 1940s cakes, dresses, and house decor were described with numerous reiterations of *beauty, beautiful* and *beautifully*, now the wedding cake is described as: "…the Three-Tiered Bride's Cake with its simple, military decoration" (Marsh 1943, 82). The advertisements alternating with the articles feature texts imitating the kind of texts used on the war posters calling to arms or inviting citizens to donate money for war expenses, like for example in a shoe advertisement: "… things that are so important to a woman's morale, especially now when all of us are doing our part for our men out there."[5] The things that are "so important to a woman's morale", almost as if it were the soldiers' morale at the front, are indeed the shoes. In advertisements, like in the government's motivational content, the small kitchen garden grown in the backyard becomes the Victory Garden. The advertising agency proposes a cooking oil brand in rhyme:

ODE TO A VICTORY GARDEN

"Your Victory Garden grows for you / with work and care and seeds / the vitamins and minerals too / which everybody needs / the salads that you make from it / will guard your family's health / and in these times their keeping fit / is worth far more than wealth / give rationed meals variety / with salads when you sup- / to keep them tasty as can be / let WESSON dress them up!"[6]

[5] Natural Bridge Shoes ad in *Good Housekeeping*, June 1943, 147.
[6] Wesson Oil ad in *Good Housekeeping*, June 1946, 146.

ODE TO A VICTORY GARDEN

1.

Your Victory Garden grows for you,
With work and care and seeds,
The vitamins, and minerals too,
Which everybody needs.

2.

The salads that you make from it
Will guard your family's health —
And, in these times, their keeping fit
Is worth far more than wealth.

3.

Give rationed meals variety
With salads when you sup —
To keep them tasty as can be
Let WESSON dress them up!

Avoid Salad Sameness—Use WESSON'S "Quik-Change" Dressing Recipe

Mix! Shake in jar! 2 minutes!

½ teaspoon salt
¼ teaspoon sugar (if desired)
Dash white pepper
½ teaspoon dry mustard
¾ cup WESSON OIL
¼ cup vinegar (or lemon juice)

The recipe above makes a delicious dressing for general use.

For variety add and blend well:

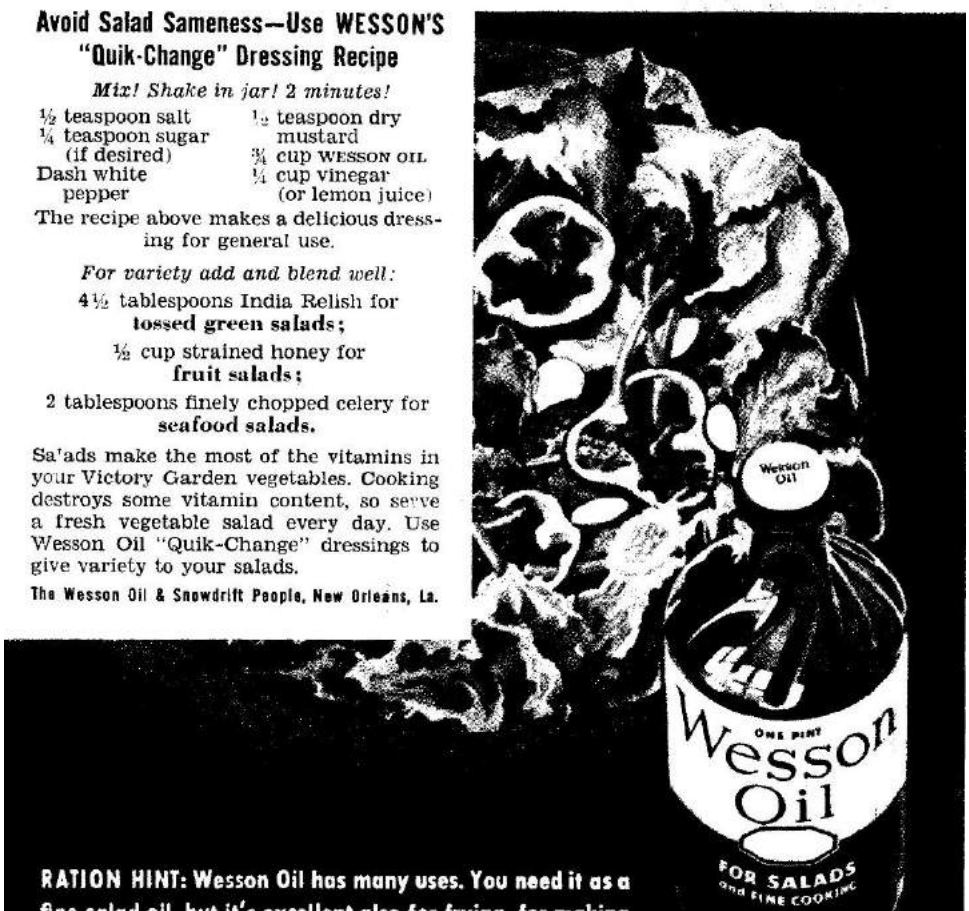
4½ tablespoons India Relish for **tossed green salads;**

½ cup strained honey for **fruit salads;**

2 tablespoons finely chopped celery for **seafood salads.**

Salads make the most of the vitamins in your Victory Garden vegetables. Cooking destroys some vitamin content, so serve a fresh vegetable salad every day. Use Wesson Oil "Quik-Change" dressings to give variety to your salads.

The Wesson Oil & Snowdrift People, New Orleans, La.



RATION HINT: Wesson Oil has many uses. You need it as a

Fig. 16 – The kitchen garden becomes the Victory Garden. Good Housekeeping advert, June 1946.

Semantic Field of War in the political corpus	Semantic Field of War in the non-political corpus
Examples: war, fight (every form of the verb), victory, winning, service, battle, defend/defending, freedom, guns, military, soldiers, squadron, army, bomber/bombers/bombed, eaglets [children of aviators], totalitarian, valor, airfield, Axis…	Examples: war, front, winning, ration/rationed/unrationed, victory, service, officers, safely, [ration] stamp/stamps, [war] bonds, effort, fighting, freedom, dictatorial, …

Table 2 – **Semantic Field of War** words in *Good Housekeeping* in the 1940s. Several of the word types recurring more than once. The sub-corpora are either about politics or lifestyle (not counting the fictional works) but this semantic field appears in both regardless. *Not all the Keywords of a text, or of a set of texts, of such a corpus are going to belong to a single semantic field. "A keyword has a quantitative basis" (Culpeper and Demmen, 2015).*

A semantic field of war (Table 2) emerges from the articles about politics or narrating everyday wartime life, like, for example, personal experiences of women working as volunteers for the army. However, a motivational language which almost sounds like the one usually addressing the soldiers, can be found even in articles about domesticity, marriage, society, and fashion. In some issues of the magazine almost every advertisement (for pots, clothes, shoes, personal hygiene products etc.) contains a semantic field of war. Looking for a semantic field of war in the 1940s non-political sub-corpus, and the words' frequency in the texts using LancsBox, the most used word (Table 3), unsurprisingly, is *war*. However, many of these words also express civilians' extraordinary work for the Country, such as *service*, *effort*, and every form of the verb *ration*. The expressions *war bride*, *war wives*, *war wedding*, too, are reoccurring.

War (31)	Suffer (10)	Nurse (6)
America (12)	Army (10)	French (6)
Death (11)	Service (9)	Stock (6)

Fight (10)	Battle (7)	Victim (6)
Europe (10)	Italy (7)	Escape (6)
Navy (10)	Resistance (7)	Ration/ed/ing (6)

Table 3 - Semantic field of war (Raw Frequency) in everyday language in the 1940s "lifestyle, fashion, domesticity, non-political" sub-corpus. The most frequent words in this semantic field and the number of times they appear in the texts. The frequency of the words has been calculated using LancsBox.

4.4. The lifestyle column before and during the war.

There is another more subtle difference in the 1940s issues. Reading all the columns about décor and furnishing, both antique and modern, and all the pages which month after month introduce the latest fashion styles and dress pattern of the 1920s and the 1930s, one has the impression that everything elegant, beautiful, and refined has been made in France. Indeed, after pronouns and names of domestic environments, in these columns some of the most recurring words are "French" and "France." The Louis XIV style, both authentic and the imitated, is omnipresent in American houses and, given that copies and fakes sold as real are everywhere, the *Good Housekeeping* staff even recommends their readers to directly buy a well-made imitation that might pass for real. The fashion pages are dominated by the latest patterns arrived from Paris, and descriptions of the models are full of French words continuously alternating with the English ones ("crepe de Chine tennis dress"; "a black satin skirt topped with a corsage of white Georgette embroidered or trimmed with black, or black and steel"). When the atelier is not French (Agnès, Régny…), it is Italian (Schiaparelli, Vera Borea…). As we have seen, this column must not be underrated when it comes to identify the ideal reader wanted by the text producer. If the proposed outfit is a "suitable frock for tea and dances" (Koues 1922, 36), the text producer supposes that the reader is someone who needs at least one more dress to wear at teatime and is subsequently invited to a dancing reception. When the War starts all the French and Italian brands disappear from the pages of the magazine. The shoes become "comfortable", the dancing dresses and the tennis dresses are substituted by sober 1940s suits introduced with headlines such as: "5 PROVEN SUCCESSES – WITH A LONG LIFE AHEAD" (Stout 1943, 45-46), most durable as possible and, most importantly, made in America. Magazines imitate the way of speaking that is supposedly familiar to the reader. So, if the staff of *Good Housekeeping* imitated a refined and "European" lexicon

through codeswitching in the 1920s and 1930s, what kind of language are they imitating in the 1940s?

4.5. From State Propaganda to Popular Language and Vice Versa.

The Second World War opened male-dominated workplaces to women; wearing different, more practical clothes to work, they often had to substitute the men at the front. After the paid work, they were continuously invited to keep working as volunteers for the rest of the day. The US government mostly needed women working in the aircraft industries. In San Diego alone, by 1943, defense plants employed 107,000 people. To attract women and mothers to work in the plants, a relentless campaign was directed at them, not just through 'official' government posters and messages, but also with the same messages and lexicon used in every publication directed at women, even the most mundane, like women's magazine, including their fashion or lifestyle columns, and most advertising messages. An imitation game started on the pages of the most popular magazines, including *Good Housekeeping*. In the 1940s the readers of *Good Housekeeping* were subjected to more Imitation Strategies than in the previous two decades; at the same time, even in the same article we can find Gender Identity Construction Strategies, National Identity Construction, Identity Construction functional to the War Production Board of the United States during the 1940s and Identity Construction aimed at product advertising. We can find content lifted word-by-word from the US War Production Board Committee and reused on posters produced independently by private factories and companies, which regularly created and exhibited the posters in the workplaces for their employees. Imitation is a widespread linguistic strategy in mass media: a text producer writes imitating the speech or perceived speech of the potential reader. In the 1940s however, a working woman, and a potential reader of *Good Housekeeping*, is subjected to imitation strategy by both Government, via War Propaganda, and private companies. Popular culture content is imitated, linguistically and visually, by propaganda content. And, in turn, propaganda content might become popular culture again.

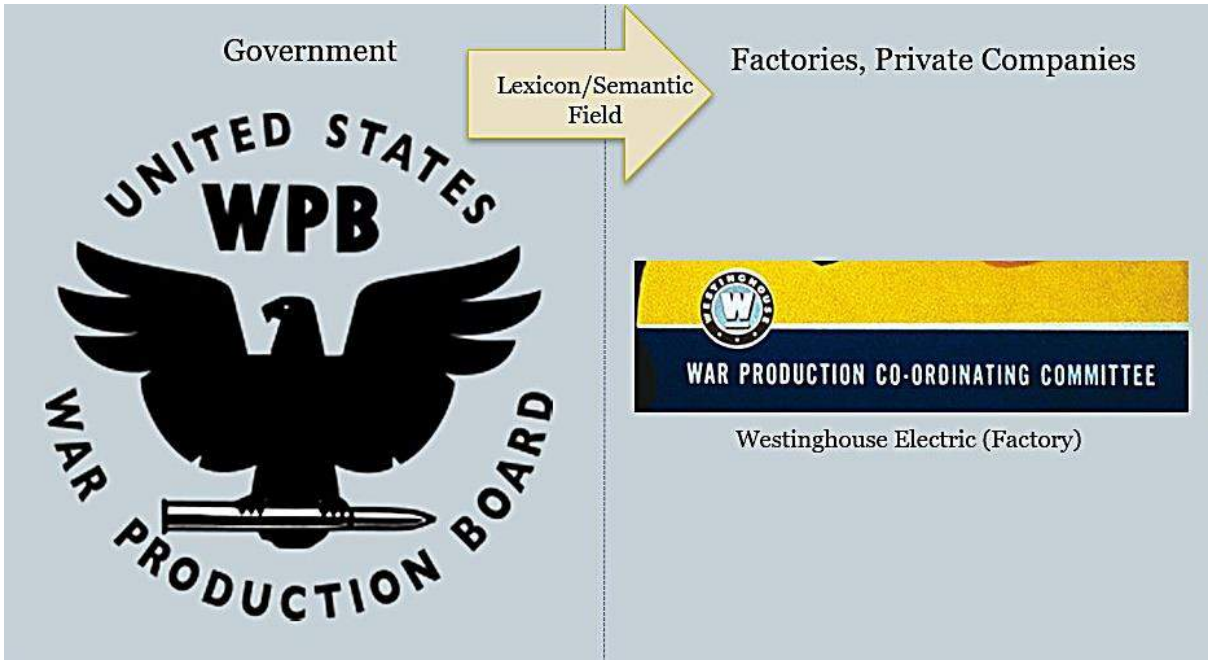


Figure 17 - private companies produced their own motivational posters, often visible only to the employees on the workplace, using lexicon and expressions found in the government-produced propaganda content. On the right a detail from the Rosie the Riveter poster

One of the most emblematic examples of imitation as a communication strategy is the case of Rosie the Riveter, which is not just a linguistic strategy, but also an iconographic imitation of content which was lifted from popular culture, re-elaborated by a private company and then again re-appropriated by popular culture. Rosie the Riveter and her slogan "We Can Do It!" will forever personify World War II working women, and many still today think she actually existed. The truth is the first "Rosie" is an imaginary girl mentioned in a very 1942 popular song by Redd Evans and John Jacob Loebb, "Rosie the Riveter":

"Rosie the Riveter"

Lyrics by Redd Evans and John Jacob Loeb, 1942

All the day long,
Whether rain or shine,
She's a part of the assembly line.
She's making history,
Working for victory,
Rosie the Riveter.
Keeps a sharp lookout for sabatoge,
Sitting up there on the fuselage.
That little girl will do more than a male will do.

Rosie's got a boyfriend,
Charlie.
Charlie, he's a Marine.
Rosie is protecting Charlie,
Working overtime on the riveting machine.
When they gave her a production "E,"
She was as proud as she could be.
There's something true about,
Red, white, and blue about,
Rosie the Riveter.

American painter and illustrator Norman Rockwell was inspired by the popularity of the song for his 1943 cover of the Saturday Evening Post, in which Rockwell gives Rosie a face, and portrays her with many patriotic details (Figure 18):

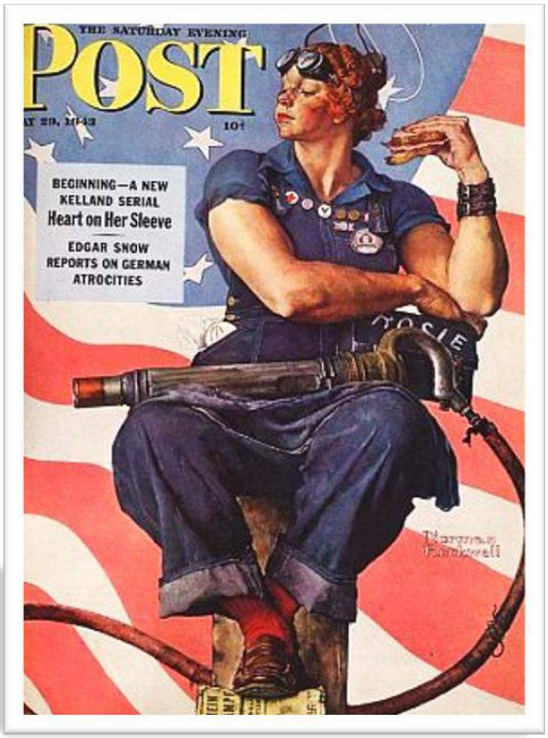


Figure 18 - The Saturday Evening Post by Norman Rockwell, 1943.

The pose of Rosie is an imitation of the pose of the prophet Isaiah (“God’s strong right arm”) as he is represented in the Sistine Chapel (Figure 19). She is resting her arms on a lunchbox; her blue overalls are adorned with badges and buttons: a Red Cross blood donor button, a white "V for Victory" button, a Blue Star Mothers pin, an Army-Navy E Service production award pin, two bronze civilian service awards, and her personal identity badge, and she has a copy of Adolf Hitler’s Mein Kampf under her feet. The woman who posed for the image was a 19-years-old phone operator, Mary Doyle Keefe.

Figure 19 - On the left, Rockwell's cover for the Saturday Evening Post, on the right a detail of the Sistine Chapel's affresco by Michelangelo Buonarroti, representing Isaiah. Both reference images are from the Norman Rockwell Museum (https://www.nrm.org/rosie-the-riveter/).

During the same year, J. Howard Miller created the “We Can Do It!” poster for Westinghouse Electric to lift female workers’ morale:

Figure 20 - J. Howard Miller, "We Can Do It!", 1943. Poster produced for Westinghouse. National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.

The poster did not circulate outside that workplace during the war: it was strictly internal to Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, which displayed it in factories from February 15 to 28, 1943. Rockwell's cover art was far more famous at the time:

> "[Miller's] image during the war years was nearly unknown beyond the Westinghouse factories, where wartime security ensured that its audience was limited to workers and management. Only since the mid-1980s has Miller's image gained worldwide fame. […] the earliest reproduction [of the poster] that we have found in the post war years is in a 1982 Washington Post Magazine article that discussed poster reproductions then available from the National Archives. The poster recurred in a 1985 U.S. News and World Report article by Stuart Powell." (Kimble and Olson 2006, 536.)

In the following decades innumerable misconceptions and urban legends emerged about the poster, and several women claimed to have posed for the portrait. Yet, Miller's depiction of

Rosie has inadvertently become an empowering symbol for women. Miller has created a series of similar posters, many of them featuring that Inclusive We, and each of these prints sends a non-realistic image of women's beauty, with some of Miller's female depictions showing similarities with the voluptuous and titillating characters of the artist Alberto Vargas and his so-called "Vargas Girls." Especially considering the dirty conditions of the ammunition factories, viewed together as a series, the posters convey a fictitious, traditional, conventionally masculine perspective on women and their relationship to family and the workplace. Kimble and Olson also extensively dispute the poster as a message of emancipation not just for women but for all the workers:

> "Widespread misconceptions concerning the "We Can Do It!" poster obfuscate the complex, mixed messages its original audience in all likelihood received during the war. The misconceptions also disguise the multifaceted and sometimes entwined motivations of women already working at the Westinghouse factories in 1943. But simply put, it is easy to look back more than 60 years later and see empowering qualities in Miller's poster. However, the poster's original audiences [both men and women] would not have received Rosie's empowerment in such an unequivocal fashion. […] Moreover, […] factory workers would have been familiar with the social functions of the ingroup ritualistic gesture[7] displayed in the poster since it was already a commonplace performance at the East Pittsburgh factory with idiomatic community building qualities. […] Rosie's "we" was constitutive in that it addressed specific time- and place-bound audiences, constructing them as a team with a distinctive company identification and mission in the war effort - and rhetorically differentiating them from other potential groups such as non-workers and workers for other organizations. Moreover, by addressing workers as "we" the pronoun obfuscated and sharp controversies within labor over communism, red-baiting, discrimination and other heartfelt sources of divisiveness." (Kimble and Olson 2006, 449-550).

Misconceptions aside, it is an example of how both private and state propaganda use content that is already popular and imitate it. *Good Housekeeping*, popular magazines and all the advertising agencies make no exception. American women did not exactly see a financial emancipation in jobs that were underpaid or paid less than their male colleagues and those who

[7] The fist in the air was a recurring element in the series of Westinghouse's posters and a common gesture at the facilities of the company.

were mothers were still expected to be homemakers. Most female workers were single women, not women with a family:

> "By 1943, San Diego defense plants employed 107,000 people. The need for workers opened job opportunities for women, as in the case of "Rosie the Riveter." However, this experience was not the norm for women during World War II. Homemakers and those who followed a traditional female role also experienced great changes. The expected role of a woman in the 1940s was to create a comfortable home for her husband and properly raise the children. The majority of women upheld these expectations during the Second World War. In 1942, there were 28 million homemakers in the United States. At the war's peak 23% of the labor force consisted of married women. In San Diego, the employment of women aircraft workers did not exceed 40% of local aircraft employment. This refutes the popular image of "Rosie the Riveter" (Hall 1993).

Many propaganda posters seem to 'reconcile' a woman's role as a mother and her job as a factory worker, and make it look easy, but the numbers say otherwise. Still, "at the peak of the wartime industrial production, some 2 million women worked in war-related industries." (Randle 2021).

4.6. Conclusions

In the 1920s and 1930s on the pages of *Good Housekeeping*'s columns about lifestyle and everyday are rich in a lexicon that references Europe in every way. It looks like the only way to be elegant and socially refined in the USA is to import or buy imitations of pieces of European furniture and dress with the latest European (preferably Italian and French) fashion trends. Beyond the text, there is possibly something more than that. The target reader can only be defined as a middle-class woman (or one who wishes to be), and white. On the pages of the magazine there is no mention whatsoever of any other ethnicity in relation to an everyday, ideal 'American life'. We can find mention of migrant workers in humble conditions during the Great Depression, but the woman often exhorted to campaign for this or that proposition to the government on healthy products, or children's health legislation, is not one of them. Reading the pages of *Good Housekeeping* without making a comparison with actual history and social studies on the times can make the reader forget that the United States have an African American

population: Black women not only are completely absent from the articles' content, but one would be hard pressed to even find them in the illustrations and photographs of the magazine. Months can pass, in these decades, without *Good Housekeeping* acknowledging Americans of African or Hispanic descent. This 'extrapolation' of the white readers might explain the constant looking at Europe for everything considered an aesthetic to achieve, once the readers own a house, and even amidst much patriotism always reminding the reader of her part in the nation, her American identity, and the American people strength in the face of adversity. As it can be expected, this love for everything European dies down when the United States actively enter World War II. Words constituting a war semantic field can be found in abundance, using concordance software, not only in articles about the war itself of everyday necessities of civilians, but also in articles about everything else: from cooking to working, to fashion, to personal health. The presence of expression usually associated to the military were even more frequent than expected, in every issue of the magazine. What was less expected, instead, was that extrapolating all the 'war words' from the Corpus, another trend started emerging. Not only the semantic field, but entire expressions used in the magazine's features are lifted exactly from the slogans of the propaganda posters of the time produced by the Government. But this revealed, in turn, another series of posters that started being produced by private companies targeting the employees. It is hard to say if slogans and mottos were used on the most popular magazines (and *Good Housekeeping* was one of them) by direct request of US War Production Board, or the linguistic style was an independent choice by the magazine's staff, and this goes beyond the scope of this analysis. However, such a choice clearly has been taken, because every kind of text in *Good Housekeeping* (political articles, editorials, cooking and housework columns, and even advertisement) features this lexicon. Government posters ask the population to work more for the country, buy state bonds, donate to the war effort. Private companies produce their own propaganda posters, very similar, but also trying to keep up the morale of the employees. Linguistics-wise, however, what is truly interesting is that the imitation strategies go both ways: both Government office and private companies imitate expressions and elements of vastly popular culture, including songs and images, and re-elaborate them into propaganda material, then the most popular publications linguistically imitate said propaganda, to the point that it is difficult to say if we are witnessing a concerted (and unusual) effort between the Government, private factories, and private publishing companies, or if this is just the result of a spontaneous patriotic collective decision. From a comparison with actual data on the job market at the time, however, what is verifiable is that the representation of the female population in this content has never been realistic: it was demanded of women that they take

care of their children and family, so they struggled to reconcile that with work outside of the house, and apparently the sense of social and financial emancipation that seems to transpire from the texts of magazines and propaganda alike, was not reflecting the reality of the time.

5. The Advisor: Problems and Solutions.

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we are going to mine the texts of the examined Corpus looking for another persuasive strategy extremely used today by every contemporary magazine and advertising content: the Problem – Solution strategy (McLoughlin 2000). This strategy can often be found in another familiar feature of magazines, the Advisor's Column. Linguistically, the problem-solution can feature several strategies: from the imitation of the reader's 'voice', the supposition creating an Ideal reader implied as the 'normal' reader, the more recent Adjacency Pair. You have a problem; the staff has the solution. What is the real purpose of this kind of format, with its linguistic reoccurring 'instruments', and when did it start being so schematic and linguistically repetitive? *Good Housekeeping* is so longevous that on its pages we can find the introduction and systematisation of this feature through time, and the (mainly financial) reason for this change. In the next paragraph we briefly explore how the Problem – Solution format became inevitably tied to the real source of income of magazines.

In paragraph 5.3 we find observations about the very first issues of the magazine. Back in 1885, when it was founded, *Good Housekeeping* was a much different publication. The Corpus examined in this analysis is comprised between 1920 and 1949, but in order to find the origins of the Problem – Solution format, a search in the historical archives of the city where the magazine was first published and, subsequently, a comparison with the late 1880s content and style of the magazine, became necessary during this research. From this research the initial mission of the publication emerged, as stated by the founder himself.

Subsequently, I will apply Critical Discourse Analysis to an editorial, and an advisor's column from the 1920s, looking in particular for the imaginary, supposed reader and the Ideal one. In the paragraph 5.4 we find the Critical Discourse Analysis of another selected article from the 1940s. putting statistical, software-based data aside, and applying Critical Discourse Analysis to selected articles from the 1920s and 1940s, is going to be useful for a comparison of the linguistic style and choices, and to highlight the evolution of this feature through the decades. Given the inevitably confectioned style of this kind of columns in magazines, this chapter also includes a comparison with actual wartime life, reconstructed not only in academic works, but also in the memory archives, which are archives of recorded personal memories of people who lived in the 1940s.

5.2 The 1920s and 1930s: From the Real 'How To' to the First Advisor Format.

From the point of view of the reader, magazines can be informative, or instructional, featuring contents that fall into the 'how to' genre. From the point of view of the *text producer*, the purpose of magazines is to sell the commodities they advertise. McLoughlin's examination of contemporary publications found that despite the heterogeneity of the features, the advertised commodities are promoted not only by a series of advertisements, but also by features that do not on the surface appear to be selling anything. The visual relationship between the advertisements and the articles, too, has become increasingly strategic through the years. The companies buying advertising spaces on magazines request the best location for their advertisement, because it needs to be placed where the optimal audience will be exposed to them, and between the right articles. The advertisement has become integral to the layout of the page featuring an article, it can be in a space at the centre of the article, or to the side of it. The articles can be directly written in function of the advertisements accompanying them. Brands are finding new ways of working with magazines by having brand consultants creating editorial partnerships and requesting personalised content accompanying the presence of the brand on the printed and online pages of the magazine. The purpose of magazines is "promoting various commodities through advertisements because this is where the real revenue lies. Money from the actual sales of magazines is quite negligible." (McLoughlin 2000, 39.)

Most frequently, in order to persuade the reader that he or she needs something, the text producer turns into the Advisor and uses the 'problem / solution' format. Unlike the 'didactic' furniture and décor classes we have previously seen, in this kind of format the text producer supposes that the readers need solutions to their problems. Said problems might even be exaggerated: "Magazines are said to problematise aspects of life that can often be solved by purchasing products." (McLoughlin 2000, 56.)

5.3 What is the Purpose of *Good Housekeeping*?

Today, *Good Housekeeping* is exactly like any other contemporary magazine, and just as much financially dependent on selling advertising spaces. *Good Housekeeping* is a magazine founded in the late 1800s. This dissertation, however, examines its linguistic strategies starting from the 1920s because that is the decade in which these appear to be employed first, or more

systematically, on its pages. In the late nineteenth century, the town of Holyoke, Massachusetts, was more populous than San Antonio, Seattle, and Los Angeles growing from three thousand people when it was founded in 1850, to twenty-two thousand in 1880. Driving this boom in population and wealth was paper. Two hundred tons a day were being produced in Holyoke by 1880. As a result, an active publishing industry had sprung up, attracting people like New York-born Clark W. Bryan. Bryan was a major publisher; he had several publications including trade journals for the paper industry and other more popular publications. On May 2, 1885, not in New York City or Washington, but in Holyoke, Bryan launched *Good Housekeeping*, with an announcement in the local newspaper, describing it as a bimonthly family journal, "part private enterprise", part "public duty." In the advertisement he clarified that "It is not to be a bimonthly cookbook"; "there are other duties to be performed and other achievements to be attained in household life of as much if not greater importance to the higher life of the household than cooking." The magazine's mission according to Bryan was "to perpetuate perfection as may be obtained in the household."

It was a time of rapid industrialization, urbanisation and changing women's roles in society. Eileen Crosby, archivist and head of the Holyoke Library History Room, doesn't think *Good Housekeeping* initially was just a purely commercial endeavour

> "…because there is very little advertising in the early *Good Housekeeping*, the articles are very long - that's one thing that strikes you. Despite Bryan's claims there are still plenty of recipes. But […] there are articles on methods of cleaning, small pieces of child rearing with an emphasis on girls, there's some sociology in here really, this article is about housekeeping in Honduras. There are sections on home remedies, and chapters on caring for the sick, on physical wellbeing, on healthy food" (interview by Herwick 2016).

Crosby sees evidence of industrialisation and changing women's roles and an effort to - as she puts it - professionalize housekeeping. In other words, Clark W. Bryan was convinced that the house was a woman's workplace and that in the approaching twentieth century a woman's role would be exactly the same as the one created for her in the 1800s, it just needed to be rationalised or industrialised. According to Crosby "what keeps coming to the surface is instruction that is backed up by science or research." But, she adds, "we can't say really if there was a demand for instructions on dusting the house or if the writers believed that people needed instruction in this, that women needed instruction, right?" (Herwick 2016).

We do not know about the demand for this kind of instruction, nonetheless Bryan thought that women's work in the household could achieve "perfection" thanks to his magazine which was private but fulfilling a "public duty". Little else is known about him, but at the Holyoake Public Library there are two obituaries about him revealing his end. Following the death of his wife and child, he committed suicide. On his body was found a hand-penned poem: "Weak and weary, heavy laden / sad and lonely, sick and sore / Heath and strength both surely failing / Life with me had best be o'er." *Good Housekeeping*, instead, has been in publication for well over a century, longer than the New Yorker, National Geographic, or Readers Digest. When Bryan committed suicide in 1898, *Good Housekeeping* reverted to the Phelps Publishing Company and then "came to rest in 1911 in the skilful hands of the Hearst Corporation" (Waller-Zuckerman, 1989, 719). The Hearst Company brought it to a one million issues circulation in the mid-1920s, and the circulation continued to rise despite the Great depression, and created the British edition, simply called British *Good Housekeeping*, in 1922. Until the 1920s the magazine features long articles dealing with practical problems, that, gender-wise, appear more emancipated and realistic than the contents of the issues of the following two decades, as we will see later. The magazine also features short-stories and political opinion items. The articles do not just address married women or mothers, but also, for example, girls who are about to leave home for college. In an editorial from 1928 (Figure 21), editor in chief William Frederick Bigelow writes about the opportunities for "boys and girls" who are about to start college and the prospects for those who instead are just graduated. He also expresses his own personal opinions criticising Mr. John D. Rockefeller, who said that "large numbers of boys and girls who rush off to the colleges would in all probability make more of their lives if they went into some useful occupation in their home towns." Blurbs in bold type such as "Power is Within You", "Words to a Graduating Class," "Disagreeing with Mr. Rockefeller," punctuating the editorial, are rather sincere, do not try and sell anything, and do not imply any specific political leaning, outside the openly expressed opinions of the editor. The editorial constantly refers to both male and female students, and job opportunities of both sexes. Bigelow, editor from 1913 to 1942, is more known for his book The *Good Housekeeping* Marriage Book, a manual for young people who are about to get married. Many items in *Good Housekeeping* in the 1920s are real textbook pages or proper manuals, providing practical tutorials (the 'how to' format) to housewives dealing with furnishing their home, or improvising themselves as plumbers, tailors, cooks, etc. However, in several other features of the 1920s issues we can find the Advisor's format, already structured like it is in contemporary magazines, in which the *text producer* uses the text to promote commercial products, beauty

ideals, social ideals, and so on. The problem / solution format starts from the premise that the reader supposedly has a problem. The writers can often mimic the linguistic characteristics of a conversation, trying to create a sense of confidence between them and the reader. The headline or subheading can feature an Adjacency Pair (leading with a question, immediately followed by an answer).

COLLEGE—*and* AFTER

When Is Commencement?

A FEW years ago we asked Dr. Frank Crane if he would write for GOOD HOUSEKEEPING a Commencement Prayer to be published in the September issue. "But," objected Dr. Crane, "Commencement comes in June, or at least at the end of the school year, not its beginning." "Not the Commencement we have in mind," we replied. "It is useless to offer a prayer for the school-day guidance of those whose school days are past. It is the days to come in which we are interested, and in September the student turns to his books, the graduate to his task. Then is the time when both are most in need of guidance—that both may choose aright and have courage to do the right." "I see," said the good Doctor, and he wrote for us one of the most inspiring things that ever came from his versatile and prolific pen. We were, and are, proud of it.

WE ARE interested in careers—in the right kind of careers. In the nearly two million homes where GOOD HOUSEKEEPING is read, there must be at least that many boys and girls, young men and women, who are thinking about what they will do and how they will do it. For their sake we are constantly seeking opportunities to say something—here a word and there a word—that will inspire them, bring to balance a wavering mind and purpose. Sometimes this can best be done by removing the mask from a theory that is glittering but false; sometimes by pointing out a well-trodden road that the world has long found safe and satisfactory.

Words to a Graduating Class

IN ADDITION to the things prepared especially for us, we like to glean from things that were given to a favored few lines of wide import that deserve a wider audience. The best that we have found this month was this message to the senior class by the president of a middle-western university:

"THIS is your day of graduation. May it be one of high resolve and intelligent dedication to the supreme tasks of life. Trustees and Faculty join me in heartiest congratulations and in every good wish for each of you. Your Alma Mater has ever aimed to cherish in you ideals of life and conduct that embody the spirit and purpose of the Lord Christ. We have sought to build your deepest convictions on the eternal reality of God. Our purpose has been to train you in spiritual insight and moral discernment as well as in sound logic and clear analysis. While we have kept in mind that efficiency in a given career is indispensable, we have not forgotten that self-mastery is a perpetual necessity for excellence in character.

"Do not close your books. Cultivate reason and will, conscience and imagination so that they may reflect the wealth of the past and contribute immeasurable riches to the present. Love truth and honor better than you love life. Standing on the threshold of your future career, dedicate your trained mind, your cultivated soul, your whole personality to the splendid ideal of a world that will embody the Cross of Christ in all its processes and all its institutions. Our earnest prayer for every one of you is that the supreme impulse of your life will be found, not in instinct or emotion, not in ancient shibboleths or traditional standards, but in a vivid and immediate experience of God through Christ.

"We bid you Godspeed. Opportunities are great; responsibilities will be heavy; the demands of life are rigorous; self-denial and self-sacrifice are the path to perfection. Ideals of the widest human good will challenge you to heroic effort and dauntless courage. Selfishness and love still clash in deadly strife. Accept your task. Excel in all you do. Consecrate knowledge, will, and personality, not only to success in your chosen business in life, but also to the diffusion of the highest moral and spiritual values. May you achieve a career worthy the commendation of the Divine Savior."

Disagreeing With Mr. Rockefeller

A FEW months ago we quoted with approval from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s address on Character. Recently he delivered another address with parts of which we decidedly disagree. He said that large numbers of boys and girls who rush off to the colleges would in all probability make more of their lives if they went into some useful occupation in their home towns. In a sense, this is true, but when he bases his argument, as he does in part, on the fact that in college one may "become dissatisfied with the circumstances and environment in which one's lot is cast and in which one is fitted by natural endowment to live," he is on shaky ground. Is it not a major aim of education to make one dissatisfied with less than the best? to equip one to change one's circumstances, and adapt oneself to a new environment? Place against Mr. Rockefeller's discouraging words these from one of our great college presidents, Mr. Arthur E. Morgan:

Power Is Within You

"THE total energies of young people may be greatly increased by well-directed effort. Fine physical condition achieved in youth is a life-long resource. Strong character comes when young people consistently throw themselves into situations of difficulty and hardship, both physical and mental, and develop habits of mastery. An experience tragic in its difficulty, if frequently repeated, may come to have the zest of desirable and interesting adventure. This fact, that the total energy of one's individual life can be increased, that repugnant or impossible undertakings may become endurable, and even interesting, that a man can actually change the caliber of his life, and be at home on the new plane, is one of the great truths of human existence."

Dissatisfaction with one's lot is the lever with which handicaps may be lifted, the motive power with which horizons may be pushed back, the food on which both mind and soul may grow to undreamed-of dimensions, reaching even unto the infinite. Few are the dissatisfied boys and girls who are not in some measure benefited by contact with education, with culture and refinement. Many a boy has gone to college and never thereafter been interested in "making more of his life," in the sense of accumulating mere things, because the richness of things unseen has appealed to him more. The boy or girl who is spoiled by going to college is probably not worth keeping at home.

WILLIAM FREDERICK BIGELOW, EDITOR

Figure 21 - Editorial by W.F. Bigelow, August 1928.

The author represents himself / herself as an authority on the matter, as someone who knows what the reader needs. Usually, the solution consists in buying a product. Nowadays a direct question to the reader is very frequent ("Do you have the X problem? Don't worry: we have the solution Y!"). In the 1920s, on the pages of *Good Housekeeping* this formula is still rare. The 1928 editorial (Figure 21) is inevitably followed by well-placed fashion articles, addressing the college girl. The headline:

> Let Our Shopping Service Buy for You
> In the Smart New York Shops
> A Complete new wardrobe for the College Girl

is transparent enough in its intent. The tenor is slightly more informal than the one used in other features in the same issue of the magazine. The text opens with a 'reader' posing a question to the magazine's staff:

> "WILL you please tell me just what my daughter will need when she goes to college next month?"
> In answer to these questions that hundreds of mothers who write in every year to GOOD HOUSEKEEPING we have selected this complete and inexpensive wardrobe for the going-away-to-college girl.

The first sentence sounds like a real question posed by a real woman, as if it were an excerpt from a letter. But the next sentence makes us realise that it isn't. The text producer tells us that this is a question that is posed to the staff regularly every year, and that therefore it is one of the most frequent problems of the magazine's average reader. This means that the text producer themselves is imitating or simulating the way the text interpreter would speak / write. This 'interpretation' includes that "just", an intensifier, which, as we will see later, the text producer associates to the Women's Speech. The reader also looks like someone who cannot spend too much money ("inexpensive", and, later in the text, it is mentioned that some girls will be able to afford only one coat.) It also must be noted that it appears a little too improbable that a mother has no idea what her daughter should be going to wear in a month, and equally improbable is the idea that the girl herself, who is of college-age and therefore not exactly a child, has no idea of what to pack for college. The writer creates an implication or supposition about the readers, and it is up to the readers to stop and think if said representation is realistic or not, before forming opinions on it. The question posed by the imagined reader is an imitation

of the Ideal Reader: the kind of person the writer wants the reader to be. It is implicit that the casual reader, too, should be worried about this problem, and hopefully make an unconscious comparison between herself and the ideal reader. That involuntary comparison between oneself and the ideal reader is the basis for the Identity Construction. An Identity Construction Linguistic Strategy is successful if the reader will *consciously or unconsciously* try and resemble the Ideal Reader or the model that is presented as 'the norm' as a matter of fact, and therefore try and become what is, according to the writer, the ideal woman, the ideal man, the ideal citizen, voter, or patriot, the clever consumer, etc.

It is worth noting that even real letters sent from the readers to a magazine or a newspaper, can be edited for several reasons (space limits, redundance, bad spelling, profanities, etc.).

The fashion articles go on to provide the solution, presented as incontrovertible *statements* expressing how said solutions are "ideal" and "perfect": "Glove-silk underwear is ideal for the school girl…;" "A perfect autumn and winter coat for the girl who can afford to have only one…" (Gray 1928, 77). Among the most prominent linguistic characteristics of this magazine, besides the frequent deictic pronouns you, we, I, there are many classifiers. In this article we can find three classifiers based on a main group of people (women) in the first three lines, which "assign [the subject] to an identifiable sub-class of women" (Bloor 2007, 44), in this case "daughter", "mothers", "going-away-to-college girl", the last one specifically created for this article. In the same issue, which clearly has a college theme, we find an article with a similar headline, visually accompanied by three elegant 1928 patterns (Figure 22): Three Smart Autumn Patterns for the College Girl and Her Sister at Home. The text opens with a more reassuring statement than the previous article, because the proposed advice is presented as a "wise choice": "WHETHER you are planning your college wardrobe or simply assembling your fall clothes, the three patterns above will be a wise choice" (Gray 1928, 80). The tenor is different, just like the target: this article seems directed at the daughter, while the previous one was for the mother. The two headlines, however, have something in common: the word smart ("smart New York shops", "smart autumn patterns"). The issue is dedicated to college life, and the word smart is polysemic, it can mean both 'intelligent' and 'fashionable', like the college girl. Nowadays, the text producers use puns more than ever, using polysemic words, homophones, rhyme, alliteration, assonance, etc., not just in the headlines, but also in blurbs on the covers anticipating the contents inside. In this decade *Good Housekeeping* does not have any blurbs on the cover, only a big illustration, and this wordplay in the headlines is still fairly

Three Smart Autumn Patterns For the College Girl and Her Sister at Home

By Caroline Gray

A novel neckline and molded hips mark the charming evening dress at the left above, A-12. The afternoon dress, A-13, in the center, combines the new diagonal line with soft, feminine bows. A-14, the street dress at the right, is new and smart with its applied bands. The unusual monogram is from Anne Orr's Hot-Iron Pattern No. 9010, 25c, two complete alphabets. All three patterns come in sizes 36 to 42, and are 60 cents apiece

WHETHER you are planning your college wardrobe or simply assembling your fall clothes, the three patterns above will be a wise choice. All three are youthful and smart, and all have unusually becoming lines. They represent the three types of dresses which are necessary to every wardrobe: the "run-about" frock for morning and informal afternoon wear, the formal afternoon dress, and the simple evening gown.

Applied bands, ending at the neck in a bow and on the waist in a monogram, relieve the severity of the light-weight wool daytime frock. There is a small handkerchief pocket on the right hip, and fulness in the double plaits, front and back. Flat or satin-backed crêpe would be an excellent choice for the softly feminine afternoon dress with its becoming bows and novel circular flounce. The classic simplicity of the evening gown will bring out the beauty of satin or moiré in pastel shades. A tight-fitting band ornamented with tiny pin tucks swathes the hips, the skirt is circular with a slight dip on either side, and the neckline at the back may be either high or low according to individual taste. The slashed sleeves are new and make the dress exceedingly wearable.

PATTERN BOOKLET

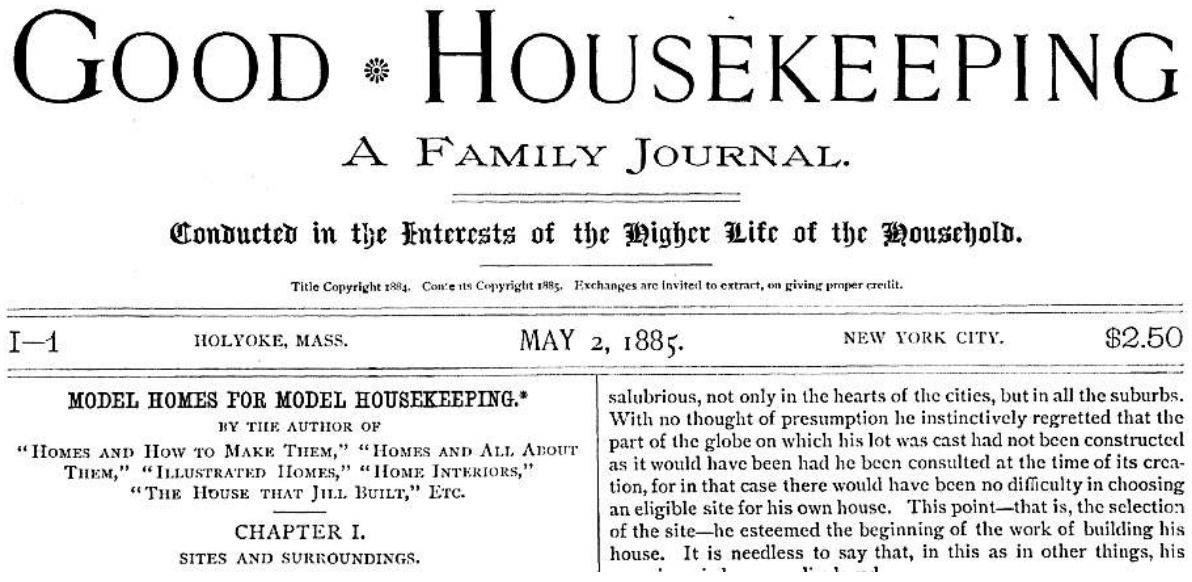
Send 10c to the Bulletin Service Department, 57th St. at Eighth Ave., N.Y.C., for our Pattern Booklet filled with ideas for summer clothes for the entire family

HOW TO ORDER

To order the youthful patterns above, send correct amount to Good Housekeeping Pattern Service. For Hot-Iron Pattern No. 9010 send 25c to the Bulletin Service, 57th Street at Eighth Ave., New York City

Figure 22 - The college girl is also a smart girl. *Good Housekeeping* start employing more wordplay in the texts to captivate and advertise. A century later, puns still populate today's magazines' headlines.

recent. However, in the 1920s the magazine is evidently changing, and it is introducing more systematic linguistic strategies: they are employed by every writer in the magazine, in the same way, cancelling the personal style of the writer. Indeed, besides editorials and political opinion pieces, the other writers have no distinct personal style, and as previously mentioned in 3.1, they sound fairly similar when they follow strategies like a 'skeleton' upon which to build their article. The personal writing style is rendered less spontaneous in favour of using 'tools' such as Adjacency Pairs, the Advisor Format, the Problem / Solution format, and so on, and it seems to be the case still today, after a century. Today this underlying structure might seem stale, but in the 1920s looks like a linguistic innovation and in contrast to the first issues of *Good Housekeeping*, which featured long and maybe less captivating articles, which verbally and visually interacted less with the featured advertisements on the page. A I mentioned, the magazine founded by Clark W. Bryan in 1885, had a change of pace (and look) in the mid-1920s, after being bought by the Hearst Corporation, which brought it to a circulation of one million copies, circulation that continued to rise, even during the Great Depression.



GOOD ❋ HOUSEKEEPING

A FAMILY JOURNAL.

Conducted in the Interests of the Higher Life of the Household.

Title Copyright 1884. Contents Copyright 1885. Exchanges are invited to extract, on giving proper credit.

I—1 HOLYOKE, MASS. MAY 2, 1885. NEW YORK CITY. $2.50

MODEL HOMES FOR MODEL HOUSEKEEPING.*

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"HOMES AND HOW TO MAKE THEM," "HOMES AND ALL ABOUT THEM," "ILLUSTRATED HOMES," "HOME INTERIORS," "THE HOUSE THAT JILL BUILT," ETC.

CHAPTER I.

SITES AND SURROUNDINGS.

salubrious, not only in the hearts of the cities, but in all the suburbs. With no thought of presumption he instinctively regretted that the part of the globe on which his lot was cast had not been constructed as it would have been had he been consulted at the time of its creation, for in that case there would have been no difficulty in choosing an eligible site for his own house. This point—that is, the selection of the site—he esteemed the beginning of the work of building his house. It is needless to say that, in this as in other things, his

Figure 23 - the first issue of *Good Housekeeping*, 1885.

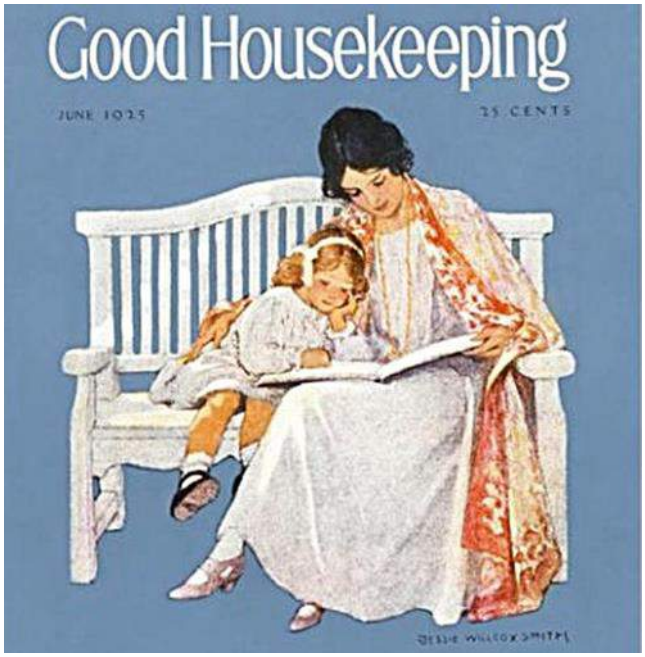


Figure 24 – The June 1925 cover of Good Housekeeping, after the acquisition by the Hearst Corporation and a significant sales growth.

5.4 The 1940s and the Definitive Advisor Format.

Moving on to the 1940s, we find the Advisor's format is similar to what it still is today, in contemporary magazines. In this decade, the citizens' financial struggles cannot be ignored by the most popular publications, the tone of the articles is more decisive and dramatic, the writers' intents are more patriotic than ever. The analysis of a 1943 *Good Housekeeping* article is an example of all these changes. In the 1940s in the United States many families struggle to afford a house, and in June 1943 *Good Housekeeping* features the article titled:

NO HOUSE?

WHY NOT A ***Barn!***

From sugar and coffee down to pins and needles we are

Cautioned that "nothing must go to waste." When we though

Of all the empty barns around the country, we hunted

up a story on one. Perhaps you know of an old barn that

could be rented. By contributing a few necessary pieces of furniture and pooling the rent, friends could enjoy a much-needed two weeks' vacation. Or, why not turn it into a recreation spot for entertaining service men? Or, with traveling out, have your friends walk over, bringing their food-ration books, to share a barnful of fun!

- Dorothy Draper (Draper 1943, 131)

In the 1940s there is a housing crisis and *Good Housekeeping* reminds readers that there are many abandoned barns around which can be turned into a home. The layout and visuals of the page (Figure 25) are light-hearted and carefree. The photos accompanying the article are framed by sunflowers, and in the next page we can find a mirroring font in the headline: "**Cool** AND PRACTICAL."

Figure 25 - The first page of the carefree light-hearted article from June 1943. The headline with an imitation of an Adjacency Pair is already structured like that of a contemporary magazine.

The article goes on narrating how the Walkers bought an old barn and turned into a very peculiar home. During the previous twenty years, advice on how to furnish and live every day at home has been vastly influenced by a certain kind of ancient European style suggesting elegance and wealth. The Napoleonic style, the colonial style American furniture, the crystal collections were represented as a status symbol, various European touches in the house were represented almost like traces of a glorious past, signs of families who became wealthy in the New World: "…as fortunes began to grow and artisanship developed, European derivations began to appear in the mantel treatment of fireplaces." (Price 1932, 59). As previously mentioned even acquiring good imitations was recommended. Now, instead, obviously the biggest luxury is a big stone fireplace and there is no mention of European trends. Among the photos of the ex-barn, there is one illustrating the spacious living room with dancing guests with the caption: "Plenty of room for an old-time Virginia Reel."[8] The fonts used in the headline are fairly new. The tone is direct and pragmatic just like the content. Linguistic choices, both in the headline and the text, express situational values typical of this genre of articles. Among these the mimicking of spoken dialogue, with the text producer directly addressing the text interpreter (you know; your friends), numerous exclamation points (why not a barn!; a barnful of fun!; …wooden blocks set at intervals provide the "stairs" to the upper bunks. Woe to the guest who walks in his sleep!; Now!). There is at least one imperative verb (Put it to some use!) as is typical of the Advisor genre, but in this case the tone is even more decisive than ever, because the writer is playfully trying and imitate wartime appeals. In the sub-heading we are reminded that "*nothing must go to waste*!": this is a direct imitation of government messages to the citizens (Figure 26), and in particular of war propaganda posters, introduced into everyday language.

[8] A Virginia Reel is a folk group dance, originating either in Scotland or Ireland, also popular in Finland; however, in this context, it is considered very much American and familiar to the *Good Housekeeping* reader. For example, a 1959 vinyl disc by Butlin's Square Dancers is titled: "Virginia Reel – Authentic American Square Dances."


FOOD IS A WEAPON
DON'T WASTE IT!
BUY WISELY – COOK CAREFULLY – EAT IT ALL
FOLLOW THE NATIONAL WARTIME NUTRITION PROGRAM

Fig. 26 – War posters that inspired *Good Housekeeping*'s "nothing must go to waste!" references.

The sub-heading also hints at service men who might be entertained by the citizens, and the food-ration books that the guests might bring to the party. After describing the simple décor of the Walkers' ex-barn, the article closes imitating propagandistic directives: "… provides room enough for a family reunion or a large group of soldiers form a near-by camp. Now! If you have an empty building in your neighborhood, don't let it go to waste. Put it to some use!". The headline includes the most recent strategy of the problem / solution format, the Adjacency

Pair (No House? Why Not a Barn!)[9], a question, to which the reader clearly cannot answer, but creates anticipation, immediately followed by an answer. The writer creates a sense of assurance that the staff is trustworthy, an advisor with some authority on the matter and someone who is working for the reader. In order to do so, they use the Exclusive We, which does not include the reader, it is only referred to the staff: "When we thought of all the empty barns around the country, we hunted up a story on one." However, in the sub-heading, the article opened with an Inclusive We, which had put staff and citizens in the same group and at the same level: "We are told that 'nothing must go to waste'".

Figure 27 - Cool and Practical (detail), *Good Housekeeping*, June 1943. New fonts and informal tenor of the 1940s.

[9] A part of a text can be more than one thing at once, therefore the QUESTION is rhetorical, but what is relevant in this context is the QUESTION + ANSWER combination, because we are talking about imitations of conversations. As explained in 3.3: "Another feature mimicking conversation (Conversionalisation) is the use of a set of utterances known as Adjacency Pairs. In the magazine we can find this example: "What has society done to encourage the building of homes, of schools? Very little!" (Toombs 1922, 15). Question and answer mimic a spoken interaction."

Besides introducing more direct 'questions' for the readers and new fonts, in this decade we also find these kinds of confidential expressions: woe to the guest who walks in his sleep!; let's drop from the hayloft down to the basement; those bright plaid covers are honest-to-goodness horse blankets. These are not expressions used by a refined Napoleonic style furniture expert, they sound more like an imitation of a how a young couple from the 1940s would talk. The hard work of building our own house is presented as if it were just a hobby, through a new informal use of the language. Informality and a new way of speaking are imitated even in the headline ***Cool*** *AND* PRACTICAL (Figure 27), a headline which could not have existed in the sombre 1920s issues.[10]

5.5. Use of Language and Representation

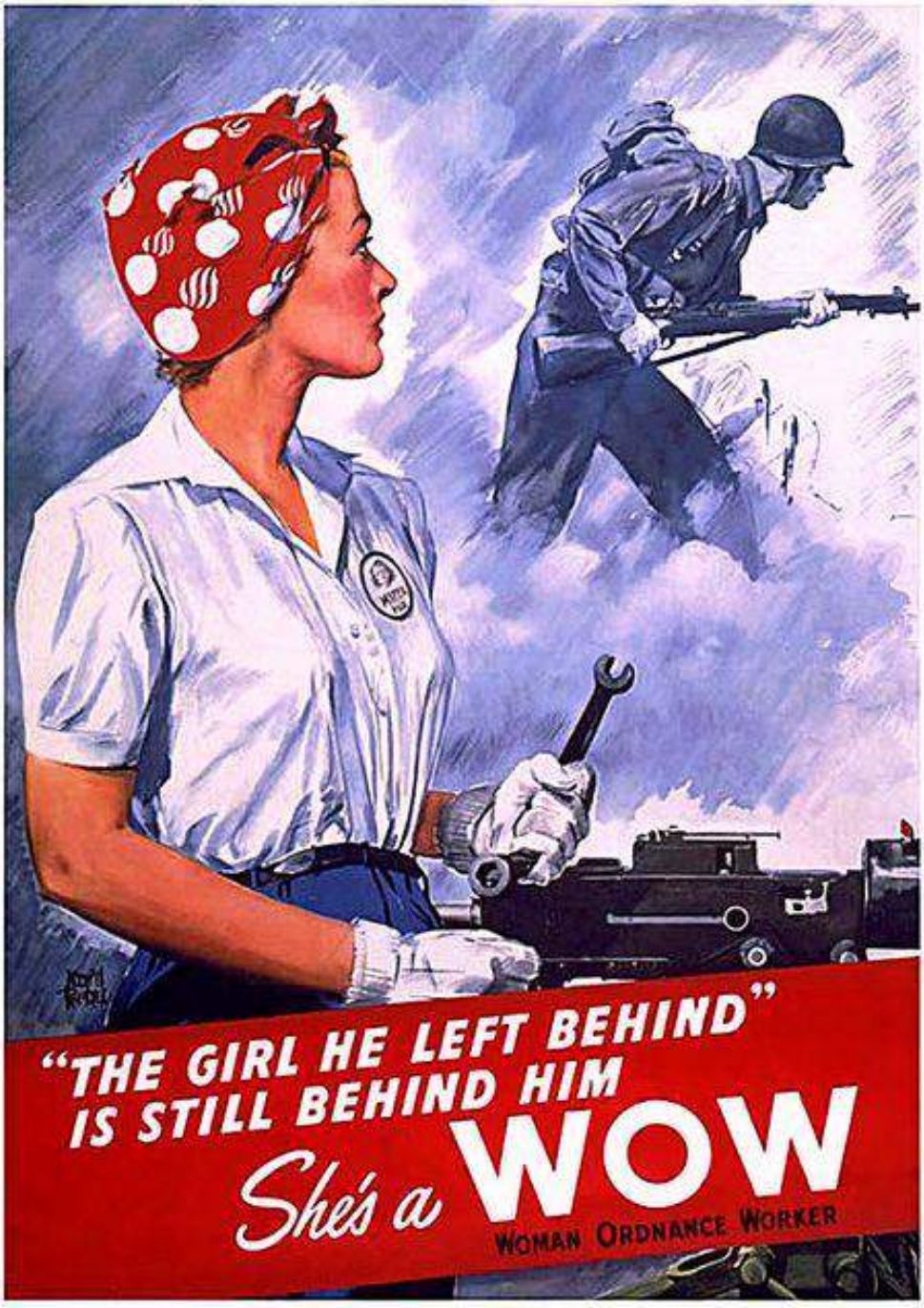
Throughout the article we have just analysed there are two main semantic fields alternating to each other: one is a military semantic field which we have seen, the other is a semantic field of fun and relax (**enjoy** a much-needed two weeks' **vacation**; **recreation** spot for **entertaining** service men; a barnful of **fun**!; planned for **comfort**; plenty of **lounging** places; **family reunion**; plenty of room for an old-time **Virginia Reel**.) Both the layout, illustrations and playful language of the popular magazines are in stark contrast with the daily struggles of the population. *Good Housekeeping*'s representation of women's everyday life and morale in wartime diverges from how women who actually lived through those years remember it.

> "A major housing shortage caused difficulty in providing a comfortable living situation. Many women had small children to raise, which put additional pressure on producing a satisfactory home life as well as finding day-care. Aside from these concerns, women were expected to bolster morale, do extra chores for the war effort, and conform to the dominant notions of upholding beauty and attractiveness. Food and material rationing added dilemma to their roles. Furthermore, anxiety pressured their lives from fears of possible attack by Japan. Worry also prevailed because of loved ones fighting overseas, who often could not convey their whereabouts.

[10] "*For a millennium or so, cool has meant low in temperature, and temperature itself has long been a metaphor for psychological and emotional states. Chaucer, the Oxford English Dictionary tells us, used cool to describe someone's wit, Shakespeare to say, "More than cool reason ever comprehends."*
But starting around the 1930s, cool began appearing in American English as an extremely casual expression to mean something like 'intensely good.' This usage also distinguished the speaker, italicizing their apartness from mainstream culture." (Skinner 2014)

> The social expectations of the day were prominent in the media. Propaganda encouraged women to maintain a comfortable dwelling for their men and children. San Diego women were told of their responsibilities–nationally and locally. The *San Diego Union* pointed out that a woman's "main job right now is seeing to the needs of her husband and growing children, putting them first." The newspaper suggested homemakers "keep up family morale by keeping up family and home standards. The housing shortage made these standards difficult to uphold. […] garages were converted into living quarters. Other families lived in trailer camps. […] Life in the camps created assimilation problems." (Hall 1993)

War propaganda posters printed by the government ask women to donate money, blood, work, or to ration food, electricity, metal, and other resources, and to offer a room to sleep in to traveling soldiers. Some posters present this work as something that 'balances' the fact that the men are fighting at the front (although fighting at the front was precluded to service women). As we have seen, privates, too, start producing and diffusing this kind of posters. The models posing for the posters are always young, white women (Figures 28 and following).


"THE GIRL HE LEFT BEHIND"
IS STILL BEHIND HIM
She's a WOW
WOMAN ORDNANCE WORKER


Do the job
HE left
behind
APPLY
U.S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE


"GOOD WORK, SISTER
WE NEVER FIGURED YOU COULD DO A MAN-SIZE JOB!"
AMERICA'S WOMEN HAVE MET THE TEST!


Harvest war crops
THE WOMEN'S LAND ARMY
OF THE U.S. CROP CORPS


IT'S A TRADITION
WITH US, MISTER!
WAR PRODUCTION CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

Figure 28 - US wartime propaganda posters inviting to apply for work in factories and in agriculture. Some of these posters are produced by the US government, others by private companies.

Missing from the main content diffused through the media, are all the African American women who were doing those same jobs (Figures 29 and following):


NO.5

Figure 29 – The 'Black Rosies'. From above: Luedell Mitchell and Lavada Cherry installing rivets, Douglas Aircraft Plant, El Segundo, California. Group photo: welders Alivia Scott, Hattie Carpenter, Flossie Burtos work on the Liberty ship SS George Washington Carver at Kaiser Shipyards in Richmond, California. National Archives. "Miss Eastine Cowner, a former waitress, is helping in her job as a scaler to construct the Liberty ship SS George Washington Carver", Library of Congress.

> "At first, finding war-related work proved difficult for many prospective Black Rosies, as many employers—almost always white men—refused to hire Black women. […] "Many employers held out, attempting to only hire white women or white men, until they were forced to do otherwise." That coercion came in the summer of 1941 when activists Mary McLeod Bethune and A. Phillip Randolph brought the widespread hiring discrimination to President Franklin Roosevelt, prompting the Commander-in-Chief to sign Executive Order 8802 banning racial discrimination in the defense industry." (Randle 2020)

Also absent from the propaganda material were the dirt and grease covering the factory workers, the fact that women were underpaid, and a realistic representation of the dangerous working conditions (Figures 30).

Figure 30 - From above: photos by Howard R. Hollem, Alfred T. Palmer, Jack Delano, A. T. Palmer, J. Delano, H. R. Hollem. Library of Congress.

The light-hearted tone of *Good Housekeeping* articles about domestic work sounds in stark contrast with what looks like a constant atmosphere of tension. The San Diego Historical Society recorded personal memories of some of the women who lived through that time:

> "Nationwide women were under constant pressure to do something for the war effort. Propaganda was everywhere–in motion pictures, store windows, newspapers, and women's magazines. […] Everybody was doing something for the war effort. "It was all we'd talk about." Johnston [one of the interviewed women] remembered. While performing their chores, women dealt with anxiety and fear over the possibility of a Japanese attack on San Diego. "I was frightened to death all the time," recalled Johnston. The city dealt with the situation by enforcing blackouts, positioning camouflage nets of chicken wire and feathers over major parts of the city and holding air raid drills. Anxiety intensified with concerns of loved ones on the war front. The emotional strain women faced was tremendous. It was a constant pain which could not be put aside or completed as a task. A national problem, *Good Housekeeping* counselled women with articles such as "They Will Come Back."" (Hall 1993)

In the *Good Housekeeping* non-political articles making up the sub-corpus from the 1940s, several recurring words reveal the attempt of the magazine at keeping the readers' morale high. In Table 3 these words are reported with the number of times they appear in the sampled texts. Most of these words express determination, some of them safety.

Together (12)	Courage (4)	Effort (3)	Honored (2)
Proud / pride (7)	Spirit (4)	Hunted (2)	Fervor (1)
Win (4)	Safe (3)	Victory (2)	Determination (1)

Table 4 - recurring words expressing determination, hope, and safety in the 50 articles from Good Housekeeping's non-political sub-corpus in the 1940s. The corpus' division in sub-corpora can be found in Chapter 1, Table 1, page 15.

They sound like words from a semantic field of war, but the articles examined are actually about everyday life, personal experiences, domestic work and even fashion and cooking advice. The words *victory* and *win* are the most recurring, and *victory* in particular can be found even in articles about wedding reception planning, and recipes pages. The word *morale* is not referred to the soldiers, but to the women: the women "keeping their home together" for their husbands are described as "this morale division" (Stout 1942, 49) in a fashion article. When we examine the concordances of two of these words, this linguistic 'optimism' comes out as pervasive throughout the pages of the magazine more clearly.

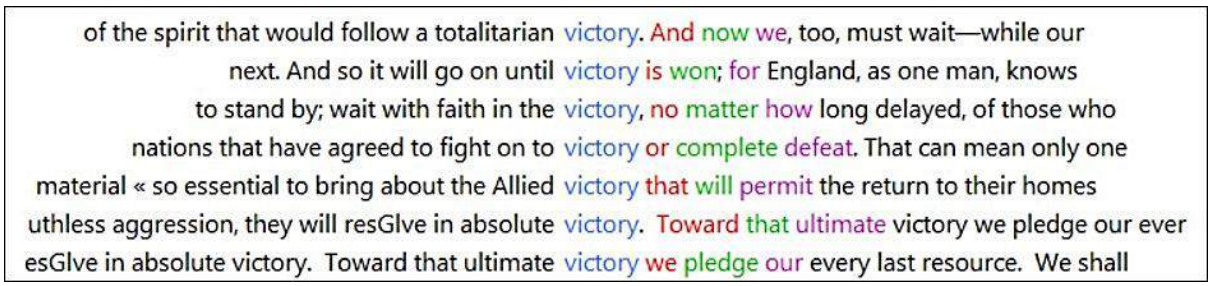


Figure 31 – Some of the concordances with the word 'victory' in 40 *Good Housekeeping* articles from the 1940s

The word *victory* appears in context with expressions such as: "will go on until victory"; "faith in the victory"; "fight on to victory"; "toward that ultimate victory we pledge our every resource" (Figure 31). The word win can be found in concordances such as: to win for freedom; we shall win; win the war, win the peace; we are fighting to win (Figure 32).

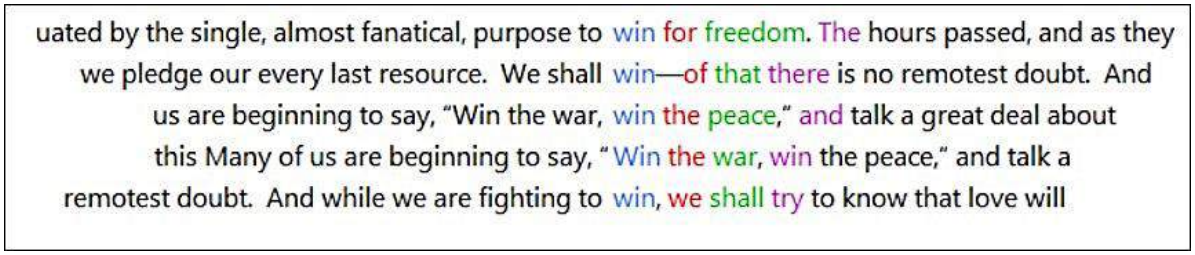


Figure 32 – Some concordances of the word 'win' and their context in *Good Housekeeping* articles from the 1940s

From this analysis it appears that no accurate representation of reality emerges from the pages of *Good Housekeeping* during the War, despite many articles are dedicated to the everyday life of women in wartime. There are most often representations of a *desired* type of female, working American citizen and her ideal life in these years.

5.6 Conclusions

Looking into the first edition of *Good Housekeeping* and investigating its founder's life allowed us to find the mission statement of the magazine and the difference in style of linguistics between the very first issues, and the issues published in the time range chosen for this corpus. In the vision of its founder, Bryan, the magazine should have been the product of a private company doing a "public service." Acquired by the Hearst Company, and brought to massive circulation in the 1920s, its contents begin to appear more advertising-oriented, and its staff starts shaping the Problem-Solution format. The articles from the 1940s, instead, reveal linguistic strategies (such as the informal Adjacency Pairs) and a breezy layout and imagery, much more similar to contemporary publications of this type. In the 1940s, besides more modern linguistic choices, we also find the imitation of propaganda content language and expressions, often in contrast with a semantic field recalling recreation and fun. The magazine staff is probably trying to keep up the morale of the readership, but the easy and fun style of the magazine's articles contrasts with the requests of 'duty' to the American women coming from government and private companies, pervading the media, *Good Housekeeping* included. The upbeat writing style is also in contrast with the stress of everyday life found in the recorded memories of women who actually lived in the United states in the 1940s. From Memory Archives clearly transpires that women were struggling to reconcile the work inside the house for their family, and the work outside the house for the community and the country's industries. On the pages of *Good Housekeeping* no solution can be found towards such a reconciliation of

roles. Finally, just like we have no African American woman included in the magazine's construction of the ideal domestic life, now we also notice an ‘invisibility’ of black workers.

6. An Experiment: The *Good Housekeeping* Laboratory.

6.1 Introduction

Bryan's idea of a private publication being also a public service might sound like a peculiar endeavour. In order to explore where this principle brought the magazine today, in this chapter we are going to briefly reconstruct the history of the *Good Housekeeping* Experiment Station: a laboratory that has been created with the promise of testing and trying products for the benefit of the consumer.

Furthermore, while in the previous chapter we have seen when the advisor's column appears on the pages of magazines, and how it evolves through time, in this chapter we are going to explore why it exists and why it is so omnipresent still today in contemporary magazines. In order to do so it is necessary a brief reconstruction of the history of similar magazines and their achievements.

6.2 The *Good Housekeeping* Experiment Station

The 'how to' columns, offering the reader instructions on how to do several kinds of housework, do not look like they are proposing commercial products, and the 'courses' on domestic work and home economics are the most frequent and distinctive ones in *Good Housekeeping*, so much so that in 1900 – only five years after the first issue was published - the magazine founded the *Good Housekeeping* Experiment Station. According to the *Good Housekeeping* website, the Experiment Station was a product testing facility with the goal of studying "the problems facing the homemaker and to develop up-to-date first-hand information on solving them." In 1902, the magazine called the laboratory "An Inflexible Contract Between the Publisher and Each Subscriber." In 1910 it was officially inaugurated as Model Kitchen, Testing Station for Household Devices, and Domestic Science Laboratory. Today, it is called the *Good Housekeeping* Research Institute, and its headquarters are situated in the Hearst Tower, in New York. At the turn of the century, food manufacturers operated with minimal governmental oversight, and in 1905 *Good Housekeeping*, through its institute, launched a campaign for healthy food. The *Good Housekeeping* official website recalls this as the starting point of the institute: "Concerned about adulteration and misbranding, home economists on staff also tested foods for purity and published, starting in 1905, a "Roll of Honor for Pure Food Products" each month. All this testing (at what was now called the *Good Housekeeping* Institute) resulted, in December 1909, with the beginning of the "Tested and Approved List"

of all household products that were found to meet the Institute's standards of excellence. *Good Housekeeping*'s Seal became so well known that it has become part of the lexicon with celebrities, governments, manufacturers, basically — everyone — using it." The information deriving from the food tests were important to consumers who, at the time, still did not have a *Consumer Product Safety Commission* or enough regulation on food products, so this program was applauded by health officials and consumers across the country. Its impact was felt in 1906, when Congress passed the Pure Food and Drug Act. The official archive of the *Good Housekeeping* official website reminds us that this is very much in the spirit of the founder: "Get this: The very first print issue of **GH** came out in 1885. In it, the editor wrote that the brand's mission would be "about equal proportions of public duty and private interest." That still rings true today — with more than 1,200 editions under our belts, two decades of sharing daily tips and news online, and 134 years of testing behind every product we recommend" (Goodhousekeeping.com).

6.3 The Muckrakers

In 1927 the Research Institute expressed the suspicion that the use of any form of tobacco might be harmful and that it might cause cancer. The magazine stopped accepting cigarette adverts in 1952, 12 years before the US Surgeon General issued a report detailing the health hazards of smoking. In the early 1900s most US magazines were competing in muckraking, starting from unmasking so-called "patent medicines" (elixirs promising to heal any sort of illness, often containing drugs, toxic substances, or simply ineffective ingredients) which were vastly unregulated and had been around since the 17th century. The muckrakers were "magazine journalists of the first decade of the Twentieth Century who wrote factual accounts of the widespread corruption of society by forces of wealth" (Chalmers 1970, 15). Magazines were the medium through which muckrakers shared their findings with the public. According to Denham (2020), US women's magazines were in the competitive market of investigative journalism just like any other magazine:

> "Muckraking histories tend to focus on McClure's, Collier's, and Cosmopolitan, but five of the Big Six periodicals geared to middle-class women during the muckraking era were active participants in reform (Endres, 1997). Excluding McCall's, the five were: the Woman's Home Companion, Good Housekeeping, the Ladies' Home Journal, the Delineator, and Pictorial Review. Endres observed,

> Bok blended muckraking journalism with personal appeals to women as mothers to carry on a war against patent medicines . . . Good Housekeeping used similar appeals . . . Even after the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed, Good Housekeeping continued to warn about the deadly products for babies that contained opium, morphine, heroin, cocaine, or chloroform. (p. 275)
>
> Women's magazines not only brought abuses to light, but they also offered solutions for eliminating them: "The publications crafted an argument that would ring convincingly throughout the Progressive movement: Women had a right, indeed a duty, to correct the ills of society, the 'larger household'" (Endres, 1997, p. 282).

In 1909 the institute created the "seal of approval" and the magazine started advertising only products with the seal and the slogan "tested and approved." And indeed, it influenced a series of reforms.

6.4 The FTC versus *Good Housekeeping*'s Seal of Approval

As soon 1939, however, *Good Housekeeping*' s "seal of approval", long a point of competitive strength, was attacked by the Federal Trade Commission. The FTC filed a complaint against *Good Housekeeping* for "misleading and deceptive" guarantees including its seal of approval and "grossly exaggerated and false claims" for products in its advertising pages. It became "perhaps the most well-known FTC action against false product claims made through endorsements" (Petty 2013, 20). The FTC argued *Good Housekeeping* had a financial interest in advertising revenues and that its tests were insufficient to verify the claims made by most of the advertisers were true and estimated that about eighty seal-approved national advertisers were guilty of deceptive practices. The publisher fought the proceedings for two years of hearings, during which time they accused the FTC action of being a Communist plot, while competing editors from the Ladies Home Journal and McCall's testified against *Good Housekeeping* (even though they had advertised some of the same products). Finally, the publishers settled the case and changed its seal to a replacement-or-refund guarantee. The seal's guarantee was changed, omitting the words "tested and approved". In February 1942 the seal of approval is used in an advertorial. In a game of linguistic and visual imitation, this advertorial

is an advert looking like an editorial, but also looking like a message to the citizens during wartime (Figure 33):

A Message To Civilians

America is at war. For two months we have been engaged in a conflict which does not promise to be either short or easy. Every thoughtful person knows that the home front is as important in the maintenance of morale and living conditions as the fighting force. Strenuous efforts are being made by all agencies concerned to keep the national economy on a sound and equable basis, but every individual consumer must also devote his own efforts to this important undertaking.

As a homemaker, you can make a definite contribution by planning carefully, budgeting carefully, buying carefully. Prices have gone up. Materials are difficult to obtain. Shortages of proved materials have made it necessary for manufacturers to use new and often revolutionary ones. With industry's chief effort focused on the problems of defense, new methods have necessarily been substituted for old in the manufacture of consumer merchandise. Replacement may not be easy in the future. Now, as never before, it is important for you to buy dependable goods—important to get your money's worth.

But with conditions as they are, how can you be sure? You have no way of testing these articles before purchase. There is a way. The performance claims of products and services advertised in Good Housekeeping are investigated by scientific methods and machines, by careful analyses, or by such other reliable methods the individual product or service reasonably requires. The advertising pages of Good Housekeeping will continue to display products for which Good Housekeeping guarantees replacement or refund of money, if they are found defective or not as advertised in Good Housekeeping.

Good Housekeeping stresses this service to its readers at a time when careful buying is of paramount importance. Look for the Good Housekeeping Guaranty Seal when you buy. Use Good Housekeeping magazine as your buying guide.

Fig. 33 – Advertorial from *Good Housekeeping*, February 1942.

The heading of the advertorial is an alarming “A Message to Civilians” recalling a message from the government during Wartime. If we keep on reading after the first paragraph about America at war, the second paragraph tells us that a homemaker “can make a definite contribution” to the nation by buying the right “consumer merchandise”, and that is possible thanks to the service offered by *Good Housekeeping* assigning its “Guaranty Seal.” This advertorial can also be visually mistaken for similar messages appearing on *Good Housekeeping* during the war, which were actually inviting women to apply for essential jobs. The following message, for example, is a page aiming to recruit more nurses:

WE ARE TRYING TO FIND ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND WOMEN

Over one hundred thousand women educated for women's supreme war work—nursing—are lost to the profession today, lost to the vital service they might give their nation in its hour of great peril, because no one knows where to find them.

This particular plea is for the skills possessed by you hundred thousand graduates of schools of nursing who, because you have turned to other activities, have not kept up your registrations and professional-organization affiliations, thus are not on any lists.

You are an incomparable national resource.

You are needed because the Army and Navy are asking for 3,000 nurses a month to care for our fighting men.

As unmarried nurses under forty leave to join the military services, our hospitals are being left dangerously understaffed. Some face closing because of the nursing shortage. In others one night nurse may be left with as many as forty patients, a number of them seriously ill, in her care.

What if we should have an epidemic? What if there should be a flood or other disaster? Suppose enemy planes should bomb one of our cities and injure many people?

Every effort is being made to step up student enrollment in schools of nursing. Nurses' aides are proving a splendid help. Practical nurses and other auxiliaries are being given more and more to do. But every hospital needs enough graduate, technically trained nurses to balance its less experienced workers. The need is *now*. You inactive nurses who are ready today to give skilled services offer the logical answer to the nation's nursing needs. You render a direct service to the war effort when you release a nurse, perhaps younger or without family ties, to join the military forces. Will you step forward?

Through the coupon at the bottom of the page, GOOD HOUSEKEEPING offers readers a chance to say:

"Here are my nursing skills, America! I want them to help win this war for human freedom."

Will each and every graduate nurse, not now active in her profession, please fill in all the blanks and mail the coupon to the Editor? And if you, the reader of this page, are not a nurse, but have a neighbor who is, please take this magazine to her today and ask her to fill out the coupon.

The coupons will be given immediately to the National Nursing Council for War Service, which is just around the corner from GOOD HOUSEKEEPING'S main office in New York City. The Council will make every effort to put you who sign in touch with hospital, public-health association, or other agency that needs the services, either paid or volunteer, you can give.

Here are basic facts that will enable you to weigh honestly your own potentialities and availability:

1. Age, measured in years, is no longer a handicap. Any nurse of any age will find a welcome in her profession today if she has retained the attributes of a good nurse, which are: health, stamina, poise, mental alertness, adaptability, good humor, and an honest concern over other people's troubles.

2. Techniques of nursing have changed, and you will need at least some retraining. "Refresher" courses of from four to twelve weeks have been offered in connection with schools of nursing. This plan has, however, placed too great a burden on some few hospitals, and in some areas the "refreshing" now will be done in hospitals without student nurses. Some of these are even training "on the job."

3. Even though you can spare only part time from your home, you may find a place. So great is the need for the graduate nurses' skills, that many hospitals offer half-day schedules, business hours, or a five-day week to women who must be at home when husband or children are there.

4. Registration, subject to widely differing state laws, may prove a knotty problem after years of inactivity. The National Nursing Council for War Service has called into conference secretaries of all State Boards of Nurse Examiners in an effort to see that, at least for the duration, a nurse licensed in one state may practise in any. The Council is advising the nurse who has a diploma but never has passed State Board Examinations to take them if she can, as the simplest answer to questions of status and pay. However, the unlicensed graduate nurse who does not wish to take examinations may still be highly useful.

If you are among the hundred thousand still lost to the war effort, will you not take the first step toward putting your desperately needed skill at the service of your country by filling out the coupon below? Every graduate nurse who fills out the coupon can be sure that the National Nursing Council for War Service, which now has units in every state and in many communities, will do its best to find a place for her.

"HERE I AM, AMERICA"

Name_____

Street number_____ City_____ State_____

Graduate of what school of nursing?_____ When_____

Are you registered? Yes_____ No_____ In what state or states?_____

Can you leave home?_____ If not, in what hospitals of your community would you be willing to serve?_____

How many hours a day?_____ Days a week?_____ Night?_____ Day?_____

Volunteer? Yes_____ No_____ Current rates? Yes_____ No_____

Please describe any problem that would need settling before you return to nursing

_____

_____

Please mail this coupon to Editor, Good Housekeeping, 57th St. at 8th Ave., N. Y. C.

Fig. 34 – A hundred thousand women. A page inviting *Good Housekeeping* readers to apply to be nurses, age limitations abolished, examinations not necessary. December 1942.

However, an actual editorial from February 1942 (the same issue of the advertorial) mentions that *Good Housekeeping*'s laboratory and its staff is "now at our government's command." Evidently the private facility will have to stay available to the US Government during what is a moment of great necessity of resources for the country (Figure 35):

Good Housekeeping and the WAR

Because it is the important home magazine in America, with the largest personnel and the most extensive mechanical and laboratory facilities for studying and analyzing the foods we eat and the things families live by, GOOD HOUSEKEEPING organized itself on Monday the eighth of last December in order to carry out the peculiar responsibilities which naturally fall to it.

Every item of our apparatus and every operator thereof is now at our Government's command. Cheerfully we set aside our routine duties to undertake such emergency tasks as are assigned us.

There is another obligation that we will recognize: that of being anti-hysterical; of serving to the utmost of our means the daily requirements of the millions of women who will continue to seek from us the simple, intelligent ways of family existence. We'll take for granted that we are in for a long, hard war. We will expect temporary reverses. We will know every second of the way what the outcome is to be.

We will try to remember that entertainment and instruction and homely advice must continue as long as families are families, though they live through a war they did not seek, but which, being forced upon them by a staggeringly ruthless aggression, they will resolve in absolute victory.

Toward that ultimate victory we pledge our every last resource. We shall win—of that there is no remotest doubt. And while we are fighting to win, we shall try to know that love will stay in our world; that little children will look each month for Mr. Disney's cartoons; that mothers-to-be will seek each month the solid advice of Dr. Kenyon; that the poems Mr. Malone selects each month will satisfy an emotional longing; that life in American homes must go on and will go on; and that for the sake of the generations to come we must not lose sight of that—never, not for a single day, because it is that home life, and all it implies, that we are now defending.

The Editors

Fig. 35 – Editorial from *Good Housekeeping*, February 1942.

By 1946 the seal only covered claims present in the advertising. However even this change still represented to consumers that the magazine carefully tested products that were awarded this year, according to a court decision nearly thirty years later. “Neither the FTC suit nor the cynicism of the advertising community about the seal of approval tarnished *Good Housekeeping*'s image with its audience.” (Zuckerman 1998, 109)

According to Strach and Russell (2003) “initially, the seal was offered as a consumer service to inform readers and products earning the seal were not required to be advertised in *Good Housekeeping*. However, from the start a product could not be advertised without the testing approval of the Institute. As a result, in the institute’s first year the magazine reportedly rejected $196,000 out of $240,000 in advertising revenues. Clearly the seal was not initially considered a money-making gimmick, unlike some other attempts by third parties and professional associations to inform the public for a fee. In fact, if the claims are rejected advertising are correct, the testing requirements from the institute must have reduced advertising income significantly in the short run without a compensating rise in circulation.” Petty (2013), however, reminds that “the so-called truth-in-advertising movement in the early twentieth century included masked marketing, both in terms of disguised advertising and fabricated testimonials, in its calls for reforms. The general remedy for the long-standing practice of disguising advertising was disclosure the apparent editorial content was actually paid-for advertising. Disclosure was also the preferred remedy for apparently independent testimonials and endorsements that were actually compensated in a way not expected by consumers.” In the US *Good Housekeeping*'s Seal of Approval is still today a venerable brand name and trademark, but despite the initial claims of public service to the consumer, truth-in-advertising is still advertising, and that means that in *Good Housekeeping*, just like in any other magazine, every featured item is created with the purpose of highlighting commercial products directly or indirectly, because, as previously mentioned, magazines' main revenue comes from advertising, not from actually selling the printed issues or online subscriptions. Linguistically, every text in a magazine is created with revenue in mind, and a target reader who is also a target consumer, and said text must integrate itself with selected images, layout, adverts, font, and even the ‘correct’ sequence of these items accompanying each other page after page. As for the consumer protection in the US, the *Good Housekeeping* Seal continues to retain an amazing level of recognition among American women (a recent study showed 92% of the respondents were familiar with it), but the critical issue facing the seal has become one of relevance for new generation of consumers. At the dawn of the Twenty-first Century, the *Good*

Housekeeping seal plays a much less important role in American commerce than it did for nearly all the twentieth century. Legislation, regulation, and non-profit organisations such as Consumers' Union have greatly increased the ability of the public to make informed consumption.

6.5 Problematisation and Pathologising

Problematisation could be the final stage of this trajectory that goes from doing a service to the general public in an era in which the US government still lacked essential laws protecting consumers, to a problem-solution page influenced by an advertised product. Problematisation can be defined as "problematising aspects of life that can often be solved by purchasing a product" (McLoughlin 2000, 56). In other words, it means not only to introduce a product as a solution to a problem, but to 'create' a problem where there is not one. In the 1920s *Good Housekeeping* already appears to problematise teenage and Jazz music: "There is great restlessness among our boys and girls, due, it seems to the changed home conditions, and to jazz music, movies, and automobiles" (Connolly, September 1926). In 2000 McLoughlin finds a much more recent Agony Aunt in *Bliss* magazine titled "Will we end up gay?" which, once analysed, makes her state that "on the surface the message is quite liberal, there are no homophobic views explicitly stated, rather these are set up in such a way that it is the reader who has to supply the missing links in order to make sense of the texts" (McLoughlin 2000, 60). *Sugar* magazine, instead, appear to pathologise teenage pregnancy with the interview "Don't become a mum by mistake." 'Pathologising' is a word that already existed in psychology, but it is now being used to highlight how something is described in the media as a medical problem when it might not be. The reader might be invited to resolve the supposed problem by seeing a doctor, or medicating, or using self-help, depending on the source giving advice. *Sugar* magazine, after interviewing the teenage mother and her feeling overwhelmed by the experience and losing friends, introduces as a resolution "seeing the doctor and being prescribed tranquilisers, getting a flat, being closer to boyfriend, coming off tranquilisers" (McLoughlin 2000, 64). The word can be found in critical works or opinions, i.e. "Pathologizing the Black woman" (Rousseau 2009, 123-130); "…said pharmaceutical companies would be the greatest beneficiaries of pathologized loneliness" (Carney, The Guardian, 6 August 2020).

6.6 Conclusions

The problem-solution format, the advisor's columns, and the innumerable ways magazines talk about lifestyle today, appear to be rooted in muckraking, a type of effective investigative journalism carried on by magazines, including those targeted at a female readership, which championed consumers' rights before the United States government did. But the more the government introduced more regulations on food and drugs, the less fundamental these kinds of investigations into commercial products became, for magazines' readers. The history of the laboratory created by *Good Housekeeping* and its "seal of approval" is emblematic. Initially, the tests carried on commercial products by the laboratory seemed to be a legitimate service benefiting consumers, and a service that seemed to be lacking in public institutions, instead. However, not only the laboratory became less relevant when the United States' government started introducing more thorough regulations, but in 1939 the FTC raised doubts on a potential conflict of interests arising from the magazine evaluating commercial products while also financially depending on advertisement from the same companies creating those products. In 1939 *Good Housekeeping* went from being the investigator to being the investigated; and that date is also included in the time range of the corpus analysed in this dissertation.

As we will see in the following chapters, *Good Housekeeping* was a much different magazine in the early 1920s: much more informative on politics and the US Congress' legislation. Researching the laboratory created by *Good Housekeeping* led to wider research into its roots, in what was a much different time for magazines, including magazines geared towards women. However, it also illustrated a dynamic which resulted in almost every feature of contemporary magazines being aimed at advertising a product to the readers, product which is often presented as 'useful advice' by the magazine's staff.

7. Gender Identity Construction.

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter the selected Corpus is going to be analysed through Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Analysis in search for another Identity Construction Strategy: Gendered Language. In 1975 Robin T. Lakoff published Language and woman's Place, a work that has been foundational for the modern studies on use of language and Gender. Lakoff claimed that women are thought to speak the 'women's speech', a distinct style of speech, identifiable by distinct features, which is not only different from language used by men, but also instrumental to the creation of an inferior position in society for women. Given that it is a construct, the women's speech is not innate, and therefore misattributed to their gender. Throughout the years, Lakoff's work has been reframed in view of subsequent scholarly work. One main criticism is that her work was empirical (Svendsen, 2018). While Lakoff focused more "on the notion of male dominance than gender difference per se, there was an underlying assumption that for men to be dominant and women to be dominated, then the sexes must also use language differently" (Baker 2014, 2). Baker's work (2010, 2014), among others, disputes that women's naturally occurring spoken language is so much different from men's or at least, in order to truly demonstrate this, the necessary amount of data would be enormous. For example, Baker uses the British National Corpus (BNC), a large reference corpus consisting of 100 million words of British English of which 10 million words are transcriptions are recorded conversations. For about 71% of this conversational data, we know whether the speaker was male or female. However, the BNC was collected in the early 1990s, and despite being so vast this corpus not only does not represent the whole English Language it does not even represent the whole British English. Similarly, McEnery notes that "the corpus *itself* is necessarily a finite subset of a much larger (and in principle non-finite) entity, language. So the corpus itself represents a selection and screening of data. Therefore, any claim of total accountability in corpus linguistics must be moderated. We can only seek total accountability relative to the dataset that we are using, not to the entirety of language itself" (McEnery 2012, 15). I would rather move away from how men and women use language, to instead focus on how they are represented through language, as inequality and difference are linked to linguistic representation rather than linguistic behaviour (Sunderland 2014 and Sauntson 2019). The point of this dissertation is not to find gender differences between man and woman in natural speech, that might or might not be generalizable, but to examine if, and to what extent, *Good Housekeeping*'s staff employ a performative, less natural speech, that they have established, or try to establish, as "feminine" in the eyes of the reader. Other questions posed by this analysis

are what role does language play in perpetuating gender misconceptions / ideologies / bias, and for what purposes?

Analysing diachronic variation, it becomes evident that "corpus-based diachronic studies of language variation have tended to be carried out on written rather than spoken data. […] The main reason for this is the (lack of) availability of spoken corpus data, relating to the fact that large spoken corpora are expensive and time consuming to build" (Baker 2010, 1). In order to make a comparison between *Good Housekeeping*'s written gendered speech and real women's speech, I would need a vast American English corpus made of instances of naturally occurring spoken language of American women, recorded between 1920 and 1949. Therefore, the 'fictitiousness' of *Good Housekeeping*'s gendered speech has to be demonstrated otherwise. I propose that a viable approach could be go back to Lakoff's women's speech and consider it as an example of stereotyped women's speech that is the nearest (ideologically and chronologically) to the one that *Good Housekeeping*'s staff tried to construct and look for it in the corpus. Lakoff's idea of Gendered Language is illustrated in 7.2. In section 7.3 I am going to apply Critical Discourse Analysis to a *Good Housekeeping* article undeniably targeted at women in 1929, in the years before the United States entered World War Two, looking for Lakoff's Gendered Language, while in 7.4 I will do the same for a "holiday" message, written during wartime, in 1944, in order to make a comparison, and look for possible diachronic variation in the use of the magazine's idea of Gendered Language through the years, and between times of peace and wartime. In sections 7.5 and 7.6 Critical Discourse Analysis highlights and 'un-packs' a superimposition of multiple Identity Construction Linguistic strategies, often contained in the same text. In 7.7 Corpus Analysis, using AntConc, aims to quantify and explore diachronic variation in the amount of Lakoff's Gendered Language words identified in the selected corpus.

7.2 Lakoff and the Gendered Language.

Since at least the 1990s, Post-Structuralist Discourse Analysis has proposed gender as performative, therefore language is used to perform a male or female role. Judith Butler (1990) proposed that men and women perform a male or female identity according to observation of how social conventions suggest they are supposed to behave. Judith Baxter (2003, 2017) studied how gender is constructed in order to assimilate oneself in a system made of power dynamics. But what is being performed exactly, where does the 'script' of the performance

come from? Butler writes that the parodic repetition of "the original" reveals the original to be nothing other than a parody of the idea of a 'natural original' (Butler 1990). The operational idea, in this analysis, however, is that the staff of *Good Housekeeping* believes in this 'natural original' between 1920 and 1949, create content aimed at building a female gender identity, and proceeds to propose it to the reader as the Ideal Reader. Also this construct might have several purposes, several things that the text-producers 'want' from the text-interpreter, things that might make themselves particularly evident during a war. Hence, the use of Lakoff pre-1990 women's speech construct. Lakoff's critics "often seem to believe that her ideas about women, language, and feminism stopped in 1975, the year when *Language and Woman's Place* was published in book form. Yet Lakoff explicitly stated in the text that she considered that work an initial foray into language and gender issues: […] "I present what follows less as the final word on the subject of sexism in language - anything but that! - then as a goad to further research." […] but it is more surprising, in light of lack of continuing publications in this field, that many commentators, and the specially is harshest critics, have treated the book ahistorically, not as a text written in response to a specific social historical context" (Bucholtz 2004, 121-127). In her foundational work, Lakoff made a comprehensive list of the linguistic characteristics that allow us to identify the construction of femininity according to her experience:

- Vagueness: imprecise expressions like "**such** nice woolly jumpers..." or "**not-quite**"
- Emotional as opposed to intellectual evaluation
- Intensifiers like in "**so** grateful!"
- Diminutives
- Qualifiers like in "**a bit**"
- Politeness
- Hedging: the use of hedges of various kinds. Women's speech seems in general to contain more instances of "well", "y'know", "kinda", and so forth: words that convey the sense that the speaker is uncertain about what he (or she) is saying or cannot vouch for the accuracy of this statement. Another manifestation of the same thing is the use of "I guess" and "I think" professing declarations, or "I wonder" prefacing questions. (Lakoff 2004, 79)

Identifying a gendered speech or a written text such as this, allows us to identify gender roles and, in this context specifically, what the *text producer* considers an appropriate feminine

behaviour, and the position that the *text producer* involuntarily gives to a person belonging to a gender. Lakoff made an example of gender lexical differences as she sees them in 1975. A man and a woman looking at the same wall painted in a shade of pinkish purple, the woman may say: “The wall is mauve” with no one consequently forming any special impression of her as a result; but if the man should say “The wall is mauve”, one “might well conclude he was imitating a woman sarcastically or was a homosexual or an interior decorator”. (Lakoff 2004, 43). Lakoff publishes her fundamental work on gendered language “Language and Woman’s Place” in 1975 and, because language keeps changing, she and other linguists kept adding commentaries in the following editions. Lakoff herself, in the introduction to the 2004 edition, wonders: “It is hard to remember just how different the world was when Language and Woman’s Place was first published in 1975 and harder still to return (even in imagination) to that world. Rereading the book, I am struck equally by how much has changed now and how much remains essentially the same”. (Lakoff 2004, 15) In the first edition, after the ‘colour’ example, Lakoff gives another example that may or may not be outdated; consider:

(a) Oh dear you put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again

(b) Shit, you’ve put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again

It is safe to predict the people would classify the first sentence as part of women's language the second as men's language although it is true that many women are able to use sentences like (b) publicly.

Lakoff then takes two groups of English language words, the first group defined as ‘neutral’ (great, terrific, cool, neat), the second as ‘women only’ (adorable, charming, sweet, lovely, divine). “As with the colour words and swear words, for a man to stray into the “women's” column is apt to be damaging his reputation, though here a woman may freely use the neutral words”. (Lakoff 2004, 45) On the website of *Good Housekeeping* magazine we find the sign that something else might have changed through the years. In the written content of the official website GoodHousekeeping.com, we find several times the word *homemaker*. The word homemaker is an inclusive word. This word also seems to have a different connotation from its synonym *housewife.* Back in 1975 Lakoff notices that not only there are euphemistic terms for ‘woman’, but also euphemistic terms for woman’s principal role, that of “housewife”:

> “Most occupational terms do not have coexisting euphemisms: these seem to come into being only when the occupation is considered embarrassing or demeaning. Thus there is no euphemism for “professor”, “doctor”, “bank president”; but we do find

> "mortician" and "funeral director" for "undertaker"; "custodian" and "sanitary engineer" for "janitor" […] Similarly one keeps running into hopeful suggestions, principally in the pages of women's magazines, that the lot of the housewife would be immeasurably improved if she thought of herself as "homemaker", "household executive", "household engineer" or any of several others. I am not sure what to make of the fact that none of these have taken hold: is it because the housewife doesn't consider her status demeaning? Then why the search for a fancy euphemism? […] This is a question for the sociologist." (Lakoff 2004, 52)

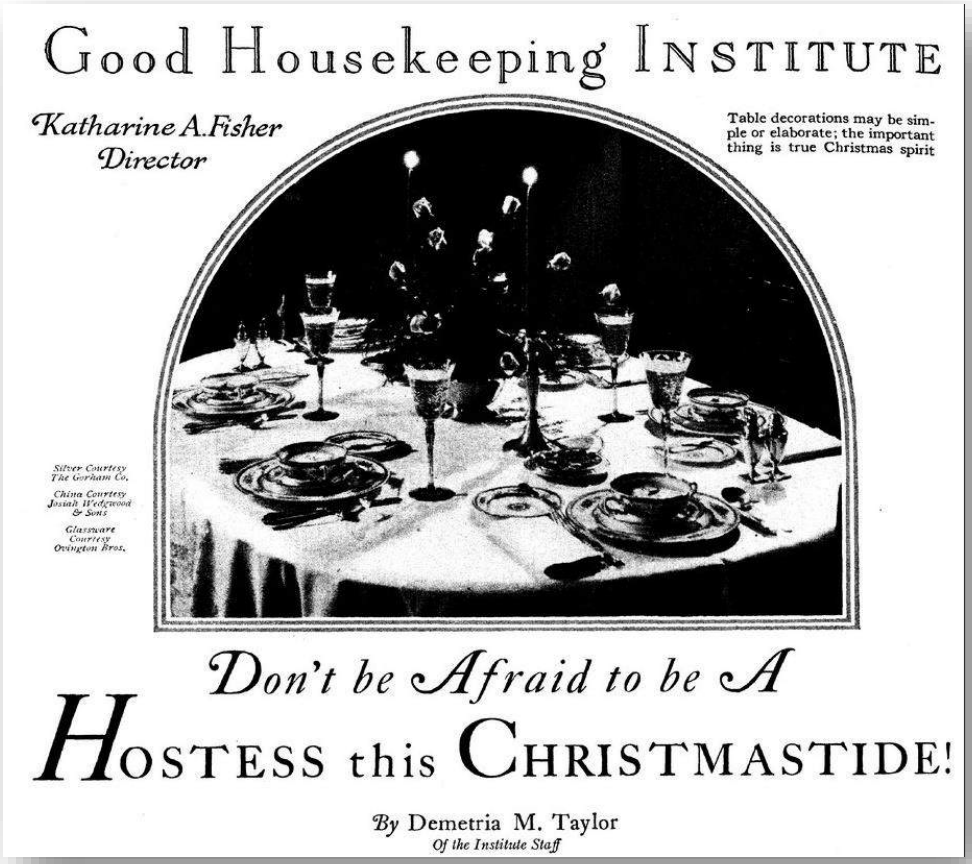
We might suppose that the anonymous author of the texts on the *Good Housekeeping* website chose 'homemaker' because the word is non-gendered[11]: the homemaker today might be a man or a woman alike. However, just looking at the contemporary covers of the magazine, it is immediately clear that almost every issue has a woman on the cover and, as we have seen in previous chapters, the visual communication is just as important as the written one. The men who sporadically appear on the cover of *Good Housekeeping* today, are actors or TV personalities, and therefore people mostly known for work outside of the house, not as full-time homemakers. Indeed, the man on the cover mostly seems to have been chosen because he is simply appreciated by a female readership for talents other than being a homemaker. On a contemporary cover of *Good Housekeeping*, we can find Dr. Phil, who is a TV personality, so his main job is not primarily that of a househusband; or Hugh Jackman, actor. One of the bestselling issues ever of *Good Housekeeping* recently, has been the issue with Michelle Obama featured on the cover, when Barak Obama was president of the United States. Michelle Obama is a Princeton University and Harvard Law School graduate, however on the cover of the magazine she is portrayed in a very cosy and domestic-looking scene in a parlour of the White House; that issue also celebrates the 125th anniversary of the magazine. On the cover nowadays we also find blurbs anticipating the contents of the issue, or mentioning advisor columns, or products which are definitely targeted at the female readership. These cover blurbs, as we mentioned, still do not exist in the decades that we are examining: the cover of *Good Housekeeping* in the first half of the twentieth century only portraits women or children, and on the lower part of the cover (never covering the image) there are only a few headlines of featuring articles, or titles of featured short stories which we can find inside the issue, without any linguistic strategy or modern-like promotions. It looks like, to the *Good Housekeeping* staff

[11] Homemaker: "one who manages a household" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Homemaker: "hausfrau, househusband, housekeeper, housewife, stay-at-home" (Merriam-Webster Thesaurus).

at least, *homemaker* is still a euphemism for *housewife*, just as it was in 1975. Something else that might not have changed so much is the frequent presence of the *tag-question formation* in what is generally intended as 'female speech'. Instead of formulating a direct question or observation, the sentence will be followed by a tag: "A tag, in its usage as well as its syntactic shape (in English) is midway between an outright statement and the yes-no question" (Lakoff 2004, 48). Examples might be questions like "Johnny is here, isn't he?" instead of "Is John here?", or "The way prices are rising is horrendous, isn't it?" or the presence of the tag in small talk, in questions like "Sure it's hot in here, isn't it?". To Lakoff, "little girls are indeed taught to talk like little ladies, in that their speech is in many ways more polite than that of boys or men, and the reason for this is that politeness involves an absence of a strong statement, and women's speech is devised to prevent the expression of strong statements. On the pages of popular magazines there still is a strongly gendered language, "male" or "female", because the text producers learned to imitate it and use it.

7.3 Gendered Language on *Good Housekeeping* between the 1920s and the 1930s: an example.

Let us take as an example the article that appeared on *Good Housekeeping* in 1929 (Figure 36) with the headline: "Don't be afraid to be a HOSTESS this CHRISTMASTIDE!" (Taylor 1929, 84).



Good Housekeeping INSTITUTE

Katharine A. Fisher
Director

Table decorations may be simple or elaborate; the important thing is true Christmas spirit

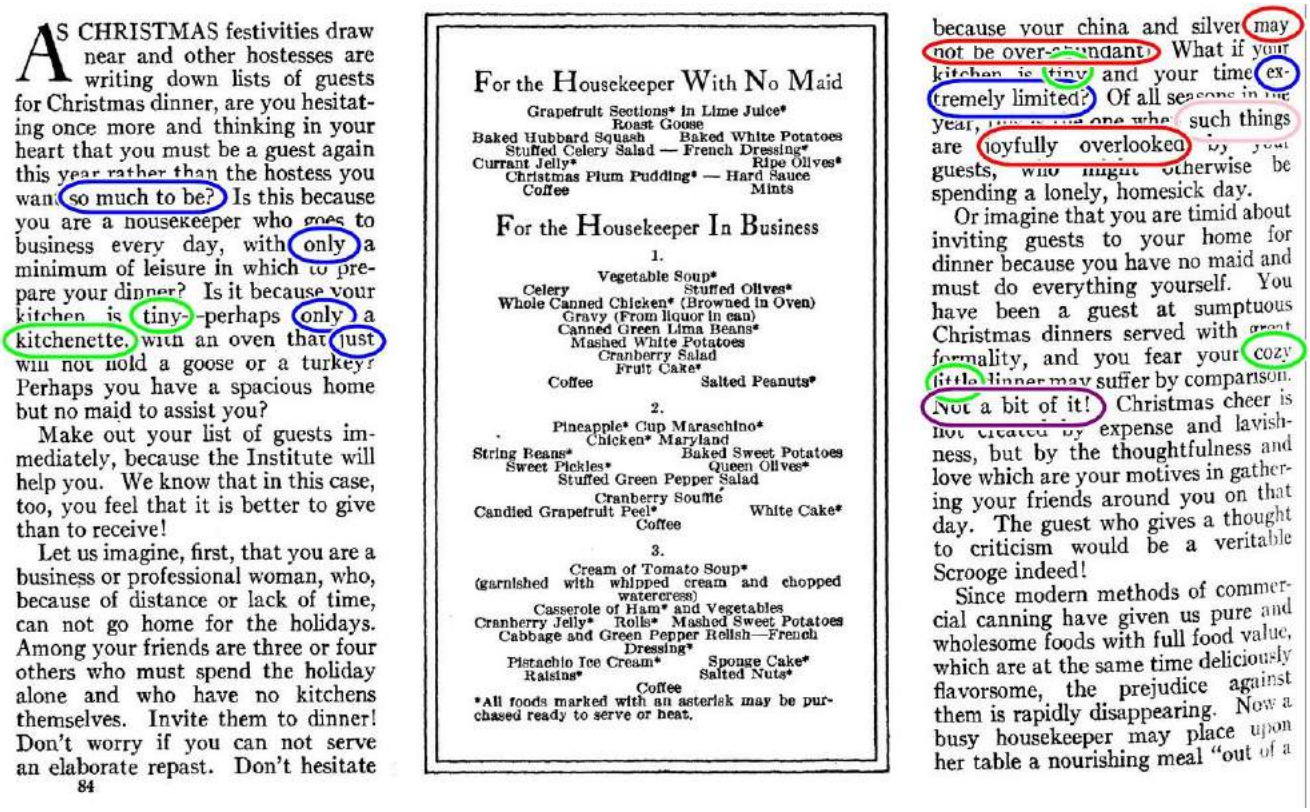
Silver Courtesy The Gorham Co.
China Courtesy Josiah Wedgwood & Sons
Glassware Courtesy Ovington Bros.

Don't be Afraid to be A
HOSTESS this CHRISTMASTIDE!

By Demetria M. Taylor
Of the Institute Staff

Figure 36 – *Good Housekeeping*, December 1929

We can easily find the patterns of Lakoff's 'women's language'(Figure 37), represented by numerous Intensifiers (in blue), such as: "the hostess you want **so** much to be"; "**only** a minimum of leisure"; "**just** will not hold a goose"; "**only** a kitchenette"; "**extremely** limited". Then we find several Diminutives (in green) as in: "your cosy **little** dinner"; the Vagueness expressed by: "when **such** things" (in pink), and at least one Qualifier, in a colloquial-imitating expression: "Not **a bit** of it!" (in purple). We also find expressions of Politeness (in red) such as: "your China and silver may not be over-abundant", an understated way to say: probably it is insufficient.



AS CHRISTMAS festivities draw near and other hostesses are writing down lists of guests for Christmas dinner, are you hesitating once more and thinking in your heart that you must be a guest again this year rather than the hostess you want so much to be? Is this because you are a housekeeper who goes to business every day, with only a minimum of leisure in which to prepare your dinner? Is it because your kitchen is tiny—perhaps only a kitchenette, with an oven that just will not hold a goose or a turkey? Perhaps you have a spacious home but no maid to assist you?

Make out your list of guests immediately, because the Institute will help you. We know that in this case, too, you feel that it is better to give than to receive!

Let us imagine, first, that you are a business or professional woman, who, because of distance or lack of time, can not go home for the holidays. Among your friends are three or four others who must spend the holiday alone and who have no kitchens themselves. Invite them to dinner! Don't worry if you can not serve an elaborate repast. Don't hesitate

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For the Housekeeper With No Maid

Grapefruit Sections* in Lime Juice*
Roast Goose
Baked Hubbard Squash — Baked White Potatoes
Stuffed Celery Salad — French Dressing*
Currant Jelly* — Ripe Olives*
Christmas Plum Pudding* — Hard Sauce
Coffee — Mints

For the Housekeeper In Business

1.

Vegetable Soup*
Celery — Stuffed Olives*
Whole Canned Chicken* (Browned in Oven)
Gravy (From liquor in can)
Canned Green Lima Beans*
Mashed White Potatoes
Cranberry Salad
Fruit Cake*
Coffee — Salted Peanuts*

2.

Pineapple* Cup Maraschino*
Chicken* Maryland
String Beans* — Baked Sweet Potatoes
Sweet Pickles* — Queen Olives*
Stuffed Green Pepper Salad
Cranberry Soufflé
Candied Grapefruit Peel* — White Cake*
Coffee

3.

Cream of Tomato Soup*
(garnished with whipped cream and chopped watercress)
Casserole of Ham* and Vegetables
Cranberry Jelly* — Rolls* — Mashed Sweet Potatoes
Cabbage and Green Pepper Relish—French Dressing*
Pistachio Ice Cream* — Sponge Cake*
Raisins* — Salted Nuts*
Coffee

*All foods marked with an asterisk may be purchased ready to serve or heat.

because your china and silver may not be over-abundant? What if your kitchen is tiny and your time extremely limited? Of all seasons in the year, [illegible] one when such things are joyfully overlooked by your guests, who might otherwise be spending a lonely, homesick day.

Or imagine that you are timid about inviting guests to your home for dinner because you have no maid and must do everything yourself. You have been a guest at sumptuous Christmas dinners served with great formality, and you fear your cozy little dinner may suffer by comparison. Not a bit of it! Christmas cheer is not created by expense and lavishness, but by the thoughtfulness and love which are your motives in gathering your friends around you on that day. The guest who gives a thought to criticism would be a veritable Scrooge indeed!

Since modern methods of commercial canning have given us pure and wholesome foods with full food value, which are at the same time deliciously flavorsome, the prejudice against them is rapidly disappearing. Now a busy housekeeper may place upon her table a nourishing meal "out of a

Figure 37 – *Good Housekeeping*, December 1929. Lakoff's words identifying the 'women's speech'.

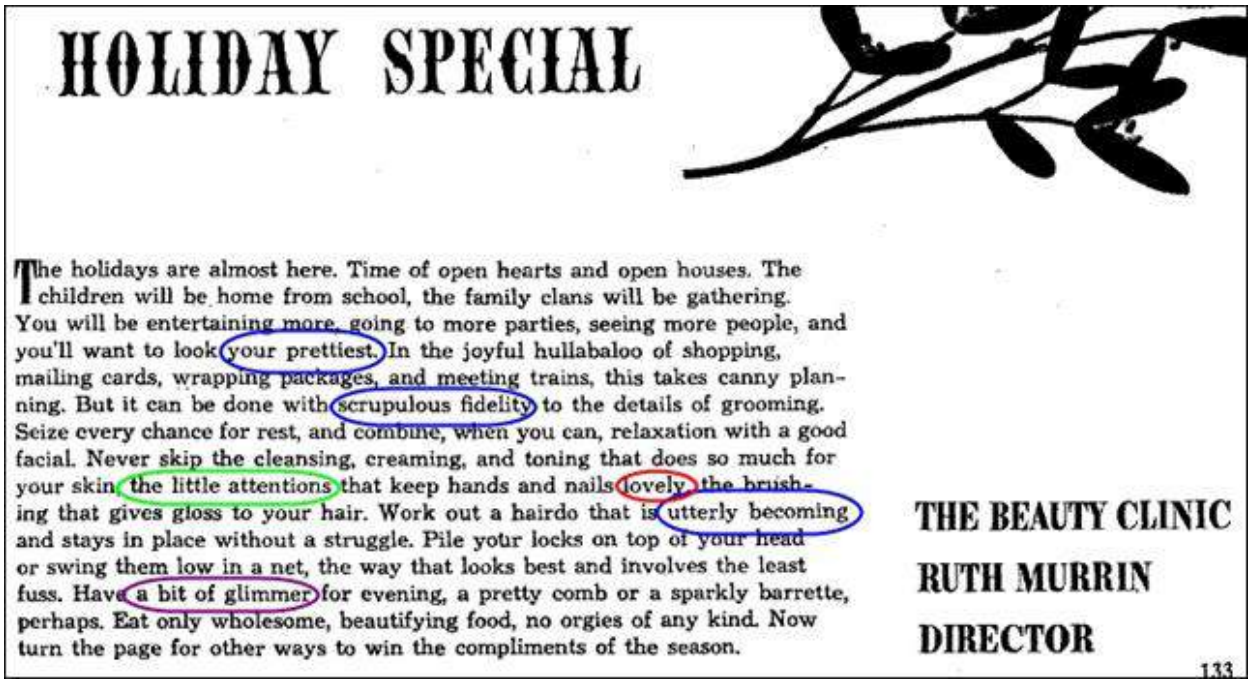
The *text producer*'s *expectations* for the readers are that these are women, with a too small kitchen, or oven, that they do not have a maid at home, and that they are "a business or professional woman […] who cannot go home for the holidays." The text supposes that although the *text interpreter* is a professional woman, what she really wants is to be a hostess and a cook, and possibly a better one than those she knows: "are you hesitating once more and thinking in your heart that you must be a guest again this year rather than the hostess you want so much to be?". After recommending inviting friends who will spend the holidays alone, or who don't have a kitchen, the new problem arising is that the reader does not own enough porcelain or silver, that the kitchen is too small, and there isn't enough time, but luckily we get informed the right during the Christmas season people don't care about these things that much: "of all seasons in the year, this is the one when such things are joyfully overlooked by your guests." The centre page section contains examples of menus for "The Housekeeper With No Maid" and for "The Housekeeper In Business". With the first sentence, the *text producer* not only takes for granted that the woman is a professional, that she does not have a maid, she doesn't have enough time, and that she wants to cook dinner for her guests, but also gives the impression that she's supposed to do it: "to be a guest again this year" almost sounds like an embarrassment for an adult woman who's only waiting for her opportunity to show her cooking

skills to all the friends she knows. A *text producer*'s *expectations* of the reader, that we can identify in a text, are not just the *text producer* looking for his or her target reader: they imply everything that the reader should be (according to the *text producer).* As we can see, the advisor columns like this very frequently feature a gendered language, and in particular Lakoff's features of the 'women's speech'.

7.4 In the 1940s the Gendered Language Remains the Same.

Almost twenty years later in 1944 this technique remains the same. Let us examine these texts from the December of that year an editor's letter (Figure 38) directly addressed to the text interpreter, introducing a series of beauty recommendations: "HOLIDAY SPECIAL", editorial letter to the reader could have been written in 1929 given that we find again:

- Intensifiers: your prettiest, scrupulous fidelity to the details of grooming, utterly becoming
- Diminutive: the little attentions
- Qualifier: a bit of glimmer



HOLIDAY SPECIAL

The holidays are almost here. Time of open hearts and open houses. The children will be home from school, the family clans will be gathering. You will be entertaining more, going to more parties, seeing more people, and you'll want to look your prettiest. In the joyful hullabaloo of shopping, mailing cards, wrapping packages, and meeting trains, this takes canny planning. But it can be done with scrupulous fidelity to the details of grooming. Seize every chance for rest, and combine, when you can, relaxation with a good facial. Never skip the cleansing, creaming, and toning that does so much for your skin; the little attentions that keep hands and nails lovely; the brushing that gives gloss to your hair. Work out a hairdo that is utterly becoming and stays in place without a struggle. Pile your locks on top of your head or swing them low in a net, the way that looks best and involves the least fuss. Have a bit of glimmer for evening, a pretty comb or a sparkly barrette, perhaps. Eat only wholesome, beautifying food, no orgies of any kind. Now turn the page for other ways to win the compliments of the season.

THE BEAUTY CLINIC
RUTH MURRIN
DIRECTOR

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Figure 38 – *Good Housekeeping*'s letter in 1944, with some of Lakoff's gendered words – there are many more in this short text. This 1944 text is lexically as gendered as the language used by the staff in 1929.

The adjectives trace the pattern of the *Politeness:* we can find a "joyful hullabaloo" instead of other synonyms for the word chaos, followed by: lovely, becoming, pretty. The *Politeness*

Theory has been hypothesised for the first time by Brown and Levinson in 1978 and highlights how the adult uses certain degrees of politeness in verbal and non-verbal communication in order to preserve the image he gives of himself to the public (Face or Self-Image). Particularly, the adult uses *Politeness Strategies* when his actions can go against the desires of someone else, and therefore damage his own image as a consequence. Thus, he structures his communication in a way that all the participants to the social interaction will feel equally satisfied. The language used in this article in particular, reflects the definition given by Brown and Levinson of the *Positive Face*: "the want of every member that his wants be desirable, to at least some other executors". Or: "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved over) claimed by interactants" (Brown and Levinson 1978, 61). In this sense the concept of *Face* by Brown and Levinson derives from that of Erving Goffman: "*Face* is an image of self-delineated in terms of approved social attributes" (Goffman 1955, 213). As could have been expected, the words *beauty, beautiful, beautifully,* are amongst the most frequent in the texts of *Good Housekeeping*. In one instance we also find the expression *beautifying food*. Besides the *Synthetic Personalisation* through the use of 'you', the advisor's solution to the problem, problem which seems to be the fact that the reader has to appear at her best during the holidays. Even the superstitions of the tax producer on his or her ideal reader all the same. Let us consider the assured tone of that: "you will be entertaining more". The writer believes that even if the holidays are imminent, the *text interpreter* still has some work to do: entertain. *Good Housekeeping*'s ideal reader in 1944 has the same aspirations / duties of the ideal reader of 1929. In all the examined texts there is a particular kindness and a sense of complicity with the reader. As McLoughlin reminds: "before we get complacent, however, young women are still being told what to do and we must also question whose interests are being served..." (McLoughlin 2000, 101). Besides McLoughlin here is referencing a contemporary advisor column, written in contemporary English, with use of slang, and about sexuality, and yet the contemporary language is being used with the same purpose: to suggest the ideal behaviour, and therefore an *ideal identity* that the reader should have according to the text producer, possibly in a text that looks like it has been written to give advice.

7.5 During Wartime the Gender Identity Construction Integrates the National Identity Construction.

As we have previously seen, the regular problem-solution columns do not just have a commercial purpose. This can be joined by the necessities of a nation at war, and war propaganda. If in the 1920s and 1930s we have articles with headlines such as The Housekeeper's Electrical ABC or The Studio Builds an Outdoor Living Room. In the June 1943 issue, we find the aforementioned article "Here Comes the War Bride". The subheading is: "proving you can marry in haste and have a wedding party too!". This article follows the United States' government war propaganda directives, especially addressing women, guiding citizens in dealing with financial struggle. However *Good Housekeeping* also expects the reader to keep working towards certain social expectations. The article opens as such:

> "Whether it's because spur-of-the-moment marriages are so much in vogue or because lavishness is inappropriate to the times, elaborate wedding receptions are out until Victory. Instead, there are smaller, more intimate gatherings of relatives and friends who can be entertained simply and suitably - and just as delightfully- with refreshments easily prepared and served at home. Even so, a wedding is a gala occasion and the food should be in keeping. We had this in mind when we planned the three after-the-ceremony collations suggested on page 84" (Marsh 1943, 82).

We have already seen how the lexicon of the article imitates military speech and uses military terms even to describe the decoration of a wedding cake. It is the same in the introduction, when the advisor introduces the problem ("elaborate wedding receptions are out until Victory", which sounds like an order given by a commander). The reassurance and requests of trust from the reader, by the author ("we had this in mind when we planned the three after- the- ceremony collations") are typical of this kind of problem-solution format. In the introduction we also notice another directive imitating the government's material for the media, and typical of the time: even if bride and groom are not financially struggling, the gathering must be modest, because "lavishness is inappropriate to the times": it is supposedly offensive to the country fellows. The article describes at length all the elements of the banquet, from table clothing to recipes, which contain ingredients available among the rationed food; the text producer directly addresses the reader and future bride in the text of the recipes, therefore it is a given that the whole menu has to be cooked by the bride herself. The text producer notices that "spur-of-the-moment marriages are so much in vogue" and that "smaller, more intimate gatherings of

relatives" nicer, as if these were choices only dictated by trendy style and fashion, instead of the circumstances. From this introduction we can guess what these circumstances are. However, the bride has some inescapable duties: to organise a sober party; to cook the wedding reception menu; to serve it; to entertain the guests ("friends who can be entertained simply and suitably -and just as delightfully- with refreshments easily prepared and served at home").

Finally, that "spur-of-the-moment marriages are so much in vogue" really required an investigation into the historical context. The increase of spur-of-the-moment marriages is presented as "in vogue", as if suddenly getting married on a short notice was a fashionable thing. In the rest of the article no other explanation is provided. A spike in weddings being celebrated in the 1940s is due to the United States' Selective Service regulations.

> "... When Congress authorised what would become the World War Two draft in 1940, 65% of the 17 million men who registered received dependency deferments. This meant that fathers and married men without children would not be drafted. Many had rushed to the altar. Documents in the National Archives show that marriage rates for draft-aged young men jumped by 25% between 1940 and 1941. Birth rates similarly spiked. Congress eventually amended the law to allow only those dependents conceived or acquired by marriage or adoption before Pearl Harbor to guarantee a deferment. This change led the Selective Service to develop detailed policies about how to measure the approximate date of a baby's conception. A pregnancy started before December 7, 1941, would gain the new father at deferment, but those started after that date would not guarantee similar privilege" (Rutenberg 2020).

In 1943 Montana's Senator Barton K. Wheeler, a local draft board member, vowed not to draft any father claiming: "I have said that no father in the United States should be called . . . until the slackers are taken out of the Government bureaus. Fathers should not be called until the slackers are taken out of the industries where they are hiding today" (*Time magazine* 1943), while senator Revercomb, a member of the military affairs committee, claimed that "if too many fathers are killed, we may have wolfpacks of children roaming the streets and highways" (*Deseret News* 1943). The War Department, however, needed more men, and there simply weren't enough who were not husbands or fathers to meet that need. By mid-1945, only 0.5% of men still held their dependency deferments. According to Rutenberg "It is true that almost 80% of American men born in the 1920s eventually served in the military during World War II and relatively few declared themselves as conscientious objectors or actively resisted the

draft. But millions of men searched for legal ways to avoid qualifying for the draft in the first place" some of them with the help of women: "in mid-1942, an estimated 500,000 wives quit their war jobs in order to strengthen their husbands' claims to a dependency deferment." Rutenberg's judgement is harsh:

> "...even during World War II, a moment of supposed unity and resolve to beat Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, American men balked at the draft. While the lasting memory is of the "Greatest Generation" rushing to join up in the wake of the attack on Pearl Harbor, their willingness is more myth than reality" (Rutenberg 2020).

The rush to get married, however, will forever be immortalised on the pages of *Good Housekeeping* as something "in vogue", almost romantic and without apparent explanation.

7.6 Expectations Increase: The Text Interpreter of the 1940s is Subject to Multiple Identity Constructions and Linguistic Techniques.

In the same issue we find the item: "**Start with** STERLING FOR TWO". This article follows the one on how to convert a barn into a house (see chapter 5), but it is also connected to the 'bridal' series of articles of this issue. This is apparently an article on how the bride must choose her first silver cutlery set, and how to set the table for the wedding party and opens with: "As long as there is a war going on, the bride of today can't do things up in such a grand style as did their grandmothers. But that can be just as much fun and just as much sentiment in choosing a silver service for two as there would be in starting off with a "complete set for twelve." as a matter of fact, it's a much more intimate and cosy thought, anyway" (*Good Housekeeping* 1943, 134). So, choosing silver cutlery can be "fun" and can have "sentiment". The word "fun" connects the article to the fun-themed article on the barn-turned-house. Curiously, there is also a visual connexion to that article through the illustrations on the page the created by daisies and ribbons framing the page. The text producer goes on to suggest that it is a good idea for the bride to write a list of silver items that she would like to receive as wedding gifts. Various exclamations ("Tangible!" "Shining!" "Lasting!"), and familiar proverbial sentences ("a word to the wise") bring us to: "On these two pages we show some of the patterns of flat silver *you can buy now*." There is a predominant emotional evaluation in the style, intensified by punctuation that gives a prosodic effect; the same effect is achieved by the use of italics, which recall the emphasis in the tone of the voice. In the problem-solution format, in this case, the

problem is that the wedding party cannot be “in grand style” and the solution, as always, is buying a consumer product. Pages of texts are written and connected verbally and visually, to bring us to the more commercial pages of the magazine. The article is addressed exclusively to the bride, just like the visual communication. The groom is absent from the illustrations. The last illustration, in particular, is complementary to the text, because the bride, alone, wearing her wedding dress is absorbed in the contemplation of her silver cutlery.

Figure 39 – The war bride contemplates her choice of silverware. The previous pages of content lead the reader to this advert. From *Good Housekeeping*, June 1943.

The articles implying a housing crisis, and proposing, as a solution, to find an abandoned barn to turn it into a house, and the articles guiding a bride in organising her wedding day, are all connected to each other and are written by a *text producer* impersonating an advisor who is giving guidance and help to the future war bride. But analysing the texts we actually realise that the *text interpreter* is subject to three strategies, sometimes even in the same text: the first one imposes a *national identity* and in particular copies war propaganda material content, the second one imposes a *gender identity* taking for granted and normalising some characteristics and duties of a woman, the third one is the *problems and solutions format* typical on the advisor columns, and generally used for commercial purposes.

7.7 Diachrony of the Gendered Language.

Throughout the three decades which we have taken into consideration, not only we notice a qualitative difference, but there is certainly also a peculiar quantitative difference. Examining the sub-corpora for each decade, and the sub-corpora made up of the articles about fashion, lifestyle, housework, and advisor columns, compared with the sub-corpora made of political columns, opinion columns, and political editorials, we can see diachronic differences through the decades. The gendered language is massively used in the texts from the 1920s and the 1930s, it seems to be the predominant style, even for political features. In the 1920s issues we find opinion pieces on unemployment, and millions of American women are voting for the first time, the women suffrage having been introduced very recently. The Magazine features recurring contributors like Frances Parkinson Keyes, and her column “Letters from a Senator’s Wife”, reporting on political associations, of both men and women, and political conventions taking place in Washington. We also find interviews to European and Asian kings, queens and heads of state, on the political situation of innumerable countries, such as Armenia, Yugoslavia, Romania, a newly independent Republic of Ireland, England, Italy, and so on. Regular are profiles of neo-elected presidents, invitations to vote to every election, comments on election results, and extended articles on the United States’ Congress’ legislation. The political articles are characteristically long, sometimes even fifteen columns. (Figure 40).

Let us drag up alongside one of our homes some of this war paraphernalia bought with the taxes we have paid. You could buy fifty of your $6,000 houses with the cost of this one gun

Weighing Armament *in God's Scales*

By William G. Shepherd

Illustration by W. T. Benda

EVERY producing man, woman and child in the United States next year will spend over ten cents a day to run the Army and the Navy and prepare for future wars. If many people are out of work, this daily cost may go to fifteen cents a day

dammed with battleships and destroyers. It is a terrible sight. It cries out that

and salaries which go into the upkeep of American homes, number about 30,000,000. They have a bill of over one billion dollars to pay next year. It will come out of them in the form of taxes. So much for next year. But—until the United States finds some way of disarming

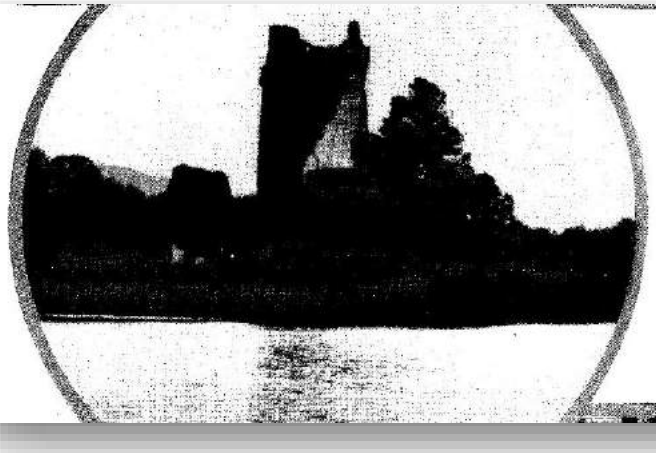


PHOTO BY ELMENDORF COPYRIGHT EWING GALLOWAY

The Ireland Ireland Wants

By Frazier Hunt

It will be a jolly place to live if the women carry out the plans they told to Mr. Hunt

When women begin to weigh men, not parties, for their comparative fitness for office, the balance of power may fall on either side with perfect safety

SAY IT WITH BALLOTS

By Elizabeth Frazer

Illustration by Herbert M. Stoops

"BUT why on earth should I vote for Mr. X for United States Senator?"

An intelligent and broad-minded woman asked this question of a politician friend, a strong party-organization man who was giving her first-aid lessons in the political line-up of the situation. It was midsummer of 1920. Women

faithful to what? It did not somehow apply to Mr. X.

"But Mr. X has fought and voted consistently against everything I believe in!" she protested. "He voted against suf-

to his conscience. You can't blame him for that."

"That may be true," she assented. "He may have voted according to his conscience—but, you see, he voted against mine! And that's just the point. For I'm for prohibition. In their hearts, I think most women are. But that's not all I have against Mr. X. I'm coming now

A JOB for the New Administration

Executive orders have nullified some of the most important provisions of the pure food law. President Coolidge and Secretary Jardine have ample authority to make the law effective, and they should exercise it at once

By Dr. Harvey W. Wiley

Director Good Housekeeping Bureau of Foods, Sanitation, and Health

WHAT is the matter with the Pure Food Law? The answer to this question should be a "diagnosis." I am not certain, to the human economy. Sulphur dioxide was used in immense quantities in the preservation of California fruits. The erudite editor of the *Chronicle* was only benzoic acid and benzoates. The English strictly limit these preservatives to a small family of foods and require a labeling, when they are used, which will call to

Whose CHILDREN Shall We STARVE?

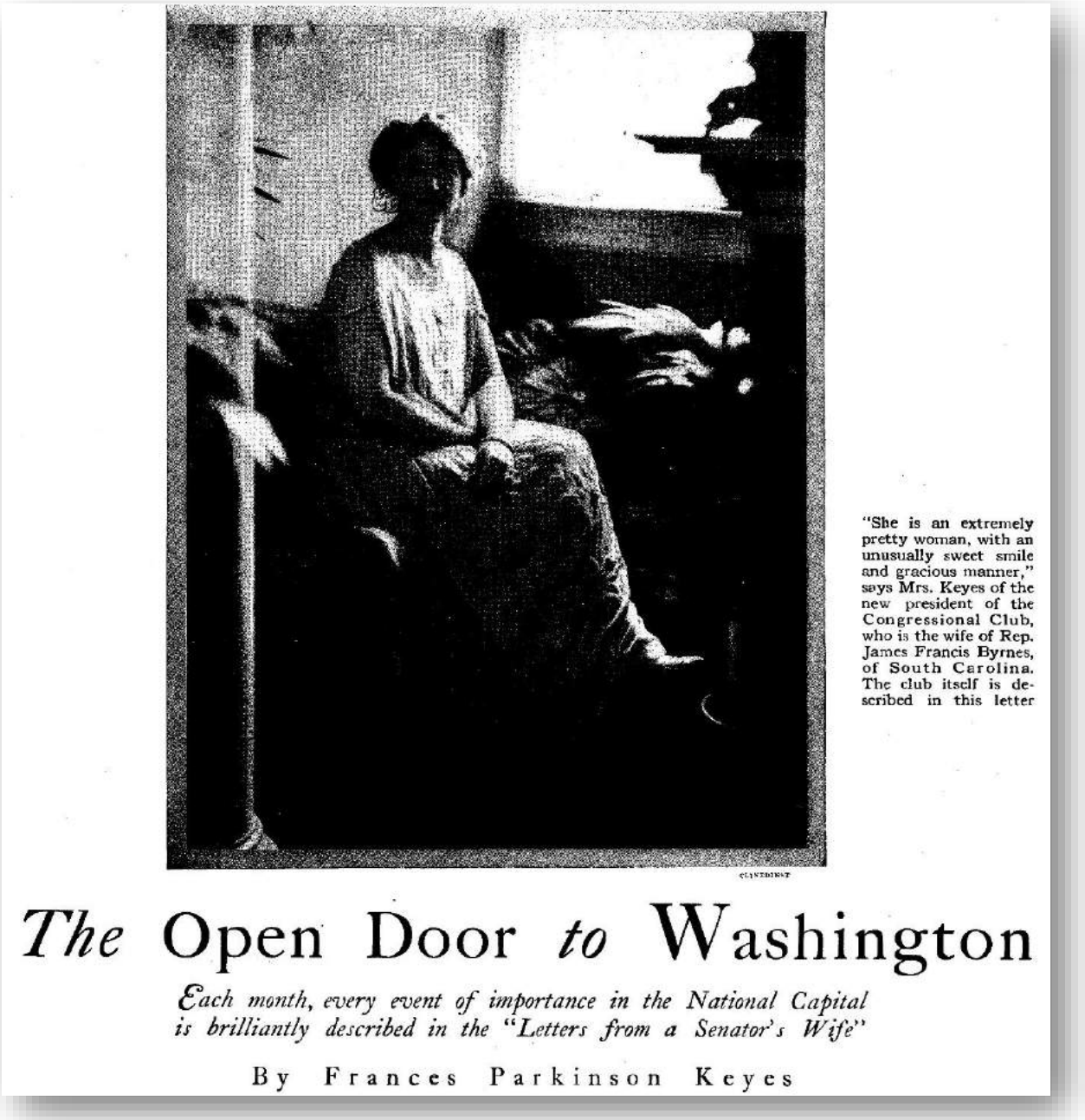
130,000 children in the United States today live in their homes, by virtue of the mothers' pension law. 100,000 more are slowly starving for lack of this assistance. How can we choose between them? Every child is a citizen, and the state owes it a chance! This article will tell you how to help

By JUDGE HENRY NEIL

Illustrated by Clara Elsene Peck

Fig. 40 – A few headlines of political features on *Good Housekeeping* in the 1920s. From the top: criticism of government's spending on arms (December 1921), a report from Ireland (December 1922), a piece on voting (December 1922), critical pieces on recent legislation (June 1925, March 1926), the importance of higher education for democracy (February, 1921).

The writing style of the staff often presents something that nowadays would look like contrasting choices: emblematic is the recurring contributor from Washington, Parkinsons Keyes, wife of Rep. James Francis Byrnes, being introduced first and foremost as "pretty", "with an unusual sweet smile" and graceful (Figure 41) and then revealing herself as the author of insightful, detailed, and extensive pieces on the Congress' work, sometimes on bills passed late at night, while she waited at Capitol Hill:



"She is an extremely pretty woman, with an unusually sweet smile and gracious manner," says Mrs. Keyes of the new president of the Congressional Club, who is the wife of Rep. James Francis Byrnes, of South Carolina. The club itself is described in this letter

The Open Door *to* Washington

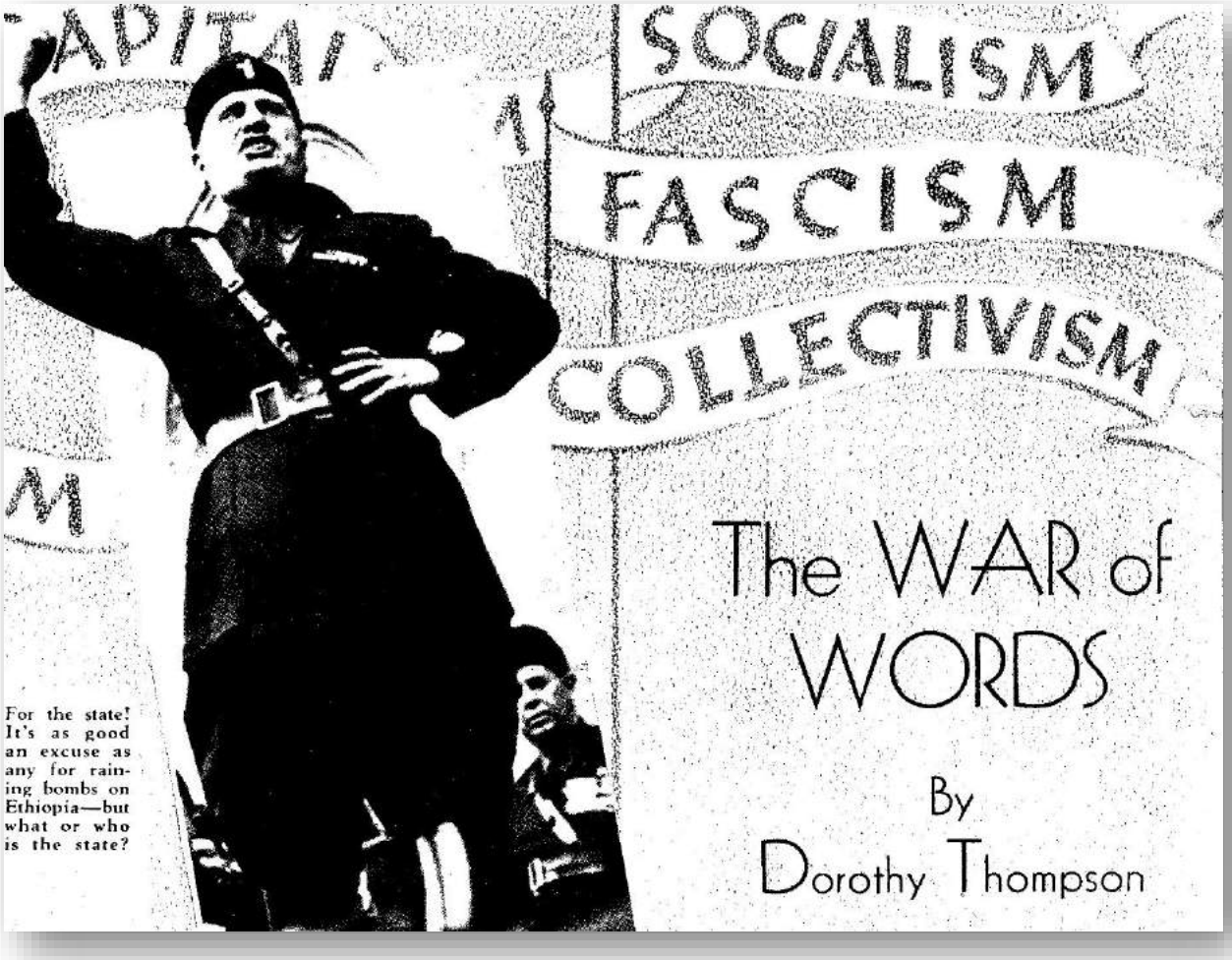
Each month, every event of importance in the National Capital is brilliantly described in the "Letters from a Senator's Wife"

By Frances Parkinson Keyes

Fig. 41 – Frances Parkinson Keyes, political contributor of *Good Housekeeping* for years, author of detailed, insightful articles on Congress' work, being introduced with the feminine style typical of the magazine at the time. *Good Housekeeping*, May 1923.

In the 1930s again we find the extensive and detailed articles on elections and legislation, women's rights, profiles of presidents and their wives, pieces on the rising European dictatorships, and deaf-blind reporter Helen Keller interviewing royals abroad and successfully bringing awareness of how deaf and blind children can learn to communicate and get an education, at a time when evidently many of them were left illiterate. The opinions on society often revolve around marriage, child rearing, including the choice of education for the children,

the end of Prohibition (*Good Housekeeping* contributor favoured Temperance). Inevitably we find more and more articles on the War in Europe, reflections on the grave financial crisis of those years, the overwhelming unemployment rate. The non-political articles, besides homemaking, fashion, and home décor, feature opinions on censorship of films or "indecent" art, divorce, and reflections upon religion and secularism (but with the staff's favour for religion, specifically Christianity).



The WAR of WORDS

By Dorothy Thompson

How HELEN KELLER

One of America's Twelve Greatest Women In Good Housekeeping's National Survey

Interviewed The Ruler Of Jugo-Slavia

The time is not far distant when a woman will not need to give up her nationality and accept that of her husband, against her will

ARE Women Really Citizens?

A Question Every Country Must Soon Answer, Discussed By

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont

NEVER AGAIN

Unless We Say So

By O. K. Armstrong

Member of the American Legion
Delegate to the HDAC Congress in Paris

"NEVER Again!" said the disillusioned doughboys when they came back from France. "Never again!" said President Harding as he viewed a shipload of coffins on a pier in Hoboken. But these things can be again; again our young men may go somewhere to fight, may return to a Hoboken pier, mutely protesting against having given their lives in war. That is why Good Housekeeping has been urging the passage of a Peace Amendment so that the people themselves can decide whether they want to wage war outside our own country. That is the only way we citizens can say "Never again!" and make it mean something

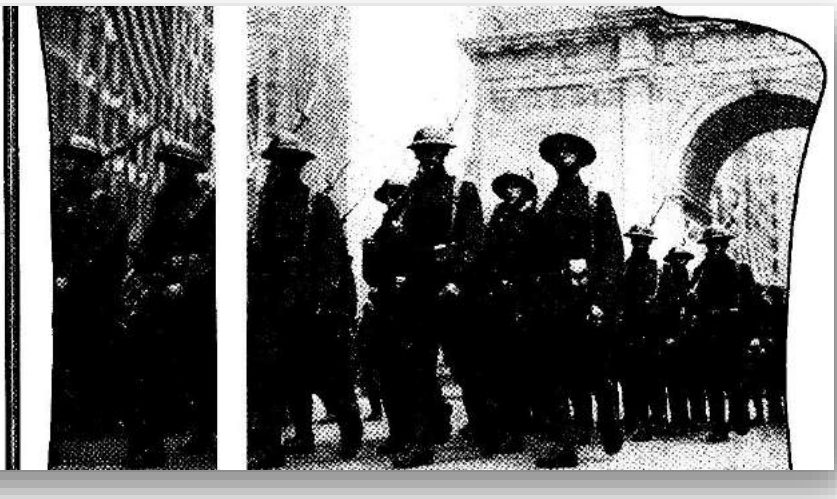


Fig. 42 – Some *Good Housekeeping* headlines from the 1930s. From the top: an article on dictatorships of the time (February 1938), one of the interviews of deaf-blind contributor Helen Keller, in this case to King Alexander I of Yugoslavia (January 1932), an article on the state women's rights (September 1930) and an article opining on the United States' involvement in the War and the announcement that "*Good Housekeeping* has been urging the passage of a peace Amendment so that the people themselves can decide whether they want to wage war outside our own country." (September 1937). This article is in stark contrast with the tone of 1940s articles from the same magazine.

The most frequent Lakoff's Words identifying the 'Women's Speech' on the *Good Housekeeping* Corpus are: such, little, so, fine, should, lovely, attractively, delicate, exquisitely, fancy, grace/graced/graceful/gracefully, in both the 1920s and the 1930s. But we find also: feminine, delightful/delightfully, gay, pretty, bridelike. In one of the examined 1940s articles, banks are described as "flirtatious", while a woman cooking for her husband, a lieutenant, and other two soldiers who are temporarily living in her house, is tempting ("tempt") the officers with her food. However, the ultra-gendered language is drastically reduced in the 1940s (Table 5):

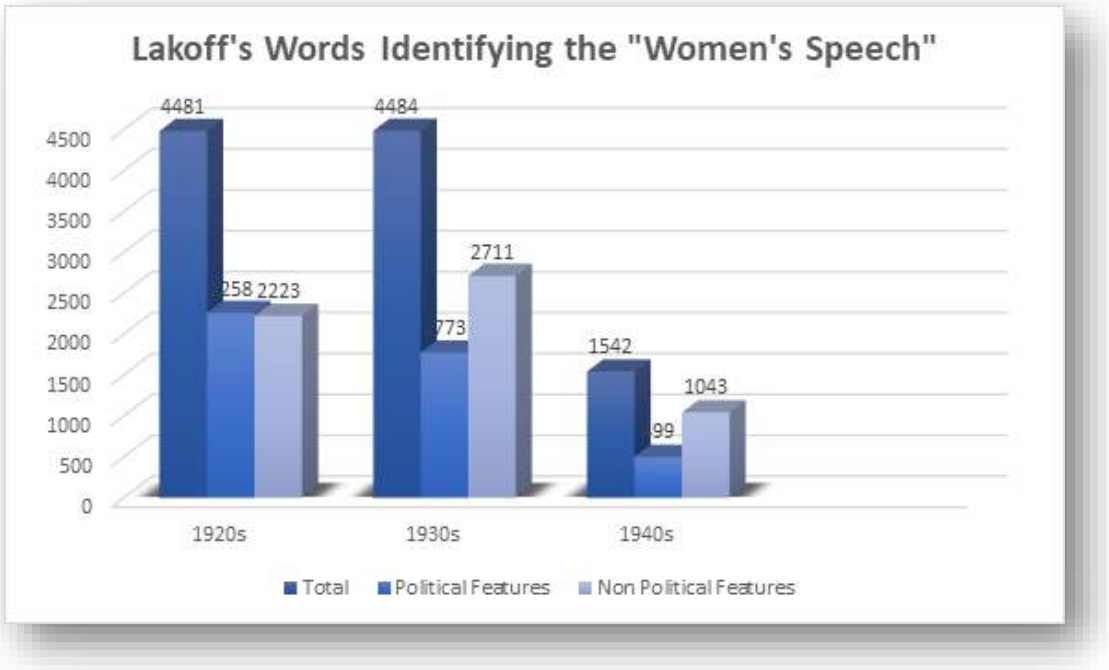


Table 5 – Lakoff's 'women's speech'. The most frequent words in the corpus identifying a gendered language, a kind of non-innate way of speaking attributed to women by text producers in *Good Housekeeping*. Almost in the same number in the 1920s and 1930s (4481 words, and 4484 words, respectively), but dropping dramatically in the 1940s (1542). From the data

alone it looks as if the language is more emancipated, or at least the contents of the magazine are not trying to build an hyperfeminine Ideal Reader. We will see how the historical context contrasts this impression.

The words in the corpus identifying a gendered language occur al-most in the same number in the 1920s and 1930s (4,481 words, and 4,484 words, respectively), but dramatically drop in the 1940s (1,542). The software has been used to look for the Raw Frequency of Lakoff's Words indicating an attempt at Gender Identity Construction, each decade represented by the same number of articles. Given that 'the same number of articles' does not mean 'the same number of words', we are also going to calculate the Normalised Frequency of the most frequent Lakoff's Words for each decade. The Normalised Frequency is the Frequency per 10,000 words, or: raw f / total tokens X 10,000 = n. frequency. For example, the normalised frequency for the 1920s is: Raw Frequency (4,481) / Total number of words in the 1920s sub-corpus (231,025 Tokens), multiplied by 10,000 = normalised frequency in the 1920s sub-corpus. Therefore, we have:

4,481 /231,025 X 10,000 = n. freq. 193,96 for the 1920s;

4,484 / 226,927 X 10,000 = n. freq. 197,59 for the 1930s;

1,542 / 89,536 X 10,000 = n. freq. 172,22 for the 1940s.

We notice how the normalised frequency of the words of the 'women's speech' was getting higher in the 1930s, right before the War, and how the number drops during Wartime, even though the drop looks slightly less drastic, now.

Looking at the numbers it almost looks like the profile of the Ideal Reader is agendered; in other words, without context, it might look like the text producer decided to be inclusive of a readership of any gender, instead of just women. Or maybe the data might suggest a more emancipated content, or a staff that is not trying to 'build' an hyperfeminine Ideal Reader. This is why contextual features in the magazine (like Wartime messages to the public, adverts, editorials, and visual communication) and a comparison with the actual historical context become useful to the analysis. As we are now analysing the gendered language, we will find that in-context investigation in Chapter 10.

As far as our corpus of texts from the magazine is concerned, the gendered language in the 1940s political columns is scarce, not because the language is more emancipated, but because *Good Housekeeping* significantly reduces the number of political columns and political opinion

items during wartime. There are fewer articles directly reporting on how the war is going, and most of these are personal experiences. As for reports on the government's bills and laws, or the state of civil rights, during the whole 1943 and 1944, these kinds of items effectively do not exist. Among war-themed features we can find a periodical column describing the life of the wives of politicians or army officers, like Eisenhower's wife or the wife of George Marshall, many articles about women missing their husbands, an article on how not go into debt, one article on the books banned by the Third Reich, but nothing specific or very detailed from the Front or from Washington. The articles are much shorter, unlike the contributions we could find in the 1920s, when the magazine seemed to be more politically involved and more focused on social justice causes. One of the most drastic changes is the editorial. The magazine features a political editorial for decades, until 1943 circa, when it becomes apolitical. For years, right after the Contents page, the magazine opens with an editorial written by William Frederick Bigelow, editor of *Good Housekeeping* from 1913 to 1940. Only rarely his editorials reference the main contents of the following pages, or take a break from the usual content for some religious reflections. Most often they are commentary on imminent elections, or election results of the previous month, references, anniversaries and remembrance of World War I, thoughts on presidents-elect, recent legislation, etc. This is why, in the Corpus selected for this analysis, the editorials feature in the 'political texts' Sub-Corpus. In the 1940s, however, the editorial is completely different. Until at least 1943, different editors and guest-contributors write editorials reflecting on the current war; some issues have no editorial at all; then the staff finally settles on a new regular editorial, with a fixed title: "Town Hall", signed by "The Editors", which does not open the magazine anymore. It just 'pops up' ten, sixteen, sometimes about twenty pages after the table of contents. Several other items open the content, month after month, until the magazine settles on a regular music column as the opener. "Town Hall", in the meantime, is certainly something that looks more like a modern editorial, anticipating the contents of this month's issue (Figures 43 and 44).

A New Welfare Bill

Women Want Women Protected

NEWS item: "The National League of Women Voters will concentrate its efforts during this session of Congress on two objectives—the ratification of the multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war and the bill creating a child welfare extension service, known as the Newton bill."

Here is the Newton bill:

"BE IT enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated annually a sum of $1,000,000 for the purpose of paying the expenses of a Child Welfare Extension Service in the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, which shall promote the welfare and hygiene of mothers and children and aid in the reduction of infant and maternal mortality: *Provided*, That of this amount not to exceed $50,000 shall be expended by the Children's Bureau in the District of Columbia and that the remainder shall be expended either independently or in cooperation with the State or Territorial agencies responsible for or engaged in the promotion of the health or welfare of children, or through such State or Territorial agencies, with county or municipal agencies engaged in child hygiene or child welfare work: *Provided further*, That the expense of such joint services as shall be undertaken shall be defrayed from the appropriation herein authorized and such cooperative funds as may be voluntarily contributed by State, Territorial, county, and municipal agencies, or child welfare or other local associations or individuals.

The Cranks Are Disarmed

"SEC. 2. There is hereby created an Advisory Committee of Maternal and Child Welfare for consultation with the Chief of the Children's Bureau relative to the extension work to be carried on under the provisions of this Act. Said committee shall include the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, the United States Commissioner of Education, and the Director of Extension Work of the United States Department of Agriculture, who with the Chief of the Children's Bureau shall be ex-officio members of the committee and serve without additional compensation. Five other members of the said committee shall be appointed by the Chief of the Children's Bureau, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, from representatives of recognized branches of child health and child welfare work not in the regular employment of the Federal Government: *Provided*, That at least one of these representatives shall be a State health officer belonging to the Conference of State and Provincial Health Authorities of North America. The terms of service of the members first appointed shall be so arranged that the term of one member shall expire each year, the subsequent appointments to be for a period of five years. The said members not in the regular employment of the Federal Government shall each receive allowance for actual and necessary traveling expenses and hotel expenses while in conference: *Provided*, That such expenses shall not be allowed for more than ten days in any one fiscal year. Appointments to fill vacancies occurring in a manner other than as above provided shall be made for the unexpired term of the member whose place has become vacant.

"SEC. 3. No portion of any moneys appropriated under the provisions of this Act shall be applied directly or indirectly to the purchase, erection, preservation, or repair of any building or buildings or equipment, or for the purchase of any buildings or lands, nor shall any such moneys be used for the payment of any maternity or infancy pension, stipend, or gratuity.

"SEC. 4. No official, agent, or representative of the Children's Bureau shall by virtue of this Act have any right to enter any home over the objection of the owner thereof, or to take charge of any child over the objection of the parents, or either of them, or of the person standing in loco parentis or having custody of such child. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as limiting the power of a parent or guardian or person standing in loco parentis to determine what treatment or correction shall be provided for a child or the agency or agencies to be employed for such purpose."

Uncle Sam and His Duty

NEWS item, again: "We are supporting the Newton bill, which creates a child welfare extension service in the United States Children's Bureau, because now, as heretofore, we maintain that the Federal Government has a responsibility for the promotion of health of mothers and babies through a scientific and educational program." The speaker was Miss Belle Sherwin, president of the League of Women Voters.

The Newton bill, let us explain, is intended to prevent the complete wrecking of the splendid work that has been carried on under the Sheppard-Towner Act, which expires at the end of this fiscal year, June 30th. As you know, a few determined opponents of that Act succeeded in blocking its extension at the end of the first five-year period, and appropriations for two years more were voted only after Senator Sheppard and other friends of the Act had agreed to stand by and let its enemies have their way with it. Without this concession the Act could not have been extended. But the extension ends with June, and unless a new bill is passed the Federal government will no longer be able to cooperate with the states in this work. It will continue to help build roads, raise better crops, and improve the breed of livestock, but not in teaching mothers how to care for themselves and their babies. We have never been able to understand why any one should oppose Federal aid to mothers. Some have raised the false alarm of states' rights, but their insincerity is very nearly proved by their votes for other Federal grants to states, some of them outright gifts. A survey of the bills appropriating money for Federal cooperative work with and in the states shows that, for this present year, the appropriations total more than fifty million dollars. Do you think it is fair to insist that only mothers and babies shall not be helped by the government?

We think that other women than those enrolled in the League of Women Voters want this good work carried on. Read the Newton bill again, and, if you approve of it, tell your Congressman you hope he will vote for it.

WILLIAM FREDERICK BIGELOW, EDITOR

Fig. 43 – A typical editorial on *Good Housekeeping* until 1940s. This one is written by William Frederick Bigelow, editor, for the February 1929 issue.

Fig. 44 – "Town hall" - The editorial in the late 1940s becomes a preview of the following contents and mostly non-political.

Good Housekeeping, January 1948.

What the Committee Decided

IT WILL be remembered that the last weeks of Congress were enlivened by the battle for and against prohibition that was fought in the committee room where a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate was listening to the testimony of wets and drys. Metropolitan newspapers published whole pages of this testimony, making it seem the most important news in the world at its time. As, indeed, it was. For the Constitution of the United States was being challenged under the very dome of the Capitol. And what was the result? Not so much attention was paid to that, though the report of the subcommittee was, of course, published in all the papers. Here it is, in the words of Senator Means, chairman of the committee: "It is the opinion of this committee that the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution is both morally right and economically wise. It is the duty of every officer, legislative, executive, and judicial, to aid in its enforcement." Senator Means adds, "The hearings have strengthened my beliefs." They doubtless strengthened also the beliefs—and the determination—of millions of others who think that this nation stepped out upon high ground when it decided that alcoholic liquors should be denied the protection of the law. Always a curse to men and nations—never defended as a blessing, economic or otherwise, but always on the ground of "personal liberty"—alcohol for beverage purposes is an outlaw in this country, and it is the duty of *every officer* to enforce the law against it, no matter on what platform that officer was elected. Those who think differently are—mistaken.

Fig. 45 (left) -" A curse to men and nations" - A detail from a November 1926 editorial by Bigelow, in which the editor takes a stance on Prohibition, debated at the Senate. To the editor"...alcohol for beverages purposes is an outlaw in this country, and it is duty of every officer to enforce the law against it, no matter on what platform that officer was elected. Those who think differently are ... mistaken."

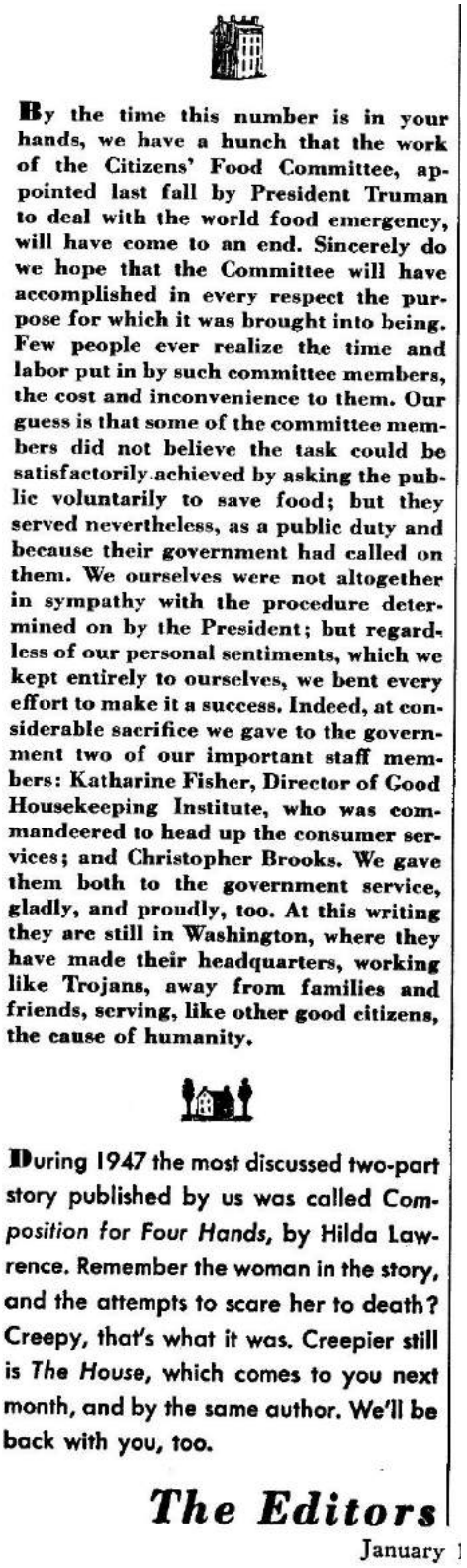
Fig. 46 (next page) -"Town Hall" (detail). The editorial in the late 1940s is signed "the editors". It mainly introduces the items in the magazine and can appear tens of pages after the cover. In this January 1948 issue it features a brief commentary on the Citizens' Food Committee.

We would have put down as positively demented anybody who told us we ever would see Victor Mature in a movie and *like* him. From the first moment we laid eyes on Mr. Mature we developed an aversion for him. Consequently we resisted furiously all attempts on the part of friends to get us to see *Kiss of Death*, in which the gentleman aforementioned is starred. But we lost out at last, and only an evening ago got around to a neighborhood theatre to view the picture. Well, we eat crow. *Kiss of Death* is easily one of the most compelling movies we ever have seen. To coin a phrase, it is terrific. The suspense is overpowering. The casting is magnificent. The direction is brilliant. Mr. Mature knocked us for a loop. The guy does his job so beautifully that he left us shattered and stunned. If he and the picture don't get a handful of Academy Awards, we'll be dreadfully disappointed. And while we are handing out bouquets on the one hand, let us also hand a brickbat to our own movie department (Please note, you fellows on page 10), which never so much as mentioned this movie when it was first released. By the way, what do you, our readers, think of our movie department? Do you like it? Do you just skip it? Have you any thoughts about how it might be improved? We'd appreciate comments.

Foreign Correspondence: "I have just received from America a very welcome gift parcel," writes Neil Bell, of Brixham, Devon, in England, whose short story *Last Act* we published several months ago. "The donor has preferred to remain anonymous but is, I have reason to think, a reader of GOOD HOUSEKEEPING. Is it trespassing too much on your courtesy to ask you to publish this note of thanks?"..."On a lovely spot on a hill not far from the sea," writes Mrs. G. Nassar, of Gaza, Palestine, "I built the house you showed in your magazine last February. It caused quite a sensation here, and is a great success."

When you get a chance to look it over, you will understand why all of us on the staff are so proud of the job that Alice Carroll, director of our Needlework Room, has done with the *Good Housekeeping Needlecraft Encyclopedia*. Experts who have seen it say it is the best book of the kind ever put together. It's available now, in stores, or through orders direct to the magazine. Price is $3.75.

Can the writing of poetry be the greatest avocation in America? Having had up to twenty thousand poems submitted to us in a span of thirty days, reasonably we have basis for the conjecture. When we reflect on how much verse is written, and how little of it printed, the odds against publication seem heavy enough to be forbidding. But people who write verse don't give up easily, and we have no desire to discourage them. When we glance over the names of the places from which poetry comes to us, we like to draw mental pictures of the inhabitants sometimes and speculate on what they do for a living in those hours when matters more mundane than poetry occupy their hands and thoughts. Can that woman be merely a housewife who sends the gallant sonnet from Neoga, Illinois? Is he a haberdasher, a hardware merchant, or perhaps a grocery clerk who indites those lines about the sea that come to us from Virginia Dale, Colorado? What does that girl do, in Mio, Michigan, who makes rhymes about the stars and planets? Or the girl in Blossom, Texas, the man in Taylorsville, Utah, the women in Jasper, New York, Wytheville, Virginia, and Sunderland, Vermont, who concern themselves with problems of love unrequited? Poetry is faith, Mr. Emerson said, the consolation of mortal men. In that definition alone may lie the reason for the vast volume of verse that is conceived and born and nurtured, in every town and hamlet in the land, every day.



By the time this number is in your hands, we have a hunch that the work of the Citizens' Food Committee, appointed last fall by President Truman to deal with the world food emergency, will have come to an end. Sincerely do we hope that the Committee will have accomplished in every respect the purpose for which it was brought into being. Few people ever realize the time and labor put in by such committee members, the cost and inconvenience to them. Our guess is that some of the committee members did not believe the task could be satisfactorily achieved by asking the public voluntarily to save food; but they served nevertheless, as a public duty and because their government had called on them. We ourselves were not altogether in sympathy with the procedure determined on by the President; but regardless of our personal sentiments, which we kept entirely to ourselves, we bent every effort to make it a success. Indeed, at considerable sacrifice we gave to the government two of our important staff members: Katharine Fisher, Director of Good Housekeeping Institute, who was commandeered to head up the consumer services; and Christopher Brooks. We gave them both to the government service, gladly, and proudly, too. At this writing they are still in Washington, where they have made their headquarters, working like Trojans, away from families and friends, serving, like other good citizens, the cause of humanity.

During 1947 the most discussed two-part story published by us was called *Composition for Four Hands*, by Hilda Lawrence. Remember the woman in the story, and the attempts to scare her to death? Creepy, that's what it was. Creepier still is *The House*, which comes to you next month, and by the same author. We'll be back with you, too.

The Editors

January

Fig. 47 - (left, detail). Another detail of Town Hall, from January 1948. It features a rare political opinion on the work of the Citizens' Food Committee. The editors point out that "We ourselves were not altogether in sympathy with the procedure determined by the President" but also that they kept their "own personal sentiments" "entirely to ourselves."

However, there is no trace of political commentary, sometimes not even social commentary, and it quickly becomes just a light-hearted anticipation of the following contributions by regular writers and guest-writers. For this reason, after a few issues, it became linguistically irrelevant to the '1940s political' Sub-Corpus, and it wasn't possible to include it anymore. But political items become rare in this monthly magazine in general. While the United States enter the war, men are sent to the Front, the country is quickly in need of money (in the form of War Bonds constantly advertised on the pages of the magazine), blood donations, more workers (both paid and volunteers), and the population suffers limitations to electricity, metal, food, and other resources, *Good Housekeeping* pages are more cheerful than ever, preparing a wedding and cooking a whole wedding banquet looks easier than ever, all the profiles of women in the magazine are about women who are Army recruits, government employees, or working women balancing job and child-care. Traditional political articles are hard to find, and this is why the 1940s political Sub-Corpus has fewer articles: thirty-six, instead of fifty.

The most frequently used Lakoff's Words identifying the 'Women's Speech' in the Corpus are "little", "such", and "should". "Little" reveal itself to be gendered once we examine its collocates, clusters and N-Grams, in other words if we take a look at its context (Figure 48). For example, it is evident its use as a Qualifier in expressions

like “a little more” (line 2), “a little of” (line 4), and “a little bit” (line 8); or expressions of Politeness like “little ones” (line 9), instead of ‘children’:

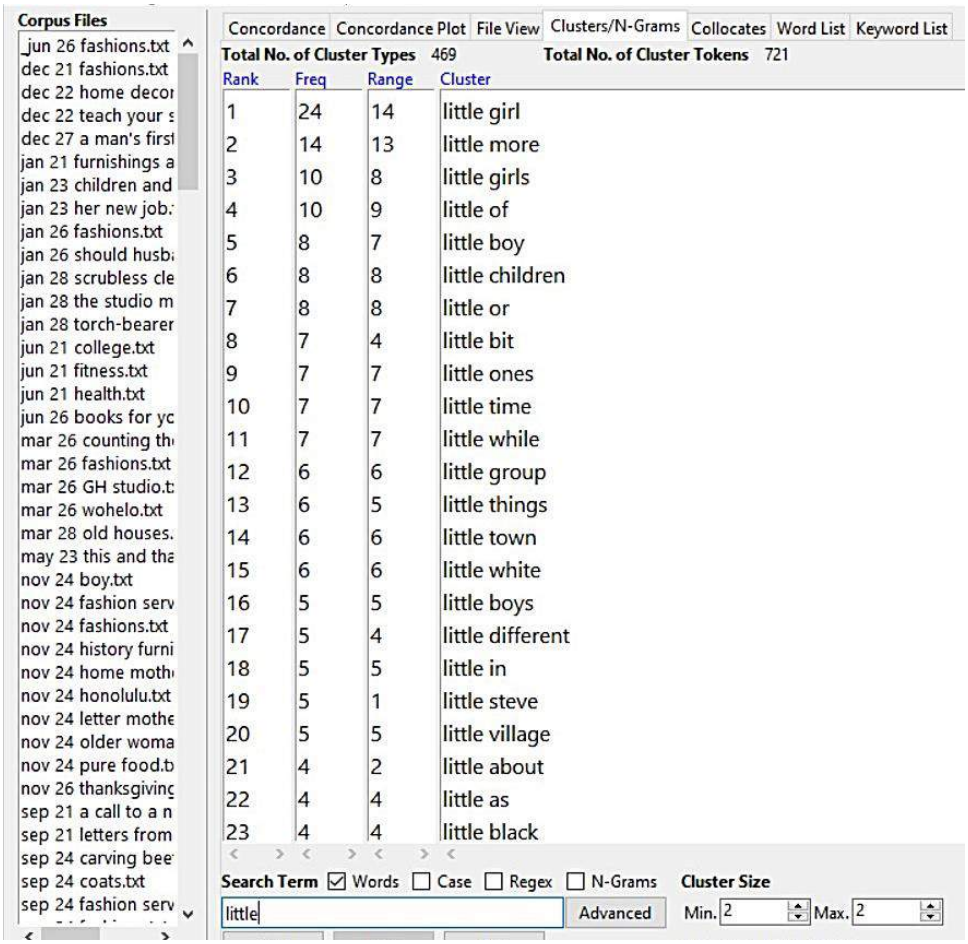
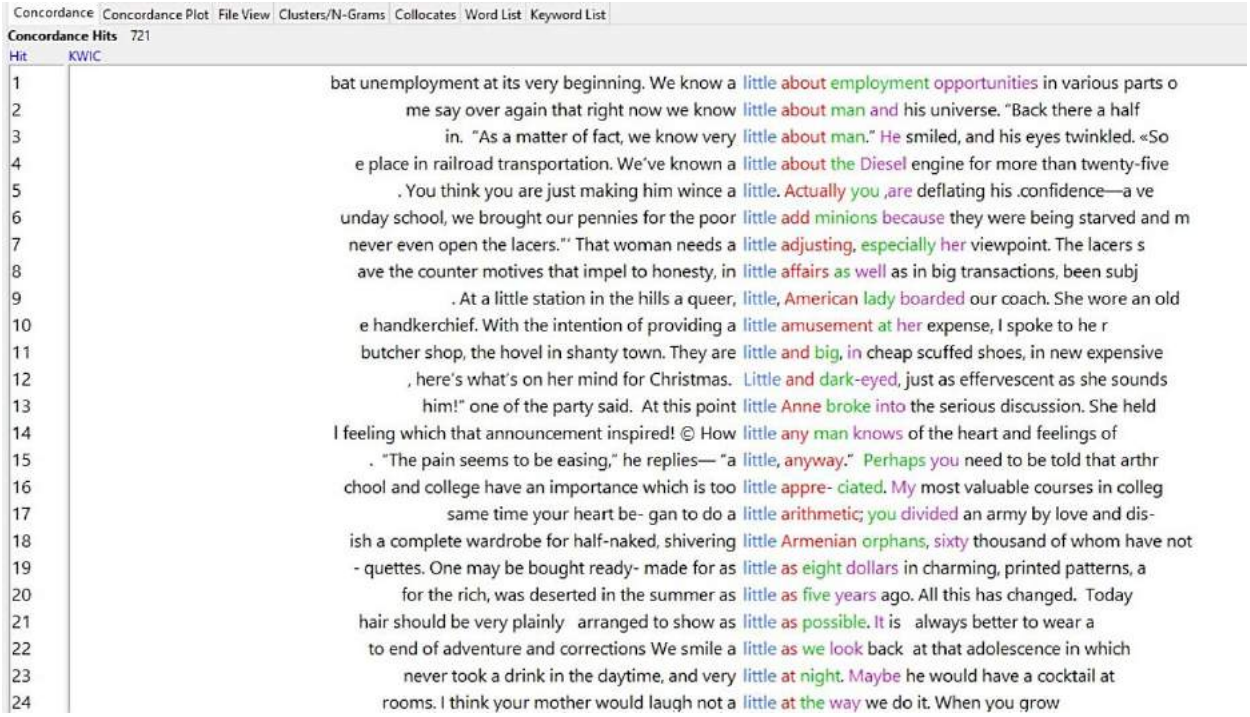


Figure 48 – Gendered Language. Clusters and N-Grams of the most frequently used Lakoff’s Word in the corpus: ” little.” In *Good Housekeeping* it is often used to render the speech vaguer, or to imitate what is considered a speech more appropriate for a woman. “Little” does not quantify age or size (that would be, for example “a five-years-old girl”).



Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List

Concordance Hits 721

Hit	KWIC
1	bat unemployment at its very beginning. We know a little about employment opportunities in various parts o
2	me say over again that right now we know little about man and his universe. "Back there a half
3	in. "As a matter of fact, we know very little about man." He smiled, and his eyes twinkled. «So
4	e place in railroad transportation. We've known a little about the Diesel engine for more than twenty-five
5	. You think you are just making him wince a little. Actually you ,are deflating his .confidence—a ve
6	unday school, we brought our pennies for the poor little add minions because they were being starved and m
7	never even open the lacers."' That woman needs a little adjusting, especially her viewpoint. The lacers s
8	ave the counter motives that impel to honesty, in little affairs as well as in big transactions, been subj
9	. At a little station in the hills a queer, little, American lady boarded our coach. She wore an old
10	e handkerchief. With the intention of providing a little amusement at her expense, I spoke to he r
11	butcher shop, the hovel in shanty town. They are little and big, in cheap scuffed shoes, in new expensive
12	, here's what's on her mind for Christmas. Little and dark-eyed, just as effervescent as she sounds
13	him!" one of the party said. At this point little Anne broke into the serious discussion. She held
14	l feeling which that announcement inspired! © How little any man knows of the heart and feelings of
15	. "The pain seems to be easing," he replies— "a little, anyway." Perhaps you need to be told that arthr
16	chool and college have an importance which is too little appre- ciated. My most valuable courses in colleg
17	same time your heart be- gan to do a little arithmetic; you divided an army by love and dis-
18	ish a complete wardrobe for half-naked, shivering little Armenian orphans, sixty thousand of whom have not
19	- quettes. One may be bought ready- made for as little as eight dollars in charming, printed patterns, a
20	for the rich, was deserted in the summer as little as five years ago. All this has changed. Today
21	hair should be very plainly arranged to show as little as possible. It is always better to wear a
22	to end of adventure and corrections We smile a little as we look back at that adolescence in which
23	never took a drink in the daytime, and very little at night. Maybe he would have a cocktail at
24	rooms. I think your mother would laugh not a little at the way we do it. When you grow

Fig. 49 – Concordances of the word ”little” in the corpus.

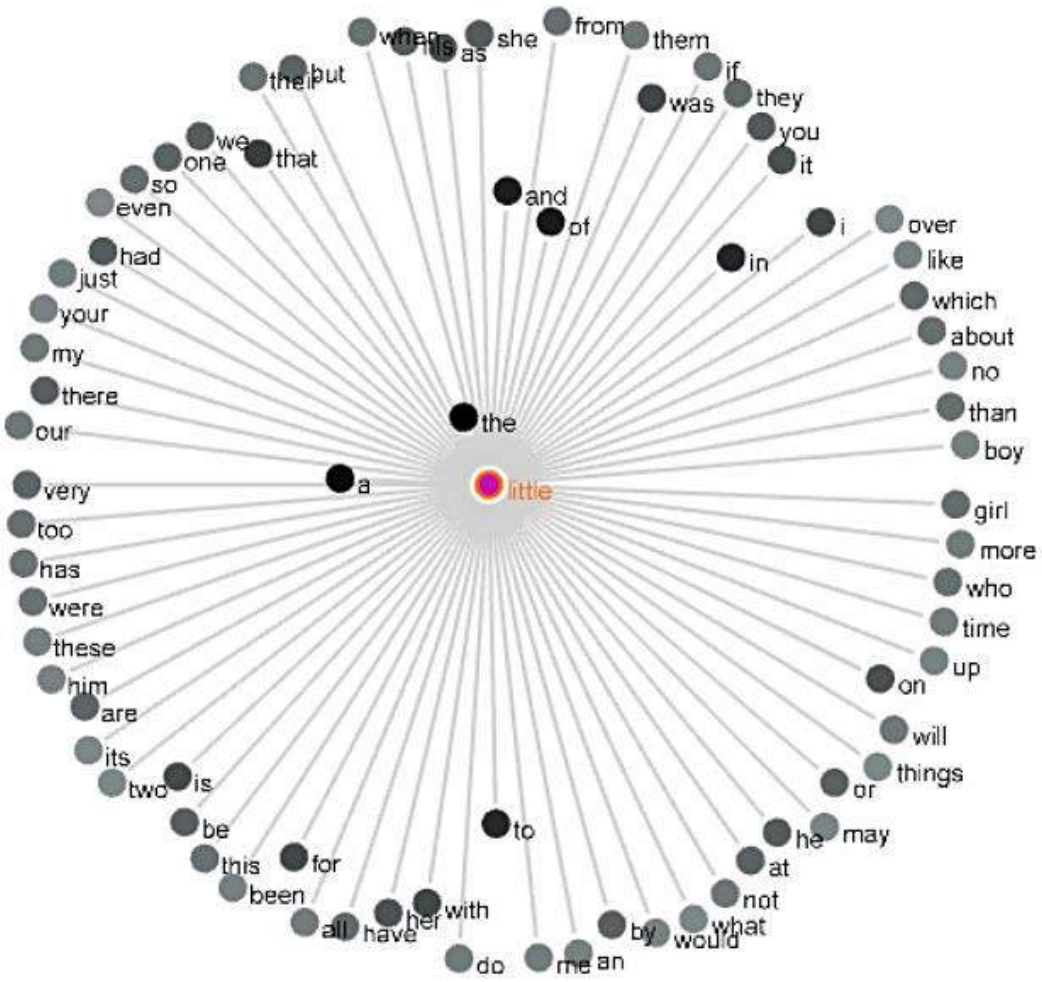


Fig. 50 – the most frequent Collocates of the word “little” in the corpus.

7.8 Conclusions

Good Housekeeping’s features provide rich material for an analysis aiming to find and examine Gendered Language; its contents are also a great source for the linguist looking to identify Gender Identity Construction strategies hidden in the texts. The Women's Speech is not innate, it is a construct, a way of speaking that has been taught to girls all around the world, and which is often reiterated by mass media like *Good Housekeeping*. In the media it becomes an imitation or re-enactment of the speech of an Ideal Reader who does not exist, and yet, in being held as ideal, is presented as an example. Data show that the use of Women’s Speech in *Good Housekeeping* is lower in the 1940s. Looking at the data alone, this might suggest an

emancipation of the use of language, or that the texts are not just targeting female but also male readers. In order not to get to a misleading interpretation of the data, we will proceed (in Chapter 10) to a comparison with the actual historical context in which these texts are created and published, and therefore a more informed Critical Discourse Analysis.

For the analyst, data then demonstrated how 1975 Lakoff's "gendered words", useful tools used to identify the Gendered Language of the XX century without a computer, just interpretive Critical Discourse Analysis, became perfectly useful to computer-based data-mining decades later, when linguists started using computer-based Corpus Analysis.

Finally, the magazine's representation of everyday life in wartime, with its cheerful, upbeat articles from the 1940s, appears more and more unrealistic through the years. Even looking beyond the usual lexical choices and linguistics strategies made by the magazine's staff, when compared to the detailed landscapes of the Great Depression painted in the 1920s and 1930s issues, and especially when it is compared to the products of historical research on the period, the magazine does not seem to give a fair representation of the decade's lifestyle in the United States. In fact, politics coverage and political opinion articles are drastically reduced, or are completely absent from some 1940s issues. In the next chapter we are going to further investigate the peculiar linguistic differences in style and content on the pages of *Good Housekeeping* during Wartime, and the reasons behind them, by analysing their Process.

8. The Process.

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter focuses on the functional analysis of the use of the Process in selected texts of *Good Housekeeping*. Language is a means of representing the world, perceived or imagined. Language "encodes our experience" (Bloor 2004, 107). The main work this chapter is based on is mostly Halliday's. A line of investigation must be narrowed down, because different linguists come from different linguistic traditions, and can give slightly different interpretations, even though they can also show striking similarities. In addition, we are going to look for only three kinds of Processes, classified by Halliday as major, but there are other kinds of Processes defined as minor. The elements identified as means of expression or representation of our perception of reality, or the perception that we want *to give* to the reader, have also been expanded through the years. Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 273ff.) discuss and develop Lakoff's (1992) demonstration of how *metaphor* is used to manipulate the public opinion in time of war. Applying the notion of grammatical metaphor, they unpacked a military text, showing that it avoids mentioning human participants and represents the business of killing people in terms of impersonal abstractions. After the functional analysis in the paragraph 8.2, in the paragraph 8.3 we find how concordances software can be used to mine data about the use of the Process through time.

8.2 The Process and Its Use in Wartime Texts.

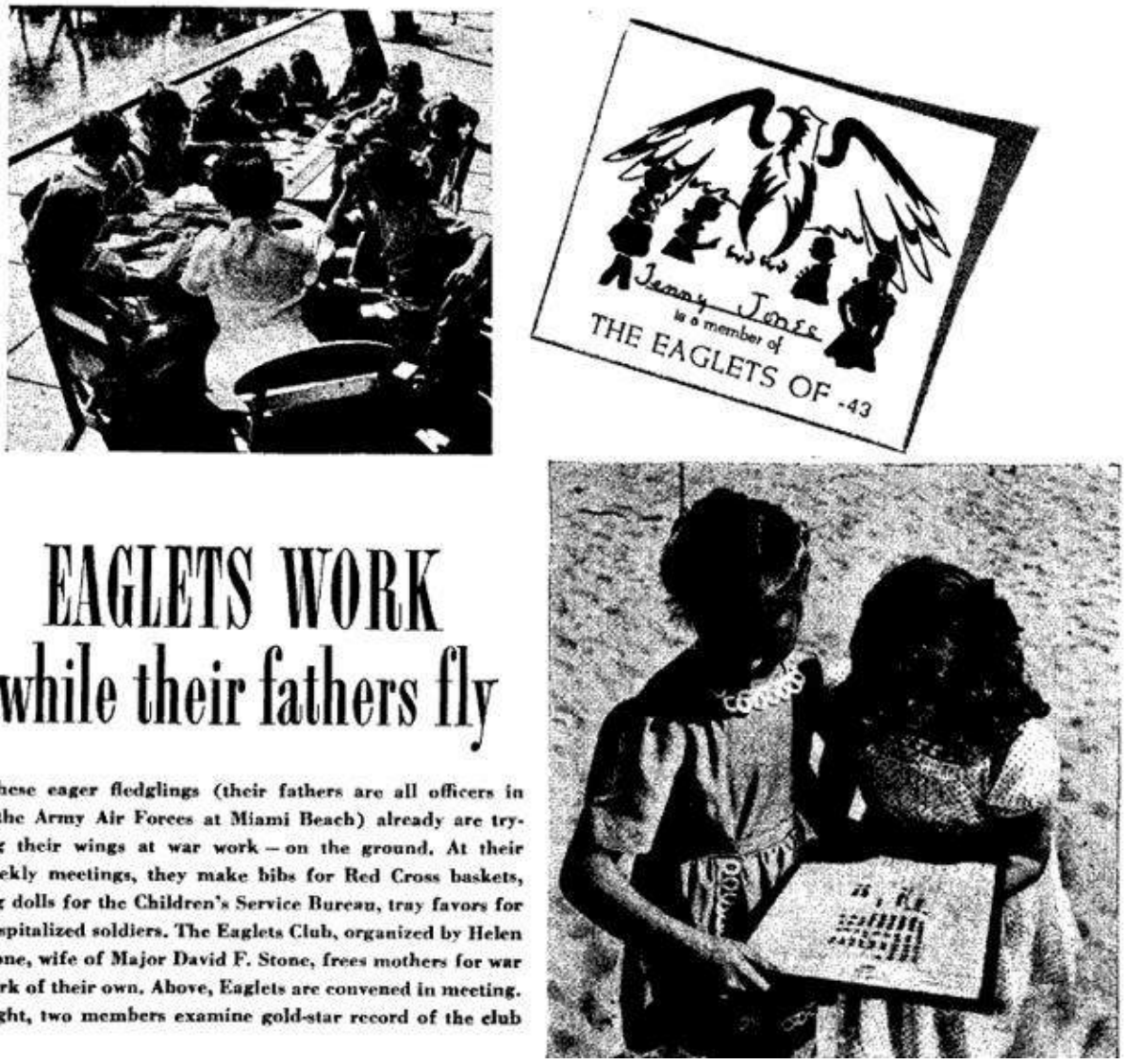


Figure 51 – The heading of the article ”EAGLETS WORK while their fathers fly”, *Good Housekeeping*, June 1943. Page 53.

It is not easy to establish when language stops being representation of experience, and when it starts determining that experience: “The extent language determines, rather than simply represents, experience is one of the major questions in philosophy and linguistics […] When we speak of language as ‘representing’ real-world events, or imaginary ones, we're not ruling out the probability the language itself has its central formative role in human experience, nor are we challenging the indisputable fact that it is also part of the reality which it is said to represent.” (Bloor and Bloor 2004, 107). This is the ideational metafunction, the clause as

representation, as Halliday puts it. Without delving into philosophy, we can say there is experience and the language that represents it, and that there is more than one linguistic construct to represent it. For example, we can see this with the active and passive voices, and their relationship with reality. Let us examine these two sentences:

A) The Eaglets Club […] frees mothers for war work of their own.

B) Mothers are freed for war work of their own by the Eaglets Club.

The sentence A) is taken from a 1943 *Good Housekeeping* article (Figure 51) and it is in the active voice, while B) is expressed in the passive voice. Some might say that the two sentences are equivalent, or interchangeable, and that they mean the same thing, and technically it is true. However, the text producer could not substitute B to A without changing something in the representation of his or her experience, and particularly without putting 'mothers' as a Subject. The author tries to put The Eaglets Club as the focal point of his or her narrative and therefore it is A that we find in the first page of the article "EAGLETS WORK while their fathers fly". This article has been published in 1943, and it describes the work and the importance of the Eaglets Club, where the children of the United States' Aviation officers do manual work for the Red Cross, particularly for the Children's Service Bureau, to benefit hospitalised soldiers. The fact that the children are engaged in their work allows, in turn, their mothers to work. Therefore, the Eaglets Club is the focal point in the sentence A and, implicitly, also in the following sentence:

C) Above, Eaglets are convened in meeting.

The Eaglets are the children sitting around the table in the photo, and they may seem the focal point of the sentence, but, this time, the passive voice makes us look for the Subject and Actor. The Eaglets have been convened in meeting by the Eaglets Club, presumably represented by the woman giving her back to the photographer, in the first photo. It is an elliptical sentence (which means the subject is omitted and implicit) but the Eaglets Club is the Subject again, and the entity that is realising the action (Actor). We can speak of these elements in the text also in terms of *Process* and *Participants*. The *Process* centres on that part of the clause that is realised by the verbal group, but it can also be regarded as what 'goings-on' are represented in the whole clause. The *Participants* are all the entities involved in the Process. Not all the participants have to be human or even animate. Indeed, in the article we just mentioned, among the participants we can find: fledgelings, fathers, they, the Eaglets club, Eaglets, two members, soldiers, mothers; but also: wings, baskets, rag dolls, favors, gold-star record. A sentence like

those we have seen, characterised by a concrete action, an action-type clause, is a material process closed (or process: material) this kind of sentence usually contains verbs that express materially doing something, or as the Bloors say 'doing-words'. In the material process clause, we can identify an Actor (the performer of an action represented in the Process), and the Goal. Here Goal does not refer to the destination of motion through space. It is something that undergoes the action. The Goal can indifferently be Subject or Object of the verb, passing from the passive voice to the active voice: given that it is the object of the action performed by the Actor, it will always be a Goal. Therefore, if we take as an example:

D) These eager fledglings […] already are trying their wings at their war work.

"Fledglings" is the Actor, while "war work" is the Goal, and that does not change even when in the passive voice of the sentence the Goal might become the Subject.

Some Processes involve not material action, but phenomena best described as states of mind or psychological events. These are the Mental Processes. Mental Processes tend to be realised through the use of verbs like think, know, feel, smell, hear, see, want, like, hate, please, disgust, et cetera. In this case the Subject who experiences the Process is labelled Senser, while the Participant which **is** the experience is defined as Phenomenon.

A) I think there is no house in America - not even the White House - to which I have felt more honoured to receive an invitation than this one.

B) I never saw such a tempting dessert.

C) You would have liked to walk eastward across the park with me.

D) So you see that the Equal Rights Bill is a two-edged sword.

All these sentences are taken from "Letters from a Senator's Wife" by F.P. Kayes, an article featured in *Good Housekeeping* in June 1922 (page 49). In every one of these sentences the Subject is also the Senser, but like in the Material Process, the two do not always have to be the one and the same, just like the Phenomenon doesn't always conflate with Complement.

Senser	**Process: Mental**	**Phenomenon**
I	Think	There is no house
I	Never saw	Such a temping dessert
You	Would have liked	To walk with me
You	See	That the Equal Rights Bill is a two-edged sword.

Table 6 – Examples of Mental Process in "Letter from a Senator's Wife", *Good Housekeeping*, June 1922.

Human or not, the Senser must always be something animate, by definition, it is a sentient being, while the phenomenon may be animate or inanimate. The Bloors notice that the author of the description of a Phenomenon in a Mental Process, whether in a comment, a review, an opinion piece, seems to give a more decisive opinion, suggesting any reader would experience the same feelings, by suppressing references to himself or herself. No-one is actually named, and the social actors of the processes are suppressed. For example, if instead of writing D, the author had written:

The equal rights bill is a two-edged sword.

She would have written a sentence which could have been true or not; however, it could have been opinable or debatable. Suppressing every social actor in the Process, the text producer implies than anyone of her readers would think the same. In this case, it has to be noted that the mentioned text is written in the form of a letter, and the *text producer* even explicitly expresses her certainty that the *text interpreter* will fully agree with her, to the point of 'describing' the reader's thoughts.

Another process is the Relational Process, which is typically realised by the verb *be* or some verb of the same class (known as copular verbs); for example: seem, become, appear (as in "she appeared cheerful") or sometimes by verbs such as: have, own, possess.

The Bloors note that "the semantics of Relational Process is very complicated, and different sets of participant functions can be associated with different, more delicate categories of Relational Process. Out of context, it is often difficult, frequently impossible, to subclassify, Relational Processes precisely." (Bloor 2004, 120). There are also several other kinds of processes. However, Halliday classifies as Major Processes only: Material, Mental, and Relational Processes, and the others as Minor Processes.[12] (Bloor 2004, 125 and 133).

8.3 Diachrony of the Process.

We are going to analyse the transitive verbs of the corpus in each examined decade. The Material Process verbs counted, in every verbal form, are: make, work, stop, say, come, go,

[12] This analysis follows the example of Bloor and Bloor's in not using the Minor Processes, as analysing the Minor Processes in this context would not add any more useful or meaningful data.

take, give, vote, do, keep, find, tell, build, earn, develop. The Mental Process verbs counted are: think, know, feel, smell, hear, see, want, like, hate, care, wish, appreciate, hope. The Relational Process verbs counted are: be, have, seem, become, appear, own, possess.

In the 1920s, when the contents of *Good Housekeeping* are much more politicised, the transitive verbs of the Material Process, Mental Process and Relational Process are most frequent in the regular political columns and opinion pieces, even though the Mental and Relational Process signal a less 'tangible' experience (Table 7).

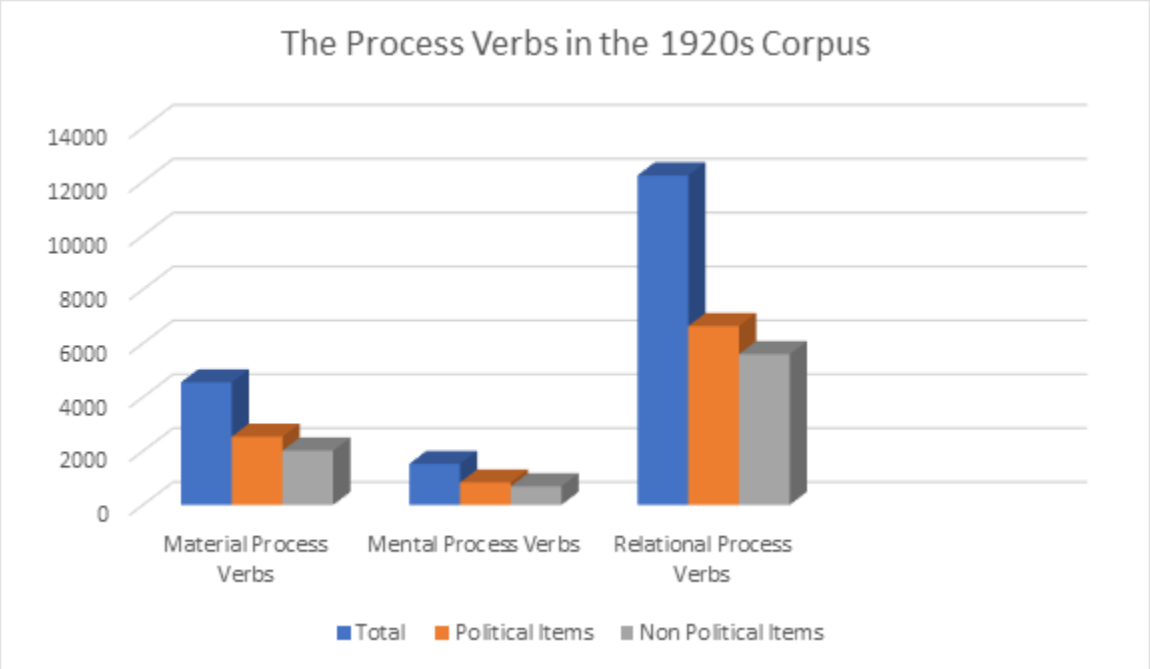
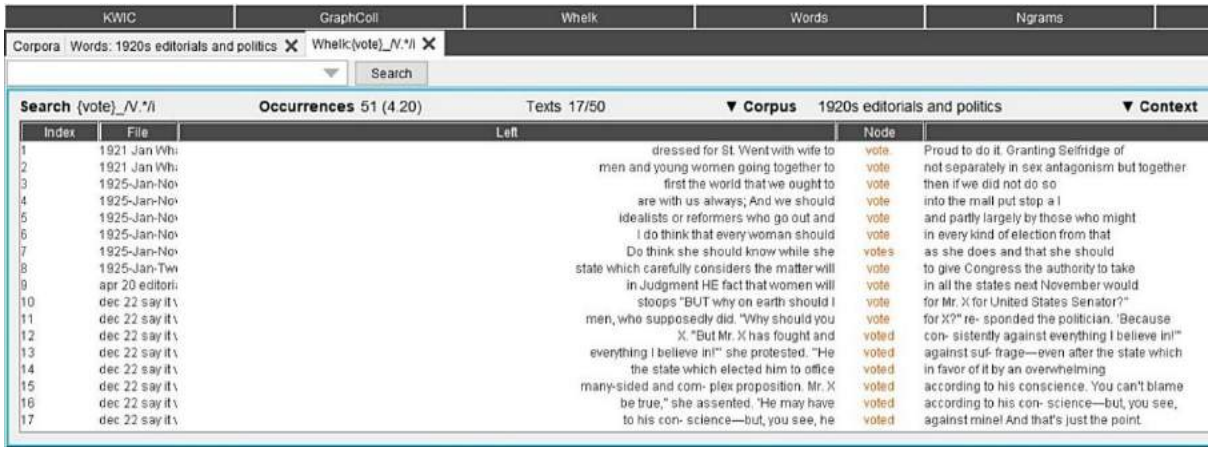


Table 7 – Transitive Verbs in the 1920s. The transitive verbs of the Material, Mental, and Relational Process are most frequent in the political columns. This coincides with a much more politicised *Good Housekeeping*.

In Table 8, below, we can find the ten most frequent transitive verbs of the Material, Mental, and Relational Process, with their Frequency, in the 1920s Sub-Corpus. The most frequently reoccurring transitive verbs of the Material Process in this decade are "to do" and "to make" and "to go". We also find "**to give**" (Frequency: 326), "**to vote**" (Frequency: 55, Fig. 52), and "**to build**" (Frequency: 67): this is the decade of the unemployment crisis, and several *Good Housekeeping* opinionists believed that the crisis could be resolved by starting or unblocking delayed infrastructure and housing projects. But it is also the decade in which many American women voted for the first time.

Material Process	Mental Process	Relational Process
986 Do	348 know	9106 be
685 Make	332 see	2715 have
441 Go	262 think	178 seem
431 Say	159 want	151 become
410 Come	132 feel	49 appear
340 Take	72 wish	25 own
326 Give	66 hear	12 possess
247 Find	64 hope	
167 Keep	51 like	
189 Tell	22 care	

Table 8 – 1920s Sub-corpus: the most frequent verbs characterising the Material, Mental, and Relational Process. The verbs have been counted in every verbal form (e.g.: do/did/done/doing).



7/50 ▼ Corpus 1920s editorials and politics ▼ Context

	Node	
dressed for St. Went with wife to	vote.	Proud to do it. Granting Selfridge of
men and young women going together to	vote	not separately in sex antagonism but together
first the world that we ought to	vote	then if we did not do so
are with us always; And we should	vote	into the mall put stop a l
idealists or reformers who go out and	vote	and partly largely by those who might
I do think that every woman should	vote	in every kind of election from that
Do think she should know while she	votes	as she does and that she should
state which carefully considers the matter will	vote	to give Congress the authority to take
in Judgment HE fact that women will	vote	in all the states next November would
stoops "BUT why on earth should I	vote	for Mr. X for United States Senator?"
men, who supposedly did. "Why should you	vote	for X?" re- sponded the politician. 'Because
X. "But Mr. X has fought and	voted	con- sistently against everything I believe in!'"
everything I believe in!'" she protested. "He	voted	against suf- frage—even after the state which
the state which elected him to office	voted	in favor of it by an overwhelming
many-sided and com- plex proposition. Mr. X	voted	according to his conscience. You can't blame
be true," she assented. 'He may have	voted	according to his con- science—but, you see,
to his con- science—but, you see, he	voted	against mine! And that's just the point.

Fig. 52 – Above: the WHELK with occurrences of the verb 'vote' in every verbal form in the 1920s political corpus. Below: detail of some examples of the verb as a Node in context. US women had the right to vote since 1920 and during the decade many women voted for the first time. In the following two decades the occurrences of 'vote' are fewer, at the lowest during wartime.

In the 1930s the Relational Process starts being much more used in the non-political articles. The Mental Process is drastically underused. This decade appears to be more consumeristic, and the contents feature a lifestyle that, after the crisis, includes activities such as holidays abroad or on ski resorts, and sports (table 9):

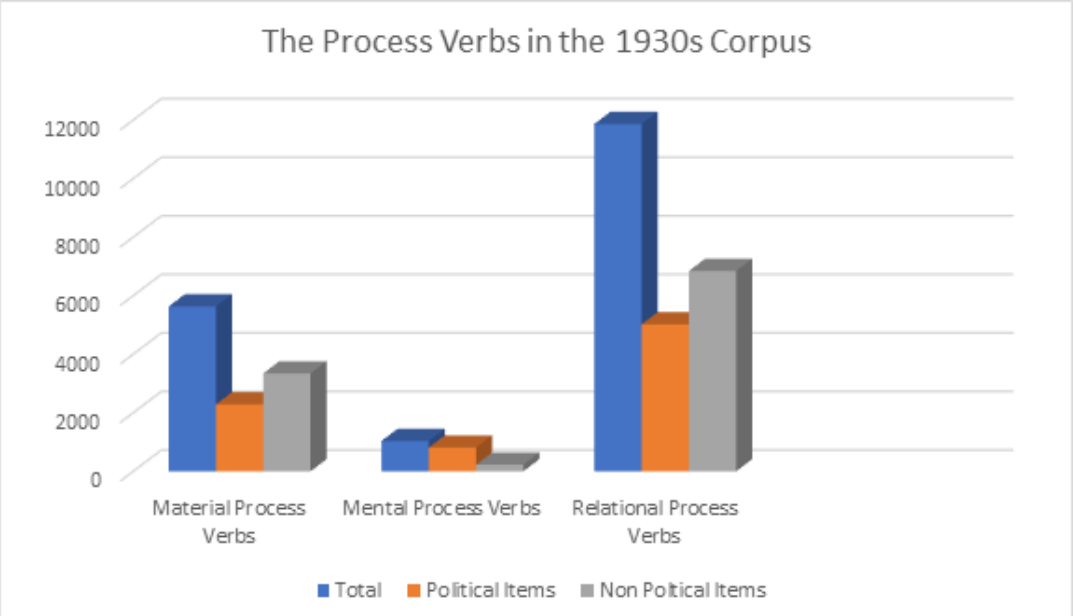


Table 9 – Transitive verbs of the Material, Mental and Relational Process in *Good Housekeeping* articles in the 1930s.

If among the 1920s most frequent transitive verbs of the Material Process we find "to vote" (55 times), in the 1930s Sub-Corpus the verb appears only 15 times. "To develop" instead goes from a frequency of 35 in the 1920s Corpus to appearing 45 times in the 1930s Corpus. (Table 10):

Material Process	**Mental Process**	**Relational Process**
1048 do	467 know	8585 be
648 make	386 see	2859 have
637 go	307 think	166 seem
625 say	281 want	146 become
438 come	156 feel	60 appear
414 take	110 hear	33 own
361 give	97 like	16 possess
305 find	53 wish	
251 tell	48 hope	
211 keep	27 care	

Table 10 – The ten most frequent transitive verbs of the Material, Mental and Relational Process in *Good Housekeeping*'s articles of the 1930s Corpus.

In the 1940s signed by a World War, the political articles' language appears to be poorer of the main transitive verbs. This is a decade in which *Good Housekeeping*'s pages are full of articles and messages encouraging a woman's duties towards Country and family, yet the actual political coverage becomes not only scarce but also poorer especially in Material, Mental Processes (Table 11). Compare with Table 7, specifically with the political columns (in orange), where the examined verbs where more predominant for every Process:

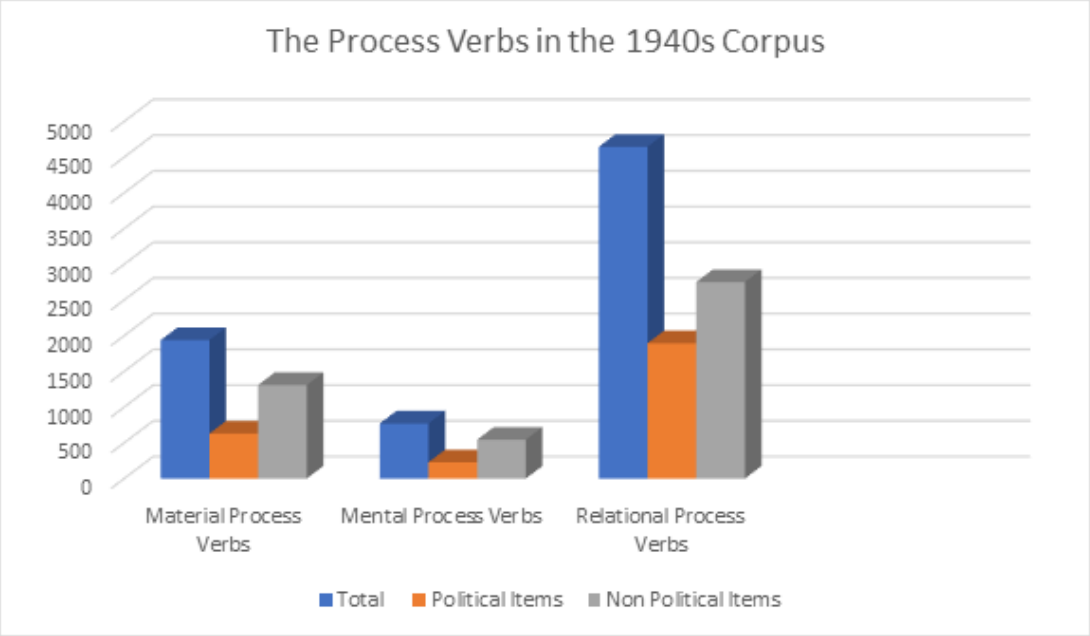


Table 11 – Transitive Verbs in *Good Housekeeping* articles in the 1940s. Most articles are about a woman's duties toward country and family, and therefore the Material Process is much more used than the Mental and Relational Process.

In Table 12 we find the most frequent transitive verbs in the 1940s articles. Notably, the verb "**to marry**" occurs 44 times in the 1920s Corpus, 37 times in the 1930s Corpus and only 28 times in the 1940s Corpus. "To develop", as well, appears 35 times in the 1920s Corpus, 45 times in the 1930s Corpus but only 13 times in the 1940s Corpus.

Material Process	Mental Process	Relational Process
392 do	199 know	3411 be
277 go	136 see	1107 have
249 make	115 think	56 become
200 say	90 want	44 seem
197 come	72 like	15 appear
178 take	53 feel	8 own
125 find	44 hear	4 possess
118 give	20 hope	
97 tell	17 wish	
81 keep	14 care	

Table 12 – The ten most frequent transitive verbs of the Material, Mental, and Relational Process in *Good Housekeeping* in the 1940s.

In the 1920s the content of the articles often centres on actions, things to do, projects to start, personal stories of activists, and the magazine's staff inviting the reader to vote, be involved in politics, sign petitions, contact Representatives and Senators. All of this is often expressed through the Material Process. But this 'involvement' also creates more detailed stories that make use of the Mental Process. The drastically reduced presence of the Material and Mental Processes during Wartime seems to be happening at the same time as a drastic reduction of columns of more detailed political news and political opinion. As a last analysis for this chapter, we chose some of the most frequent words in the 1920s Sub-Corpus that belong to a political semantic field, and, via LancsBox, take a look at their frequency in the Corpus through the decades. These words are: president, Congress, every form of the verb 'to vote', legislation, senator, representative, Senate, bill, law, elections, politics, politician/s (Table 13).

Word / Frequency	20s Political Corpus	30s Political Corpus	40s Political Corpus
President	100	109	5
Congress	97	48	11
Vote	51	13	9
Legislation	39	10	3
Bill	125	38	3
Law	148	30	9
Senate	68	17	0
Senator	78	9	1
Representative/s	27	11	0
Politician/s	11	2	4
Elections	13	0	0
Politics	33	5	6

Table 13 – The frequency in the political Corpus of a political lexicon. The words have been chosen from the most frequent 'political' words in the 1920s Corpus; all of them are much less frequent in the 1940s.

8.4 Conclusions

The way Material, Mental and Relational Processes are used in the texts of *Good Housekeeping*, both in the 1920s and in the 1940s, or one might say, in times of peace and in times of war, is instrumental to the staff of the magazine when writing about politics and war.

The representation and the perception of the world given to the reader, is as fundamental in the texts of popular magazines just as much as in articles and opinion pieces featured on a national newspaper. Just like in previous chapters, the functional analysis of the English language in the texts reveal not only the Target Reader and the Ideal Reader but also the intentions of the Text Producer. These intentions dictate a choice in the writing style that is possibly a directive collectively given to the whole staff of the magazine, who conforms to it, rather than being a personal style of the individual contributors. It couldn't be otherwise: "out of context, it might seem that the choice between the active and passive clauses is virtually unconstrained, but in context there is not the same freedom. The author could not have used the active voice […] without making a number of other changes." The circumstances determine the author's other choices, which are "consequences of his decision to present a series of closely linked consecutive events in this particular form. […] In short, it is in large part a question of the textual metafunction and thematic choice." (Bloor 2004, 108). It is important to note that these decisions might not be conscious choices, however we have seen how professional writers working for magazines tend to adapt their writing style until they disappear into the main style and linguistic choices and strategies generally characterising the magazine itself.

Analysing the data mined from our Corpus, we found that the political contents of *Good Housekeeping* do not just reduce in number during the War: they also reduce the use of Material, Mental and Relational Processes, which usually 'signal' actions, perception of the world, and perceptions of oneself. When it comes to politics and activism in *Good Housekeeping*, a magazine that was once renowned for being one of the 'Muckrakers', something changes not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. This change is going to be further explored in the next chapters.

What must not be left out from Critical Discourse Analysis of a magazine, is the advertorial content. The texts of the commercial messages are an integral part of the magazine and its corpus of texts, as we are going to see in the next chapter.

9. Advertisement and Gender Identity Construction.

9.1 Introduction

As previously mentioned, it can be important to consider the context of a corpus during an analysis, be it texts / items featuring together with the corpus on the publication, or the socio-historical context. This chapter introduces the context represented by advertising. The articles constituting the corpus are mostly preceded or followed by advertising, and said advertising appears to be 'in tune' with not only the content, but also the linguistic choices the staff has made for the articles. The texts used in advertising often feature the same register, tone, and linguistic strategies of the texts of the magazine that features them. I am mainly analysing the corpus built specifically for this dissertation, but in this chapter, I am going to apply Critical Discourse Analysis specifically to the texts of three adverts which appeared on the pages of *Good Housekeeping*. The first one in 1925, the other two in the 1940s. Critical Discourse Studies / Analysis can be used to reconstruct the ideal reader to whom the action reader is you posed to compare herself to. It can also be used to try and identify the text producers, even though usually the text of an advert is a product of more than one author. Most importantly I am going to look for linguistic and lexical choices which in advertising are usually emblematic of the circumstances and the times we live in, and make a comparison on the 'intents' of the texts producers. In other words, what does the text producer 'want' from the reader.

9.2 Advertisement is Complementary to the Texts of the Magazine

The texts of the advertising content in a popular women's magazine may be considered the extreme synthesis of all the linguistic techniques we have seen so far. Moreover, as we have seen the design of the magazine in the creation of the content is mostly functional to advertising spaces, which are the main source of income for the publication. Nowadays, the relationship between publishers, editors, and private companies is more complex and developed, to the point that sometimes it is not easy to understand if the market researchers study the readers' behaviour, as reported to them by the publishers, or if viceversa the publishers try and invite the readers to the behaviour benefiting the market researchers. According to McLoughlin:

> "It is well documented that the contents of the magazines are not randomly selected and that market researchers have sophisticated methods of studying consumers. They pass this information on to editors who can then provide what the public have been shown to desire. This is a complex process, however, since it is never clear which came first,

> the desire or the compulsion to desire. […] Magazines are underpinned by advertising revenue, which can easily be illustrated by how much space is given to advertisements. As a consequence, advertisers have an influential role in deciding the content of magazines." (McLoughlin 2000)

Besides the adverts, there are also the *advertorials* (the name being a synthesis of the words advert and editorial) that are advertisements in a newspaper or magazine that are designed to look like articles by the writers of the magazine. The already-examined features "Three smart autumn patterns for the college girl and her sister at home"[13] from 1928 or "Start with sterling for two"[14] from 1943, can be considered as some of the very first advertorials. Less than twenty years later, in the same magazine, we find the advertorial "A Message to Civilians" (Fig. 33) which we have already analysed, that imitates both an editorial and a message on behalf of the government.

9.3 An Advert from the 1920s and the "Motivational" Advertising from the 1940s.

In Figure 50 we can see a full-page advert for a new Cadillac model, featured on *Good Housekeeping*, June 1925 issue. The upper half of the message is dominated by visual communication, and it is the first thing that catches the reader's attention. The page is divided in an 'above' and a 'below'. This is also a division in 'ideal' and 'real'. Kress and Van Leeuwen state that the upper section visualises the "promise of the product" (the ideal), while the lower section provides actual information on the product (the real) using more specific communication (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996, qtd. in McLoughlin 2000, 32). Therefore, the ideal, like in many other Twentieth Century adverts, is a happy couple, carefree, who is traveling on their new car. In the image the man points something to the woman, maybe some feature of the natural landscape. However, the gesture could also express 'decisiveness' and be linked to the announcement below that "Many are deciding that their day of Cadillac ownership is here." The advert is on *Good Housekeeping*, so far, a magazine undoubtedly targeted at a female readership, but refers to both men and women ("these men and women") and the stereotyped 'Women's Speech' is entirely missing. There is also an agendered or ambivalent "motorists" ("a large number of motorists"; "these motorists"). If we try and reconstruct the

[13] see page 72
[14] see page 126

identity of the Text Producer, we find that there aren't nouns which can give us ideas on who is writing, nor can we deduce if there is one or more authors. The text however warns us of something worth of attention: "a logical thing is happening in the motor car market", that is, a closed model like this one, from this brand, is more affordable to consumers than before. The writer presents themselves as someone sure of their claims, and gives their information on the car market as a matter of fact ("logic"), and it even sounds like not listening to the advice would be stupid (or, better, illogic). Finally, the writer sounds like someone who knows or studied the readers very well ("For years these men and women have desired Cadillac closed cars..." and rest of the column). The reconstructed identity of the Text Interpreter, instead, is someone who really desires this car, who was anxiously waiting for the prices to go down and is even already deciding to have one, to the point that it is almost needless to print this message. What is really needless to say is that the woman in the picture is represented as a woman who can afford to take quality time for herself and even afford a car or can be a driver, which actually reflects a rise in female motorists in the 1920s.

CADILLAC-COACH

A New V-63 Closed Model at the Same Price as the Touring Car—$5185 f. o. b. Detroit

Many Are Deciding That Their Day of *Cadillac Ownership* is Here

A logical thing is happening in the motor car market . . . It is the "stepping up" of a large number of motorists from ordinary automobiles to the outstanding *fine* automobile.

For years, these men and women have desired Cadillac closed cars. For years they have been thinking, "Some day Cadillac will build a closed model priced but little higher than closed cars of average quality—then nothing will stop me from owning one."

Now, in the Cadillac Coach, mounted on the V-63 chassis with its harmonized 90° V-Type eight-cylinder engine and built-in Cadillac Four-Wheel Brakes, these motorists recognize the car they have been awaiting and anticipating.

Eagerly, they are fulfilling their desire for Cadillac ownership.

CADILLAC MOTOR CAR COMPANY, DETROIT, MICHIGAN
Division of General Motors Corporation

The human desire to own the best suggests the CADILLAC

In using advertisements see page 6

Fig. 53 - The full-page advert for a new Cadillac closed model. From *Good Housekeeping*, June 1925, page 107.

This advert is from 1925, but the text sound more modern or emancipated than adverts from twenty years later. Let us compare this text to two texts featured on *Good Housekeeping* in the 1940s, and clearly target women. We find again the now familiar format of selling something through the technique of impersonating someone who wants to give useful advice. But now this technique also uses as leverage the anxiety, the problems, and the sense of duty deriving from the World War affecting the reader during this decade. Let us go back to the 'victory garden' advert for Wesson Oil (Fig. 54). We already saw how this advert introduces the expression 'Victory Garden' (1943) on the pages of *Good Housekeeping*. The real world enters the advertising texts ("in these times"; "rationed meals variety"). The layout of the page reflects the visual communication noted by Kress and Van Leeuwen, given that we certainly have an ideal situation in the upper half of the advert and product information in the lower half (the real). The product information includes a 'ration hint' which, however, is just at list of all the uses for cooking oil: "RATION HINT: Wesson Oil has many uses. you need it as a fine salad oil, but it's excellent also for frying, for making waffles, muffins, et cetera, and for seasoning hot vegetables." The writer directly addresses the reader: "your family's wealth"; "you need it." Despite text is in rhymes, it also seems to claim an almost medical trustworthiness ("the vitamins, and minerals, too"; "their keeping fit").

Fig. 54 – Wesson Oil advert in *Good Housekeeping*, 1943.

The author supposes that the mother who is reading the advert is growing her vegetables in her own garden and mainly refers on how her children need vitamins and risk malnutrition. It almost sounds as if not buying the product the reader risks her children's health. In a period during which food is rationed, it is important to choose the food with the higher nutritional values, ma from this message it almost looks like children's malnutrition in wartime is a mother's fault. It is certainly an advert full of 'advice', including a recipe, but the tone is maybe in contrast with the ideal reader or target that we have just identified: somebody who is possibly a war bride, who already has many responsibilities as a citizen and as a mother, and who gets attributed even more of these responsibilities by the language used in this advert. In the same issue we then find another advert (figure 55) which on first sight seems to be nearer to the feelings of readers who might have a husband or partner at the front.

Fig. 55 - (Detail) Shoes advert on *Good Housekeeping*; June 1943.

On the upper half there is an image, but we cannot exactly claim that this suggests an ideal situation, rather it expresses hope or nostalgia or both. It is supposed that the request reported at the top of the advert is a request made by a man, the woman's partner, before leaving for the front, and reported by the woman:

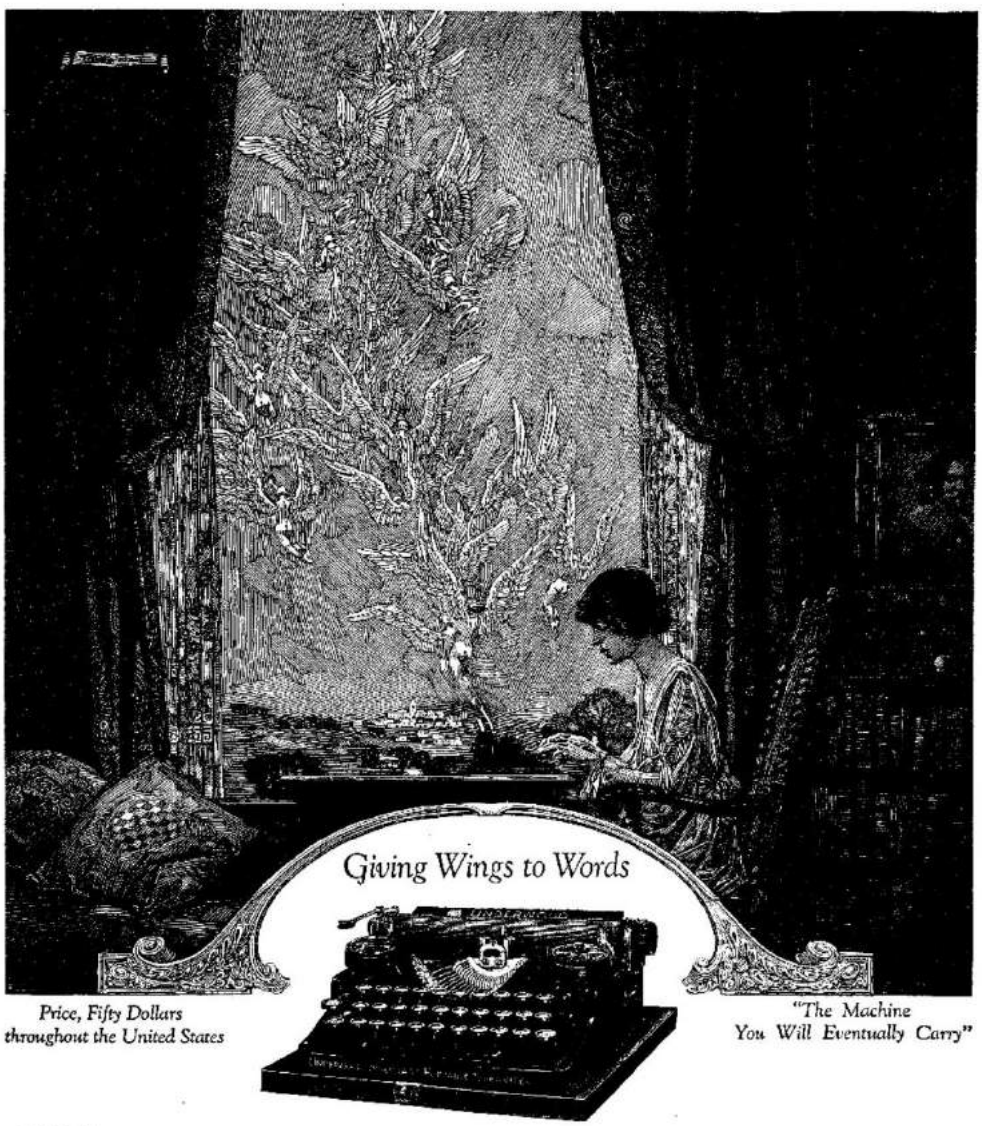
> “Darling, he whispered... Just stay your lovable, natural self - for me!”
>
> Yes - and that is a promise Natural Bridge Shoes will help me keep.

The text almost adopts a romance fiction register, it is written in first person, but then ends with a lexicon, or even whole expressions, lifted entirely from war propaganda posters and messages of the time:

> “... Things that are so important to a woman's morale, especially NOW when all of us are doing our part for our men out there.”

The author of the text not only seems to imply that buying a product guarantees that the reader will stay lovable and natural, but that doing so is also a duty. The writer supposes that the shoes introduced here are important for the morale of the reader, and that the reader needs to lift her morale because she is “doing her part” for the men “out there”. But at the same time taking care of her own physical appearance is not just uplifting after a day working to support the Country, but it's also a duty, even a “promise” to the soldiers fighting on the front. In the advert it is a soldier himself asking the woman to stay “lovable” and “natural”, adjectives which refer to an idealised image of a woman. The message seems rather to suggest That the most important thing is not working or having personal gratification, but being as feminine as possible, especially according to the standards of femininity established by the text producer (lovable and natural), not by the text interpreter.

Other examples of 1920s advertising on the pages of *Good Housekeeping* include adverts more clearly targeted at a female readership represented as aspiring writers, business girls (who give a monetary value to their complexion), or car customers buying cars “built exclusively for feminine owners” (Fig. 56):



Price, Fifty Dollars throughout the United States

"The Machine You Will Eventually Carry"

WHATEVER the mood, the place or the hour, the Underwood Portable can be with you, liberating your thoughts and feelings, at the merest touch of your finger tips—*swiftly, clearly!*

The Underwood Standard Portable is obtainable at Underwood offices in all principal cities, or direct by mail. Send for descriptive booklet
UNDERWOOD TYPEWRITER COMPANY, INCORPORATED, UNDERWOOD BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY

UNDERWOOD PORTABLE

In using advertisements see page 4

The Business Girl Knows

The Dollars-and-Cents Value of "That Schoolgirl Complexion"

THE universal rule for daily skin cleansing with soap and water is founded on one important factor: *A true complexion soap is meant.*

Thus millions use Palmolive, a soap made for ONE purpose ONLY: to safeguard and protect the skin. Remember this when purchasing soap for facial use.

Retail Price 10c

Palmolive Soap is untouched by human hands until you break the wrapper—it is never sold unwrapped

AS beauty is rated a dollars-and-cents asset by women of the stage and screen, so too it is rated today by women in the business world. Note there the lovely complexions that you see.

The rule for *gaining* a good complexion is the same as for *keeping* one—soap and water, as advised by virtually every leading authority on skin care. This to keep the skin and pores clean and free of beauty-impairing accumulations.

The one secret is in the *kind of soap* one uses. Only a true complexion soap can be wisely employed on the skin. Other soaps may be too harsh.

The rule for "That Schoolgirl Complexion"

★

Thus millions use Palmolive, in this way—a soap made for ONE purpose only, to safeguard the skin. A good complexion is worth too much for experiment.

Wash your face gently with soothing Palmolive Soap, massaging the lather softly into the skin. Rinse thoroughly, first with warm water, then with cold. If your skin is inclined to be dry, apply a touch of good cold cream—that is all.

Do this regularly, and particularly in the evening. Use powder and rouge if you wish. But never leave them on over night. They clog the pores, often enlarge them. Blackheads and disfigurements often follow. They must be washed away.

Avoid this mistake

Do not use ordinary soaps in the treatment given above. Do not think any green soap, or one represented as of olive and palm oils, is the same as Palmolive.

It costs but 10c the cake! So little that millions let it do for their bodies what it does for their faces. Obtain a cake, then note the difference one week makes. The Palmolive-Peet Co., Chicago, Illinois.

PALMOLIVE RADIO HOUR—Broadcast every Friday night - 10 to 11, eastern time; 9 to 10, central time, over station WEAF and 28 stations associated with National Broadcasting Co.

KEEP THAT SCHOOLGIRL COMPLEXION

March 1928 Good Housekeeping

Fig. 56 – Adverts on the March 1928 issue of *Good Housekeeping*. From above, an advert for an Underwood portable typewriter, Palmolive beauty products and a Dodge Brothers car.

More examples of advertising on the pages of *Good Housekeeping* in the 1940s, instead, include adverts for cars and gas companies likening their products to war effort, and more adverts with women represented as waiting for their husbands to come back from the war (Fig. 57):

YOU AND YOUR MAN

are an important part of the

SERVEL NUTRITION IN INDUSTRY PLAN

★

This plan—offered by your Gas Company to keep war workers healthy—needs your help. Read your part in it.

HERE'S WHAT GAS COMPANIES ARE DOING TO HELP WIN THE WAR

1

Putting up posters in war plants to tell your Jim or Joe the right foods to eat...and why.

2

Cooperating with plant cafeterias in suggesting Victory Lunches and energy-rich foods.

3

Encouraging local restaurants to serve balanced meals and Victory Lunches.

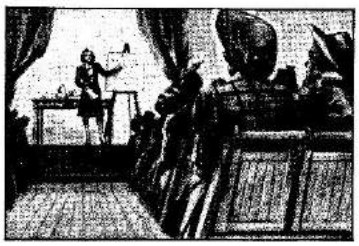
4

Helping YOU pack health-building lunches ... prepare nutritious meals at home.

PACK A PUNCH IN EVERY LUNCH!

A man needs good food to feel good, work well. A thermos of milk, a meat or cheese sandwich, a vegetable sandwich, an apple or other fruit—these are *essential* foods. But there are dozens of ways to vary them.

As part of the Servel Nutrition In Industry Plan, your Gas Company is making available to war plants and war workers a booklet of tested lunch-box recipes. This "Eat to Beat the Devil" booklet shows how to get variety in the lunch box and plenty of energy-building food value. Ask your husband about it. You can get it, too, at your Gas Company.



LEARN TO PLAN HIS MEALS THIS WAY

Making sure that your husband eats the right food while away at work is only part of your job. It's important that you plan the right meals at home, too.

Government experts have found that there are certain foods every adult needs each day, such as a pint of milk, at least one serving of meat, fish or poultry, etc. To help wives of workers become familiar with these basic standards of correct nutrition—and how to apply them—Gas Companies are conducting meetings in neighborhood auditoriums and halls. You are invited to attend.

450 GAS COMPANIES WANT TO AID YOU

Almost overnight, home-making has become a war industry—not only for the families of war plant workers, but for *every* housewife. As never before, the modern knowledge of nutrition and conservation is being brought into action in homes throughout America.

And in 450 key cities, Gas Companies offer housewives help in acquiring these new skills. This Home Volunteer Service makes available to every woman the experience and counsel of trained home economists who for years have been advising and assisting the users of domestic gas service.

The Servel Nutrition In Industry Plan has been developed with the advice of the Committee on Nutrition In Industry of the National Research Council and in cooperation with the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services as a contribution to the war effort.

SERVEL, INC.

EVANSVILLE, INDIANA

The Advertising and Promotion Department as well as the entire plant of Servel, Inc., peacetime manufacturers of the Gas Refrigerator, is today completely converted to the war program.

"WHEN YOU COME BACK TO ME..."

I know you will come back to me. I've never doubted that, ever!

And when you do come back, I will be wearing the same blue dress I wore the day you went away. And on my arm the silver bracelet you gave me last April on our anniversary.

Waiting for you, the children will be first to greet you, far out-racing my own swift step, meeting you with shouts and laughter, before I have even reached the door!

And inside, in the living room, you'll find your easy chair, your footstool and your slippers, just as they always were each night before you went to war.

When you come back to me, you will find nothing changed. Here in your town, your children are still free to sleep and laugh and play . . . still free to look to the sky, clear-eyed and unafraid.

Our house still stands, white and lovely as it always was, and down the street the maples march straight and tall, unwithered by the heat of war! And every Sunday, steeple bells still ring and in our church we still sing hymns to God.

I've told the children, and I tell myself, this is what you're fighting for! These are the things that make our lives worth living, that make this war worth winning.

We are so proud of you.

Proud that you are making sure that hate and greed and tyranny will never rise to threaten us again.

And we are proud to make our own sacrifices, knowing that they will help to bring you back to us sooner.

Back home to the same America we've always known and loved . . . where you'll be free to work and plan and build . . . where together we can do the things we've always dreamed of . . . where there are no limits on any man's, or any woman's, or any child's opportunity.

You've said, "That's the America I want when I come back . . . don't ever change it."

Never fear, darling—that's the way we *all* want it. Everything will be here, just as you left it, just as you want it . . . when you come back to me!

* * *

Dedicated to the loved ones of America's fighting men who, here at home, are fighting their fight . . . keeping for them until they come back, the same America they knew before they went to war.

* * *

NASH-KELVINATOR CORPORATION, DETROIT

We will gladly send you copies of "When You Come Back To Me," for yourself and to enclose in your next letter to someone in our fighting forces.

Buy War Bonds — accept rationing cheerfully—speed the day of Victory!

"Please, God..."

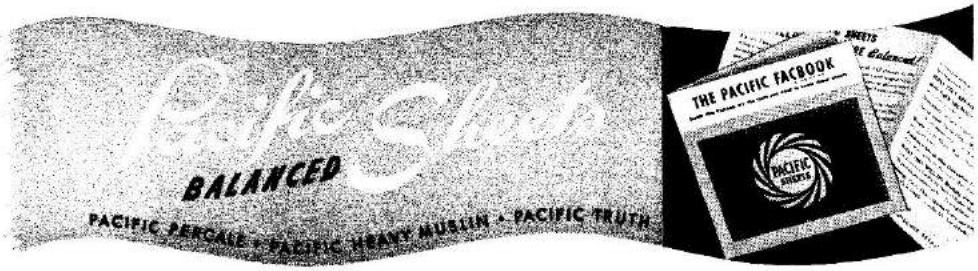
"*Please, God . . . bring him back to me safely.*" You breathe it into the quiet darkness, and wait...wait...through endless ticks of the clock, for a whisper of assurance.

The chances are that he *will* come back safely! He's the best-equipped soldier in the world. Equipped with a courageous grin and a thinking head and clever hands. Equipped with thorough training by keen, alert officers. Equipped with dead-shot weapons, nourishing food, excellent medical care, good shelter, proper clothing.

You know that. You're equipping him yourself, by your war production work, your purchases of war bonds, your sacrifices on the home front. Everything you do can be done in a way to help the war effort. Remember this when you buy sheets.

First ask yourself whether you really need them. Then determine to get the best value for your money; read what's on the labels. Finally, after you've bought the sheets of your choice, take good care of them so they'll last as long as possible. (Your retailer can tell you how.)

All these things will do their mite to speed Victory, and you'll have the joy of knowing you helped to bring your soldier back safely. Pacific Mills, 214 Church St., New York.



Pacific Sheets are made on the principle of balance: all the desired qualities — whiteness, softness, smoothness, strength and firmness — are present in *equal* degree. Identified by the Pacific Facbook, the informative label which tells the size, quality of cotton, type of weave, thread count, breaking strength, finish, weight, and shrinkage. Made by the makers of Pacific Factag Fabrics.

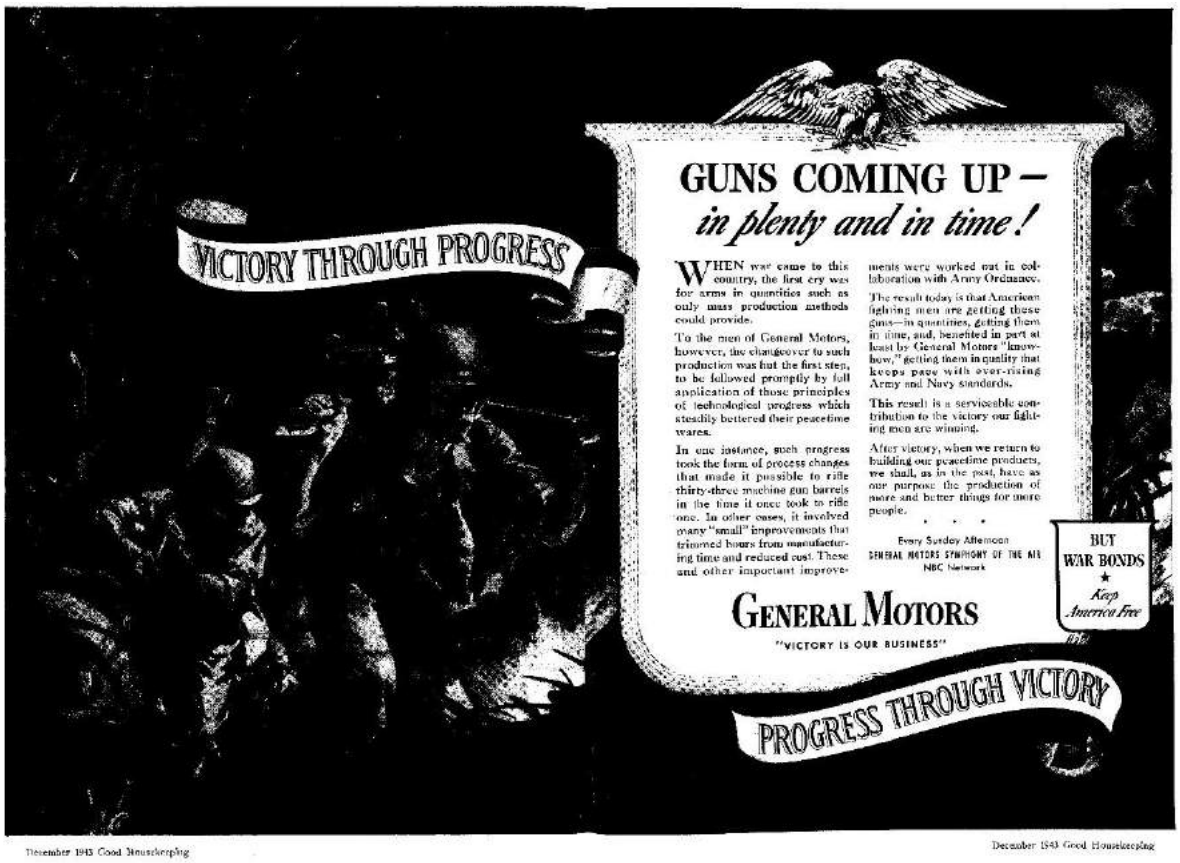


Fig. 57 – Adverts featured on the pages of *Good Housekeeping* in the 1940s. (From above) a Servel, Inc. advert explaining how the gas company is helping to win the war (December 1943); a Nash and Kelvinator car and appliances advert representing the potential customer longing for her partner to come back from the war (June 1943); another advert with the same premise: a woman praying for her husband to come back alive for Pacific sheets (June 1943); a two-page General Motor advert proposing the image of a company that brought "technological progress" and "improvements" to the US Army (December 1943).

9.4 Conclusions

From an analysis of the texts used in advertising in the 1920s targeted at the readers of *Good Housekeeping* transpires a reader who can afford a car, can afford to travel, and desires to be educated. Despite being hyper feminine, the texts seemed to aim for a woman who is definitely more emancipated than she appeared to be in the previous decades. Looking at advertising from the 1940s not only we find lexicon and expressions lifted from war propaganda posters and war propaganda messages to the public but also expectations that are more unrealistic, and often we find that the text producer chose to use a diffused sense of anxiety and worry for the

men fighting at the front as a premise to introduce their product. In Chapter 10 we are going to analyse specifically the decade in the Corpus, the 1940s, in which the Identity Construction strategies become more extreme, in other words when the Ideal Reader becomes most distant from realistic standards. In order to do so, it will be necessary to compare the content and messages of *Good Housekeeping* with historians' reconstruction of the era.

10. The 1940s Gender Identity Construction Becomes Extremely Unrealistic

10.1 Introduction

In Chapter 8, analysing the Process, we found that data show that in the 1940s *Good Housekeeping*'s staff uses Lakoff's 'Women's speech' less and less. Just looking at the data the use of language and content of the magazine might look more emancipated. In order to verify if this is true, it is necessary to compare the message conveyed by the articles of the magazine and the work of historians reconstructing the real everyday life in the United States during those years. By 'message' however here it is not intended just as communication taken at face value, but also all the linguistic strategies to which the reader is subjected. Linguistic strategies and messages reaching the readership of *Good Housekeeping* are not just represented by the corpus of this analysis, but, as we have seen, also by all the commercial content which features on the issues together with the articles written by the staff. We have seen how during the war the reader of *Good Housekeeping* is also subject to endless propaganda content created by the United States War Propaganda Board, and motivational content created by private companies (4.4); we have also seen how contents of *Good Housekeeping* use the same slogans and the same expressions of war propaganda posters. We found an example in 5.4, with the expression "Nothing must go to waste!", which directly quotes war propaganda posters by the United States Food Administration. In Figure 33, as well, we have seen how vastly diffused where posters inviting women to get specific jobs, in an effort to raise the productivity in the United States to support the Army. These messages too were certainly reaching the readers of *Good Housekeeping*. War propaganda posters are neither adverts, or part of the Corpus of this analysis. However, they are part of the context in which the reader of *Good Housekeeping* interprets the magazines contents and their references. Their texts and slogans present striking linguistic similarities with the advertising texts in the magazine and should be considered a paratext or complementary to the linguistic strategies of *Good Housekeeping*'s staff.

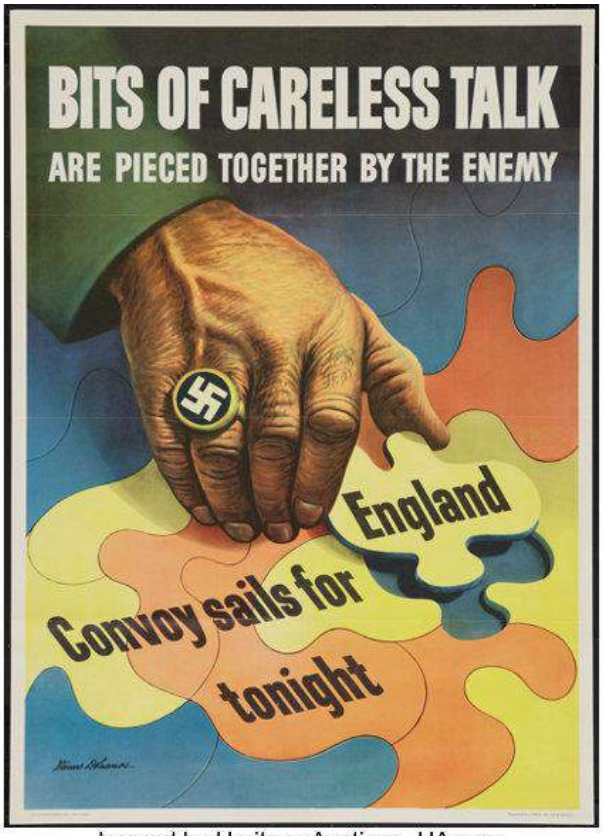
Paragraph 2 of this chapter includes examples of another kind of propaganda poster. These are war propaganda posters which are neither asking women to do a certain job or to buy a certain product or to invest in war bonds: these are posters requesting a certain behaviour from women. Being both paratext and messages inviting women to exhibit certain behaviour in public an in private, these texts become complementary to *Good Housekeeping*'s Gender Identity Construction strategies. The same paragraph will feature a few examples of additional and less subtle behavioural suggestions provided by *Good Housekeeping* staff themselves. Data analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis cannot be extrapolated from the historical and sociological context. This does not mean that the linguist analyses a corpus only to detect

whether this may reflect some type of technical or ideological manipulation in varying contexts. A linguist can also capture social variation and capture the change in language and society. Critical Discourse Analysis combines critique of discourse and explanation of how it figures within and contributes to the existing social reality, as the basis for action to change that existing reality in particular respects. In the words of Norman Fairclough: "in CDA as I see it, being critical is not just identifying features and types of discourse which are open to criticisms of various sorts (e.g., are false, or manipulative), it is also asking: why is the discourse like this? In other words, […] being critical means looking for explanations." (Fairclough 1988, 7).

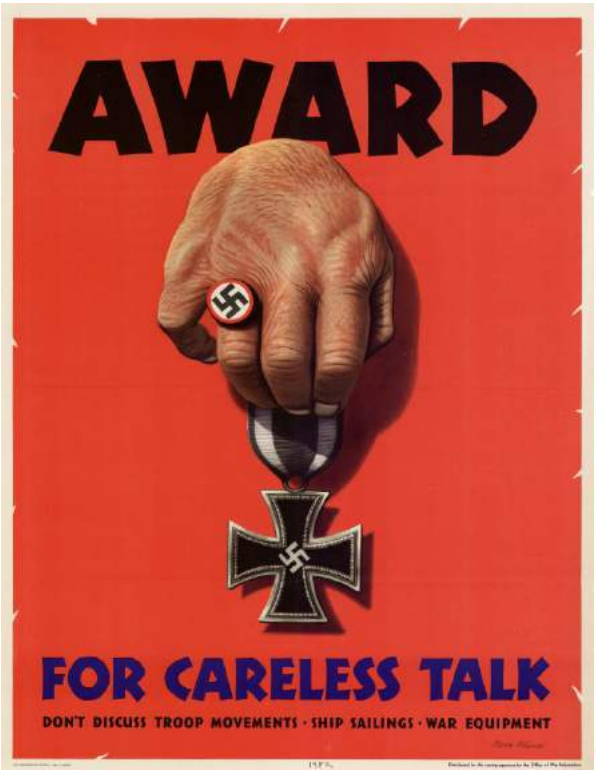
In Paragraph 3 instead of the linguistic context, we investigate the historical context thanks to memory archives collected by the San Diego Historical Society. Collected interviews to women who actually lived in the United States during the 1940s are fundamental for a comparison between *Good Housekeeping*'s representation of reality and the reality of the time. In Paragraph 4 we go back to the articles of *Good Housekeeping* and specifically examine an article presenting the magazine's Advisor Format during wartime and, in light of the context so far provided, we will investigate if the content is more or less realistic and more or less gendered than the content of the previous decades on the same magazine.

10.2 Best Behaviour: War Propaganda and *Good Housekeeping* Guidance

A Wartime citizen in the 1940s was subjected to a series of government's messages which not only invited to apply for specific jobs, donate blood, time and work, offer a guest room to traveling soldiers, to not waste resources and electricity, to buy war bonds, and to deal with shortages of some materials (such as metal). US women were also invited to write to soldiers at the front and be careful of what they were saying in public. Receiving letters from the front might have meant having information on the position or movements of the soldiers, and citizens were invited not to talk about them in public, in case spies were near, listening. In the following pages are some examples of this kind of posters diffused in the US at the time:



Imaged by Heritage Auctions, HA.com



Imaged by Heritage Auctions, HA.com

Fig. 58 – Wartime posters circulating in the United States asking citizens not to talk about troops in public, implying a spy might be listening.

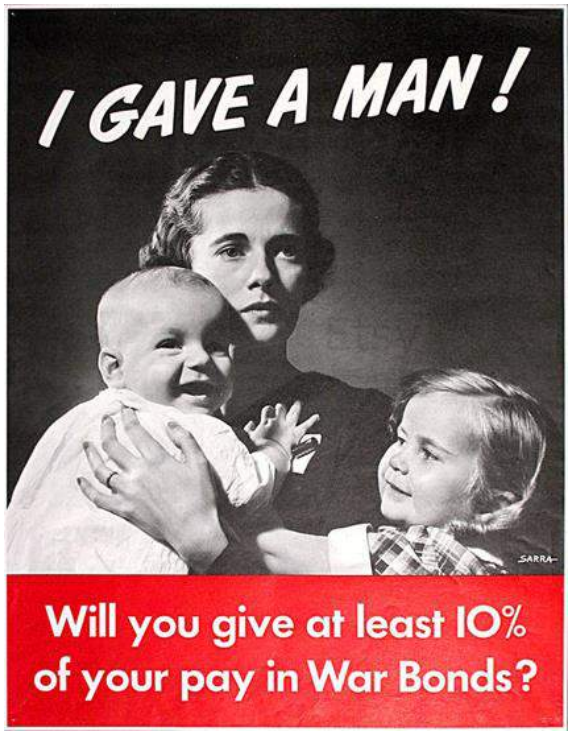


Fig. 59 – (Left) A poster inviting to invest in War Bonds. War Bonds adverts were on every issue of *Good Housekeeping*. Commercial brands advertising their products on the magazine, too, reserved a part of the advert to invite to buy War Bonds.

Fig. 60 – (Below) A poster inviting citizens to favour spoken English language rather than foreign languages.

In the same years, the pages of *Good Housekeeping* start echoing the government's recommendations. The magazine's staff however also adds guidance on how to be more lady-like in these trying times. In a recurring item, similar to a satirical comics strip, illustrated and in rhyme, there is not much linguistic analysis to make in order to make a gender construction strategy surface from the text, given that said item is not particularly subtle (Fig. 61 and 62). Occasionally, the magazine also features guidance on how to behave in other situations, such as how to behave in hospital (Fig. 63), or how teenage girls should behave on a date (Fig. 64). On the January 1942 issue we find staffer Katharine Brush's resolutions: "I will stop talking through my hat about the war and about Washington…". In every issue, the staff's content is accompanied by advertising content referring to the war, promising a product is helping to win the war or that women are helping to win the war (Fig. 65) or the occasional advert in response to propaganda content from the enemy, promptly used in the introduction of a commercial product (Fig. 66).

Fig. 61 – In the early 1940s *Good Housekeeping* introduces an illustrated ironical guide on how to behave in social situations, that usually appears on the first pages (September 1942).

Fig. 62 – From *Good Housekeeping*, July 1943.

How to behave in the Hospital

BY ZULMA STEELE

A hospital sounds like an alarming place to a prospective patient, especially in these days of wartime emergency, when doctors, nurses, and supplies have been diminished to meet the pressing needs of the armed forces. Hospitals are crowded to capacity, and their personnels are working overtime; but you still can receive good care if you are willing to fit yourself into the hospital routine and observe a few simple rules.

Well, grin and be scrubbed!

DO . . . .

Leave home problems at home, where they belong. Tie up your domestic affairs in a tidy bundle and leave them behind on the doorstep, if time and the ambulance permit. If not, leave them to others, who can handle them as well as you can.

Accept the hospital routine the minute you enter—even if this includes an admission scrub, which you think you don't need, or payment in advance, which you may not have expected. It is wise to accept the rules, especially in your weakened condition.

Submit gracefully to examinations, X rays, and tests, including the Wassermann, which is a diagnostic necessity and not a slur on your character. Repetition of tests may seem silly to you, but is important to a doctor watching developments.

Fit yourself into the schedule of baths, bedmaking, bedpan, thermometer, and pulse taking, to lessen the burden on nurses or volunteers, who are working under high pressure. When you ring for assistance, try to ask for everything at once. A bell that peals at five-minute intervals does not chime sweetly on the nurses' ears.

Make an effort to learn the names and duties of various nurses and helpers as a matter of simple courtesy. The head nurse should be consulted only on major matters. Floor nurses, both graduate and undergraduate, nurses' aides, or hospital maids will perform routine services.

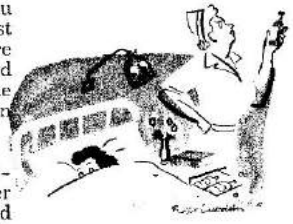
It isn't smart to smuggle

Obey your doctor's instructions. They're for your own good. It's not clever to smoke against orders, or to entice your friends to smuggle in forbidden candy or liquor, or to get out of bed when you're supposed to stay in it. You might faint.

Be considerate of other patients within earshot. Extended conversations on the bedside telephone or blares from a bedside radio are not especially good for you, and they can be anathema to a nervous neighbor, who may be much sicker than you are.

Ask your family and friends to cut telephone calls to a minimum. Hysterical phone queries will not be relayed to you, and they may interrupt the vital work of a nurse. If you are not "doing nicely" or "as well as can be expected," or if your condition becomes serious, notification will be given.

Persuade visitors to be considerate of hospital laws and other patients. If you are in a ward or semiprivate room, insist that visitors come **only during** visiting hours. Ask them to converse quietly. If you can do so tactfully, suggest that flowers be sent before seven P.M. The harried night nurse has little time to fuss with American Beauties.



***Your* medicine stays home**

Praise liberally whenever you can. Remember that nurses, interns, and doctors are human beings and react characteristically to appreciation and gratitude. If you are a patient patient, you will be honored with the hospital's highest compliment, "Good Patient," which will insure thoughtful solicitude for you if you ever have to return.

DON'T . . . . .

Struggle against regulations that strike you as arbitrary, unnecessary, or unimportant. Save your strength. You may need it to get well, and there must be a reason for rules.

Grieve or explode if you can't get a private room. They're scarce. As a semiprivate or ward patient you will receive the same care and have companionship as well. It is comforting to have a fellow-victim in the next bed to compare pains with.

Insist on the luxury of a private nurse unless the doctor specifically orders one, and don't cling to a private nurse when you are well on the road to recovery. At a time of critical medical shortage, this selfishness is more dangerous than hoarding.

Cling grimly to your valuables. Most hospitals require them to be removed, (*Continued on page 99*)

Fig. 63 – *Good Housekeeping*, August 1943. Excerpt from "How to Behave in the Hospital."

Fig. 64 – *Good Housekeeping*, February 1944. In the 1940s the magazine's staff starts targeting more content to teenagers too, instead of just mothers or brides-to-be.

Fig. 65 – An advert for a brand of beef presents a woman who helps win the war and includes the war reference "Food Fights for Freedom" (at point 5); *Good Housekeeping*, January 1944

Fig. 66 – *Good Housekeeping*, June 1943. An advert that appears to answer back to "foreign propagandists."

10.3 The Historical Context: Magazines and Reality.

While the pages of *Good Housekeeping* during the war presented a positive and light-hearted tone, historians reconstructed the actual daily life of working women during Wartime. Karen Anderson and D'Ann Campbell think "that the real prestige was conferred only on women who assumed previously male responsibilities, not on those who performed traditionally female functions." (Anderson 1981, 10). Clearly *Good Housekeeping* content implies that the expected role of a woman was also to be a proper homemaker, even if she was working outside of the house, therefore we will focus on that role. It was already mentioned in 5.5 that there was a housing shortage, it was hard to find day-care for children, food was rationed, and people lived in fear of a possible attack by Japan on the West Coast. Kimberly A. Hall for the San Diego Historical Society conducted a series of oral interviews of women who lived in San Diego during the wartime era. The women were selected randomly and hold different experiences. They were wives of aircraft workers and military men, as well as single young women. We have seen how the reader of *Good Housekeeping* looks like someone who could own a "victory garden" but due to the housing shortage many people were actually forced to live in cramped and quarters (Pourade 1977, 8). In San Diego the largest housing project, Linda Vista, consisted of over 3500 dwellings constructed in early 1944 (Sheehan 1992,1) it lacked many necessities. The city supplied water to the area, but only a single ten-inch pipe connected the water supply of a town or 13,000 to the outdated San Diego city water pipes. A similar problem existed with sewer lines. Plans for a shopping centre, quality roads and schools were never carried out. Kay Hill, one of the interviewees, walked three miles to the closest store and bought her groceries in two weeks periods. Other families lived on trailer camps. 650 trailers were constructed through government allotment. People from thirty different states had gathered in one tight area. As we have seen in Chapter 5, popular magazines suggested other alternatives and *Good Housekeeping* in particular suggested living in a barn (Draper 1943, 131). Another one of the interviewed women, Mary Jane Babcock, had to live in a garage after her marriage in 1942. "There weren't many places [available]", she recalls. Termites later forced Babcock to leave the converted garage in search of a better place after her husband left for war. She was lucky to find an apartment in Ocean Beach, Babcock's roommate had followed her husband to San Diego from South Carolina. They spent seven months sharing the tiny apartment while he was housed by the military. Louise Johnston had a similar experience after her migration from Oklahoma to San Diego. She relocated because her husband obtained a job with Consolidated Aircraft Corporation. She explained, "I never saw such little apartments in my life. The bed

was made into the floor, you couldn't move it." Many women followed military men to San Diego to say goodbye before they left for war.

The city was known as a "port of Navy wives." The women were viewed as a nuisance by the city because they were thought to use up space needed for defence workers. As *Collier's Magazine* put it, "San Diego wishes heartily that they'd all go back where they came from... they sleep everywhere" (Huntington Smith 1944, 15,75-76). With insufficient housing women slept in hotel lobbies, city parks, cars, and theatres. They arrived with babies who required special feedings or children who needed shelter. Wives of construction workers also experienced substandard living arrangements. A building rush in San Diego lured construction workers who were forced to live in tents with their families.

> "Women were encouraged to have children, increasing their work. Only months before the United States declared war, the *San Diego Union* published an article entitled "Four Babies Needed in Each Family" (*San Diego Union*, September 28, 1941). That number was needed, the Union argued, to maintain the population. In San Diego the birth rate rose from 18.49 per 1,000 in 1941 to 21.7 in 1945. Nationally, the population aged 5 and under grew 25% between 1940 and 1943" (Hall 1993).

Babcock had a job at the Southern California Telephone Company working nights. Her hours were restricted because of her baby: "A child made a difference in everything... I wasn't able to just make a decision, everything had to be considered [according to] ... my responsibilities for him." Baby clothes were difficult to obtain, maternity clothes where borrowed. In the articles of *Good Housekeeping*, domestic work doesn't sound like a no-stop work which occupies all the hours of the day.

> "Housekeeping was an endless challenge during the war. Women performed household tasks without adequate appliances. The production of washing machines, vacuum cleaners, sewing machines and other appliances stopped in February 1942. Many were expected to perform housekeeping chores of the 1940s using methods of the pre 1920s. As Campbell points out, "the housewives' reports and the national surveys for wives in all classes of society reflected modes of frustration and heroic efforts to meet family needs." chores were more strenuous and time-consuming coma and we're often done alone. Washing clothes by hand was commonplace. "I had a scrub-board and baby diapers and no disposable diapers. I had a big kettle and boiled them in Borax," recalled Babcock. […] In February 1944 Mrs Hazel Hart and laundry service that helped 100

> persons each week […] It Was set up so women could either do their own wash or have it done for them. It saved time for their busy schedules and allowed them to write letters or shop while their clothes were being washed. *Good Housekeeping* suggested: "wash often … it lightens the work … soak dirty clothes … do not boil" (Kendall 1943, 111-112). […] Babcock had her name on a list to purchase [appliances] as many women did when production of appliances resumed in 1945" (Hall 1993).

The government rationed sugar (needed for the manufacturing of gunpowder), coffee, meat, and butter. Across America women were encouraged to grow food in their yards. "Victory gardens" connected women's work with winning the war. A grey market existed in San Diego, by way of Mexico. Women crossed the border to obtain needed items. The practise was illegal: there was a restriction of $7 per person by the customs officers before crossing the border. Upon re-entrance to the United States, they were checked for the possession of superfluous goods. Vouchers could be used to buy only shoes that weren't made of leather, and therefore less durable. Women who travelled to Tijuana to purchase shoes, often had them taken away after they crossed the United States border. Johnston recalled women who were arrested for crossing the border wearing as many as 150 pairs of hose stockings. There was also the black market, and people cheating on the rationing. There was also rubber shortage and citizens were encouraged not to use too much electricity. Some women hoarded to overcome the shortages. Johnston used her rationing stamps to purchase everything possible, regardless of need. She particularly hoarded sugar. Babcock was solely responsible for fixing meals for herself and her child. While her child ate baby food, she improvised by surviving on Chef Boy ardee, Shredded Wheat cereal, and tea made from reused tea bags "anything but a balanced diet."

Popular magazines were giving hints to women on conserving energy and materials. *Ladies' Home Journal* detailed instructions for women on "how to rinse, bleach, hang, and iron sheets to cause the least fabric stress." Dusting light bulbs was recommended. Dust, women learned, could cut light by 20%, so "many women dutifully dusted their light bulbs." (Weatherford 2009, 207-209). Hall is critical of the discrepancy between magazines' contents and suggestions, and the reality of the time:

> "*Good Housekeeping* kept women informed with articles such as "Cleaning Your Aluminum Pots and Pans without Steel Wool." To deal with the metal of rationing, the article advised women to preserve their kitchen utensils and pots. Women were told to preserve their pots and pans by keeping stove temperatures low to "prevent burning and

> boiling over." "Fill them with water", the article suggested, "and … soak on the range [after use] … don't keep them jumbled together in a cupboard... they'll come tumbling out and be... damaged." After lengthy instructions on the use of pots and pans during wartime, women were informed that "to do the job right you'll need time and patience" (Kendall 1943, 138). Apparently, the women's magazines were unaware of the work required to abide by this type of advice. More important things awaited" (Hall 1993).

Women solved the problems of food rationing by canning. However, the 15% rationing of steel, cut the availability of can lids. The rubber shortage further affected storing foods in jars. Harriet Daum recalls her mother canning peaches: "she used to put them in jars with lids and they would stick, we... ate peaches for days. […] My mother worked real hard... She was always canning fruit... I always swore I would never ... work as hard as she did."

Nationwide, films, shop windows, newspapers, and women's magazines put women under constant pressure to do something for the war effort. Many San Diego women were busily trying to do their share. Some took jobs while others did volunteer work. Johnston took a secretarial job for Consolidated Aircraft to help with the war effort. She remembered, "I was so thrilled, and I thought I was helping to win the war." Johnson refused to go home to Oklahoma to attend her brother's wedding because she felt her services were needed in San Diego. Everybody was doing something for the war effort. "It was all we'd talk about." Arline Hales was a young woman during the war and a student at San Diego State College. Like many young women Hales sold war bonds outside the Spreckels theatre and Marston's department store. Others sold them before showtime at the theatres. Thousands of dollars' worth of bonds were sold each night at the movie theatres. Daum remembered people working for the Red Cross, tearing sheets, and wrapping bandages. She also remembered that "we all donated blood. I gave as often as I could." Further work included letter writing, including "V-email" (*News Meter*, 20, May 1943: 2- 3) and mailing packages to men overseas. Women lived in constant fear of a possible Japanese attack. The first blackout was on December 7th. Others followed days later when Japanese aircraft carriers were reported off the coast, followed with a report of a Japanese submarine near Point Loma. Blackouts, later replaced with dimouts, took place until February of 1943 (Tompkins 1982, 10). During the early days of the war San Diego did not have an established plan of defence. The city dealt with the situation by enforcing blackouts, positioning camouflage nets over major parts of the city, and holding air raid drills. Blackout

curtains and camouflage netting were constant reminders of the city's vulnerable position. To disguise the aircraft factories, camouflage netting was placed over Pacific Highway and portions of downtown. Dummy trees and fake rooftops were placed above the netting. The purpose was to distract the Japanese planes so they could not accurately bomb the area. Everyone put up black, dark shades on their houses. Headlights on cars were reduced 40%. Air raid drills particularly alarmed civilians. "I was frightened to death all the time ... afraid of a bomb ... we had drills; we were under our desks more than we'd be sitting at the desks" remembered Johnson. Last but not least, most women did not know their husbands' location during the war. A letter or a phone call from a loved one made a big difference in their lives. Mary Straub's reported her sister's sudden happiness after a phone call from her husband. She thought he was in Iceland until the unexpected phone call was received from Boston. Mrs. Florence Durkee faced days without knowledge or husband's survival until she was faced with the report of "lost at sea". One San Diegan remained apart from her husband after he was drafted in 1942. He was sent to England, and later transported to a hospital in Santa Barbara where he recovered from a wound. He also became romantically involved with a nurse. "That was the end of our marriage" the woman declared "as a single mother I had a hard time."

Probably for the sake of women's hopes of seeing their husbands again, on the pages of *Good Housekeeping* soldiers are mentioned on every issue, and almost in every item, but they are never represented suffering or even fighting. Even advertising content is careful on this representation. For example, an August 1943 advert that appeared on the magazine represents the troops in their spare time and fairly happy (Figure 67).

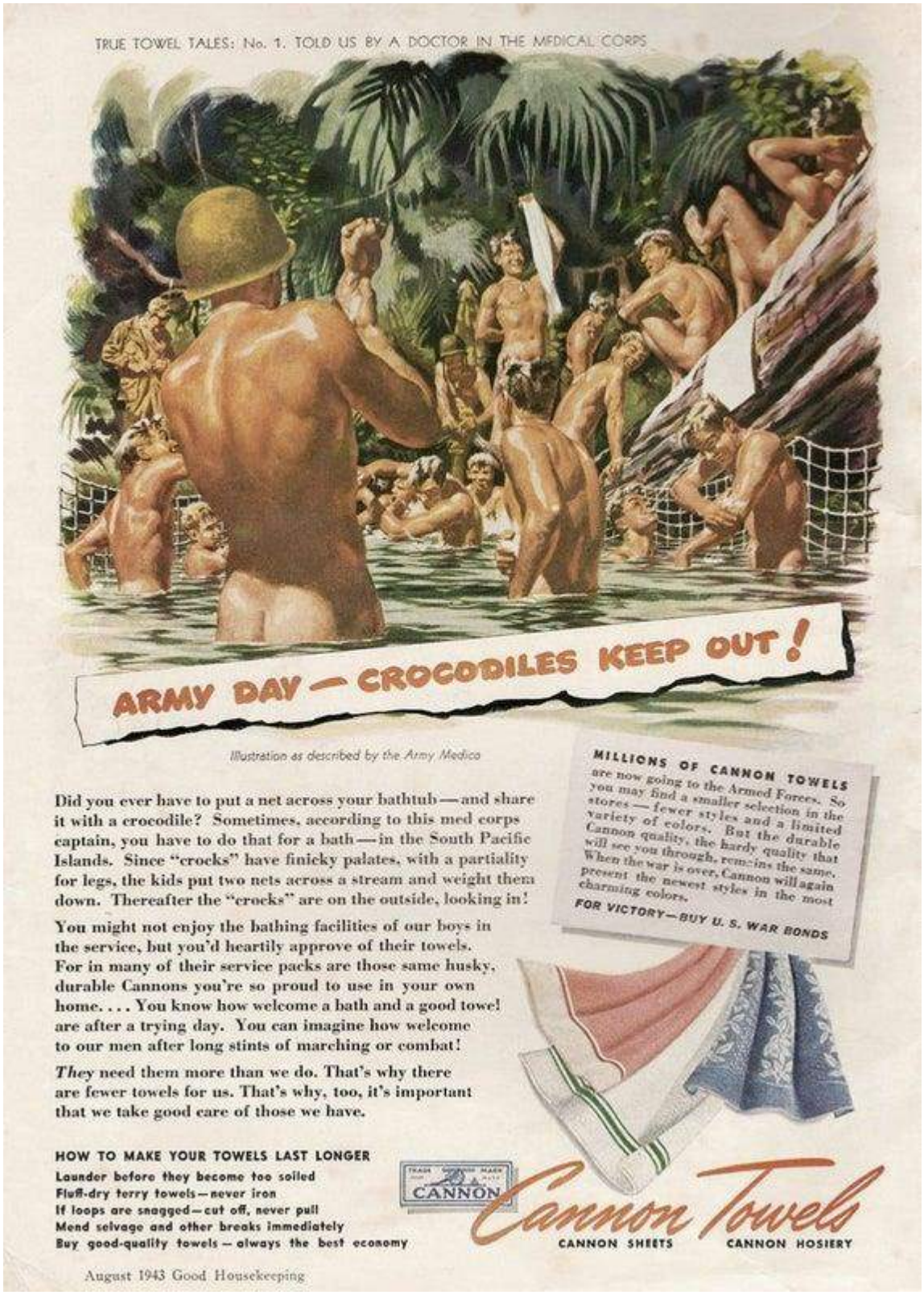


Fig. 67 – Cannon Towels advert using an image of happy soldiers. *Good Housekeeping*, August 1943.

Despite the challenges, Babcock stated that "it made me very very self-confident... very pleased with myself... it made me almost cocky about being able to tackle almost everything that comes along. I'd much rather be that way than to be fearful." Johnston felt the similar sense of accomplishment "my whole life was turned upside down... it gave me a greater sense of assurance that I could go through that... I just gleaned a lot of self-confidence." Doris Trenton felt much the same, remembering "we learned to sacrifice because we knew we had to... we'd substitute and make do... it gave us a new sense of appreciation for life and our friends, because we knew friends who were being killed." Hall notes that Daum and other previously cited women

> "…imply transitions experienced by white, working to middle class women in wartime San Diego. Women who followed conventional roles faced transformations during the Second World War. The experiences of these women demonstrated strengths in adapting to the situation. The mainstream attitude was to improvise. The women each recalled they just "made do" or learn to "do without". They have upheld the domestic sphere of society and maintained household standards through hard work and help from one another. Whether by running a household under restrictive conditions, supporting themselves and a child, or volunteering for the war effort, amidst the anxieties of fear, worry, or the loss of a loved one, wartime society changed San Diego's women. Women improvised, adapted, and overcame wartime problems" (Hall 1993).

10.4 Beauty is Patriotic: the Ideal Reader During the War

The War Effort included keeping an attractive appearance. Amidst a shortage of cloth, numerous articles instructed women on how make old clothing appear fashionable. The *San Diego Union* encouraged women to maintain their looks and reported on women who pledged: "We resolve to be fragile and faintly perfumed... where weary men gather... to be diverted from the hard tasks of the day." (*San Diego Union*, 3 January 1942). Hall describes these as "fantasies nearly impossible to fulfil." Amidst a World War, the *San Diego Union* instructs women to "Face it... always show a smiling face, learn to bear the unbearable." *Good Housekeeping* keeps the same tenor. In the June 1943 issue several pages are dedicated to beauty advice. In the article "MEMOS from HOLLYWOOD" (Fig. 68) the staff recruits some of the most famous female celebrities of the time in order to show readers how to maintain their looks. At this time female citizens have rationed resources for hygiene products and have

been invited not to waste them. The celebrities tell, in a not particularly realistic way, how they maintain their looks with homemade products and tricks. This article looks like one of the most innocuous ones from *Good Housekeeping*, but it might be one of the most unrealistic. The header image is of Jane Wyman portrayed in her house. The text opens with "being simple" described as being fun: "In Hollywood they're having fun being simple and folksy. The lifted eyebrow – literally and figuratively – is out of style. They are dyeing their dresses but not their hair." The item is written as a series of confidential suggestions. We are informed that these celebrities work as nurse's aide, at a canteen, or do their own dishwashing, and that "they dislike a stagy makeup in private life." They take care of their own hair and makeup, and that their ideal hair is long and smooth: "few wear it short, and those because a picture requires a boyish look." Short hair is defined as "boyish" and, as we can see from the rest of the article, the aim is not just giving suggestions in times of resources' shortages, but also make women appear as feminine as possible, and short hair is somehow not feminine enough. The introduction closes with: "... when you ask what type of girl is most likely to succeed in Hollywood, they say, "the kind of girl everyone wants for a daughter."" The text introduces very early the use of 'you' to create a more informal relationship between the text producer and the text interpreter, although the text producer does not make any reference to, or give any information on herself. In the text we find: "Maureen O'Hara says that back home in Ireland they always use rainwater for hair and skin because it is so soft. Had own wild rose skin is washed daily with mild soap..."

Expressions like "back home in Ireland" give a sense of familiarity to the person who's being described, O'Hara, but the description of the celebrities' physical appearance ("her own wild-rose skin" and later for Veronica lake: "her glorious Sheen") keep them at a certain 'distance', because they have been chosen here as a model for inspiration. All the products being recommended here are very simple, such as soap and water, lemon, butter... in this case, if we have to believe O'Hara, rainwater. Lakoff's words of the 'women's speech' are very evident in this text ("**wild-rose** skin", "**so** soft", ...). In another part of the text we read:

> "The picture at the left shows Alexis Smith, when as a 19-year-old college student, she was tapped for the screen. "The first thing they did to me was to make me look smooth. Because I wanted to look feminine, I had always run to fluff and curls, and the sleek hairdo did wonders for me. I learned to carry my height proudly. A tall girl can wear clothes unusually well."

“Tapped” (instead of chosen) gives the text a more informal style, it imitates more the spoken language than the written one. Indeed, then the article gives directly space to the quote words of the actress speaking first person. Smith informs us that she wanted to look “feminine” and then her best hairdo is the sleek one. Her height has to be carried (“carry my height”) as if it were a burden, “proudly”, and she found a silver lining: the way clothes look on her. This choice of lexicon inevitably implies that being tall is one of those characteristics that doesn't constitute what is canonically “feminine”. The article follows with: “To look alive an interesting, there is nothing like having a deep interest in some outside pursuit, says Alexis. She is thrilled by music and ballet dancing [...] but if you want to cook, by all means cook.”

We undoubtedly find a gendered language when we see that the text producer instead of writing something like “she likes” would rather write an Intensifier (“she is thrilled”). Veronica Lake is obviously invited to talk about her hair: “My pet treatment is out for the duration” she says, “I’ve been using salted butter instead of the oils generally used for the scalp and hair.” […] For that glorious sheen she uses lemons. […] Veronica always brushes, never combs her hair, because a comb leaves marks, and she likes her mop sleek and shiny.”

All the sentences in an active form provide a decisiveness tone to Lake, and that ironic “mop” instead of ‘hair’ seems directed to the younger readers. We find the ‘women’s speech’ again (“pet treatment”; “glorious sheen”). It is clear that this article does not propose a commercial product, not directly at least. We have seen how a magazine’s content can be dictated by advertisers, but here what is being proposed is an entire way of being. When we identify the Ideal Reader, we realise that the Text Producer has created a meticulous Gender identity Construction, and more specifically a Femininity Construction, according to his/her standards. From this text we extrapolate everything that is ‘feminine’: simple, dyeing their dresses, long/sleek hair, the kind of girl everyone wants for a daughter, wild-rose skin, looking alive and interesting, interest in some outside pursuit, cook, [even] when she is in a hurry she [has a method to apply her lipstick] and get perfect results, look wholesome and unaffected, work at a canteen, work as a nurse’s aide, do your own dishwashing. We also find the apparently non-feminine (or inappropriate at this time) characteristics: dyeing their hair, stagy make up, short hair, height / tall girl, athlete muscles. All the interviewees speak with what we may call a feminine language, benefiting the intents of the article.

Jane Wyman's lovely brown hair always looks as if a top-notch hairdresser has just arranged it. Reason is she once was a hairdresser, always does her own hair. She pins it up at night so that it brushes into place without a bit of trouble. She uses lacquer to control short tendrils at the back

MEMOS *from* HOLLYWOOD

In Hollywood they're having fun being simple and folksy. The lifted eyebrow—literally and figuratively—is out of style. They are dyeing their dresses but not their hair. They talk about what to do for scuffed hands. There's a help shortage, and no one is immune to bouts of dishwashing. Then, too, everyone works at a canteen or as a nurse's aide. They take infinite pains with their hair, and up or down, they like it smooth. Few wear it short, and those because a picture requires a boyish look. Their skin care is simple but unremitting. They all believe in soap and water, but use gobs of cream to combat hard water and desert winds. They like to look wholesome and unaffected, dislike a stagy make-up in private life. And when you ask what type of girl is most likely to succeed in Hollywood, they say, "The kind of girl everyone wants for a daughter."

THE BEAUTY CLINIC . . . RUTH MURRIN · DIRECTOR

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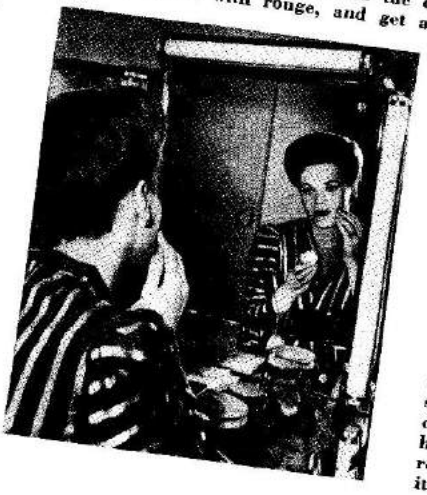
Fig – 68 (and following pages). The article "Memos from Hollywood", *Good Housekeeping*, June 1943

Belita, 19-year-old ballet dancer and skater, who flashed to fame in her first picture, says stretching exercises will do away with bunchy athlete muscles and thick legs. She suggests this exercise:

Standing on left leg, rest right leg on chair, knee straight and toes pointed. Bend left knee as far as possible. Return to position, and counting four, rise on toes. Repeat, balancing on the right leg

MEMOS *from*

Virginia O'Brien tints her lips with a lip brush; but when she is in a hurry, she finds it hard to make nice symmetrical curves. So she keeps on hand a pattern of her lips at their prettiest. She makes it by imprinting her lips on paper and cutting out the imprint. It takes only a minute to hold the cutout over her mouth, fill in with rouge, and get a perfect result



Maureen O'Hara says that back home in Ireland they always use rain water for hair and skin because it is so soft. Her own wild-rose skin is washed daily with mild soap; she scrubs hairline and corners with a complexion brush. Make-up she takes off with cleansing cream, and she uses cream nightly to combat the coarsening effect of hard water. For toning a large-pored skin she recommends a light paste of yeast weekly. Leave it on a few seconds; rinse off with warm water

Veronica Lake has individual ways of caring for her famous hair. "My pet treatment is out for the duration," she says. "I've been using salted butter instead of the oils generally used for the scalp and hair."

She parts off a strand, twists it, dips the ends in the warm oil. When ends are doused, she tucks them up on top and wraps hair in a turban for two hours, to let oil soak in well. This helps keep dry ends silky.

For that glorious sheen, she uses lemons. She washes and dries hair thoroughly, then with cotton applies straight lemon juice down the length of her hair, and lets it dry. Last, she brushes till it flies.

Veronica always brushes, never combs her hair, because a comb leaves marks, and she likes her mop sleek and shiny

HOLLYWOOD

The picture at the left shows Alexis Smith when, as a 19-year-old college student, she was tapped for the screen. "The first thing they did to me was to make me look smooth. Because I wanted to look feminine, I had always run to fluff and curls, and a sleek hair-do did wonders for me. I learned to carry my height proudly. A tall girl can wear clothes unusually well"

To look alive and interesting, there's nothing like having a deep interest in some outside pursuit, says Alexis. She is thrilled by music and ballet dancing, will sometimes skip a singing lesson but never misses a date with the ballet instructor. But if you would rather cook, by all means cook, she advises. Put your heart in whatever you do, and your face will light up

Don't fidget while your nail polish dries. Virginia O'Brien uses the time to advantage. Before doing her nails, she pin-curls her hair, creams her face. Then she applies polish, and, lotion-soaked pads over her eyes, rests

Annabella (right) pops out on her balcony first thing in the morning to brush her hair. It airs the hair, wakes her up, brightens her eyes and skin, and when she uses two brushes, it's a grand exercise for the breast muscles

MEMOS *from* HOLLYWOOD

Martha O'Driscoll is the friendly, unaffected kind of girl every man likes to date. So she has had to work out a system to help her freshen up quickly for an important date. This is what she does:

She sets her hair with cologne, because it dries so fast and leaves a haunting fragrance. She rolls the hair in pin-curls, fastens each with a bobby pin, pops on a waterproof cap, and takes a quick shower.

She likes that scrubbed look, so she is a bit fanatic about soap-and-water washing for her face. She brightens her eyes with lotion, uses mascara on upper lashes only, and faintly rouges her eyelids.

She dips a brush or orange stick in lip rouge to outline her lips with a clean, firm line. She powders over lipstick to set the color, then moistens lips to restore the shine. She never uses powder

Veronica Lake (real name Constance Keane) in particular, had a hairdo (long, sleek hair, covering one eye) which was distinctive of her, and imitated by many American women. Reportedly, some factory workers wore their hair down in the factories, peekaboo style. Their drooping locks began to present a safety issue. The U.S. government asked Lake not to wear her hair down for the duration of the War and she obliged.

Fig 69 – Film star Veronica Lake illustrates the danger of loose hair for female factory workers, with her hair entangled in machinery, LIFE magazine, 8 March, 1943.

Lake appeared in a public service announcement, "Safety Styles" (Figure 70), in which she urged women to follow her example. At the end of the "Safety Styles" video, the announcer says that, with her new updo, Veronica Lake's "hair is out of the way and combed in a simple and becoming fashion." That fashion was called a "victory roll," making a "V" shape when seen from the back and a "victory" because of the gesture of choosing country over vanity. In the 1943 film, "So Proudly We Hail!" (1943), Lake wears her hair in a "victory roll" in her portrayal of Lieutenant Olivia D'Arcy. The film was a success. Looking at government-backed mass media content like this, one has the impression that the women working in factories were risking their lives because of their vanity, and that tying up their hair was all that was needed to be safe. On one hand, although benefits went only to workers who became disabled, the threat of higher premiums for accident-prone enterprises presumably nudged employers to

Fig 70 – A frame from “Safety Styles”, a public service video announcement, in which Veronica Lake shows how she is going to wear her hair in a “Victory Roll” for the duration of the War, and how her previous style, peekaboo style, was a potential danger for factory workers.

employ preventive health and safety measures in the workplace. Workers' compensation covered male and female workers alike” (Hepler 1998, 694). On the other hand, the government itself seemed preoccupied with ‘femininity’. Since December 1941, when the United States entered the war, more workers were needed in essential factories:

> “Public pronouncements about the war exhorted women to do their duty to defeat Hitler, to be the "soldierettes" of the home front by doing the work needed to build war material, regardless of its potential danger or its "unfemininess." In contrast to earlier efforts to keep women away from adverse working conditions, employment managers during World War II clearly expected more from women. "Women should be told what to expect," declared a Tennessee supervisor, and should not be allowed to quit or be absent due to dirty, noisy, wet, dusty, or poorly ventilated conditions. The War Manpower Commission de-emphasized the physical differences between men and women and pointed to European women, particularly Germans, who successfully performed "an almost limitless number of jobs, many of which require [d] considerable physical exertion." At the same time, appeals to patriotism went hand in hand with warnings about the unsuitability of certain jobs for most women, most frequently those requiring heavy lifting. Citing the U.S. Labor Department's Women's Bureau statistics rating the "average woman's" strength at 570/1000 of a man's, and her physical

> resistance at 697/1000, public officials initially urged employers to avoid hiring women for jobs that risked coercing them to exceed their strength" (Hepler 1998, 693).

However, as we mentioned, when large numbers of men began leaving for military duty, defence-related industries, started to hire women in significant numbers. Legislation, but also employers' preferences weren't uniform all over the Country:

> "…a Buffalo, New York, machine-gun bullet manufacturer with a heavily female labor force initially expanded production from one to three shifts in order to accommodate wartime demand, men had to be hired for the evening and night shifts because New York labor laws prohibited women from working between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. But men proved unsuited to the work, according to General Manager Edmund W. Walker, and the company was compelled to institute longer day shifts" (Hepler 1998, 694).

Legislation on hiring, recruiting, and health and safety, was revised several times during this period. More pre-employment examinations screened the aspiring workforce for contagious diseases, physical defects, or chronic disease such emphysema or asthma. This screening, too, provoked different responses. Some workers did not want this information to possibly be used against them, while some women workers wanted more examinations to prove their strength and ability to work. However, for both men and women, the factories of the 1940s simply weren't safe workplaces, and there was no Victory Roll that could help:

> "The temporary easing of restrictions did not coincide with the elimination of workplace hazards. On the contrary, the expansion of production increased the likelihood of injury or illness. The introduction of new materials and processes, a larger proportion of unskilled workers, and greater exposure to existing chemical hazards because of increased hours all made the workplace more dangerous" (Hepler 1998, 695).

Still, the government and many employers maintained a discourse, supported by anecdotes or by nothing at all, that the reason for skyrocketing accidents in the factories was due to 'femininity', for both men and women:

> "Insurance executives predicted that accident rates would be higher because these women lacked experience, not because they were women. However, the training of women workers often followed traditional gender assumptions by suggesting that women's concern with femininity risked the safety of male workers: employers wanted

> "gals" to look like "guys." Women received training that firmly reminded them to hide their bodies. Accompanying new female hires on a plant tour, a manager at a West Coast aircraft company reportedly pointed out a man working on a drill press who had lost three fingers when he became "distracted" by one woman's inappropriately feminine work "costume." Whether or not this story is true, the fact is that many managers remained unconvinced that men and women could safely work in the same space and believed that only the "defeminization" of women workers would make the workplace safe for everyone" (Ibid. 695).

The National Safety Council sent messages about the danger of "loose flowing hair", while Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins warned women claimed she was more concerned about reports of accidents wearing high-heeled shoes. Other employers believed women responded well to safety regulations and that they had "natural cautiousness."

So far, it is evident that these are narratives created by Government, media, and employers. If we get 'nearer' the workers' perspective, the discourse is slightly different: women workers defied these stereotypes and showed little resistance to personal safety. Juanita Loveless, a welder at Vega Aircraft in California, recalled that many of her female co-workers had no problem cutting their hair short: "[Otherwise], your hair would slip down, and you'd try to get it up, and your hands were filthy with chemicals and little bits of metal. It was like rubbing salt into a wound" (Gluck 1988, n.12, 136). Similar attitudes about shoes could be found among women workers at the Todd Shipyards. Personnel Director Elinore Herrick admitted that when she and her staff researched the "best" safety shoes for women, fashion had been an important consideration, but that when the shoes arrived, the women refused to wear them because the soles were too thin, and they afforded no protection to the ankles. They wanted equal treatment, but also equal protection. They rejected the shoes because they had no steel toe or shank, declaring: "We want steel toes like the men" (Herrick 1943, n.24 33). Drawing on women's own attitudes toward equality, managers said they wanted women who were "loath to complain, to act the cry baby, or to do anything that would bring discredit to their sex" (Varney, 1944, 13: 122-124). This references to equality did not work as deterrents when women workers started requesting safer working conditions which included poisonous vapours. "At a Bath Iron Works prefabricating plant in Brunswick, Maine, women used asbestos to wrap pipes; they also sewed "tea-cozy"-like asbestos pads to fit over valves" ("*Occupational Analysis, Bath Iron Works*" (n. 41) qtd. in Hepler 1998). David Kotelchuck, in "Asbestos: 'The Funeral Dress of Kings' - and Others" (in *Dying for Work: Workers' Safety and Health in*

Twentieth-Century America, ed. David Rosner and Gerald Markowitz [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989], pp. 192-207), reports that by 1940 the connection between asbestos and lung cancer had attracted the attention of the Public Health Service, but asbestos manufacturers largely controlled the epidemiological data, which they did not generally make available to workers, male or female.

> “Fumes from welding in shipyards and aircraft plants occurred as a result of the interaction of a variety of metals. Some women believed themselves to be more subject to such fumes than men, not because of any inherent female weakness but because of where they worked on the ship: "The air got thicker and thicker," recalled one welder, "and of course up near the ceiling where I worked, it was the worst"; the men did not notice it, she said, because "they didn't work up near the ceiling." Women welders demanded proper protection from hazardous fumes. In a voice that reflected the employer rhetoric of personal responsibility, Augusta Clawson, an Oregon shipyard welder, demanded air pipes when welding in a poorly ventilated space, declaring it to be "our own fault when we get 'welder's wheeze.' […] Most of the lead poisoning in shipyards resulted from contact with lead paint, made by adding benzene in kegs to red lead powder. […] Women used solid lead for soldering and molten lead for pouring molds and making alloys, all of which released lead fumes. As early as 1917, Alice Hamilton [physician, and nationally recognised expert on industrial lead] had recommended that because of lead's reproductive dangers, some women should be prohibited from working in certain industrial processes. Employers downplayed this prescription during World War II in favor of urging workers to take personal responsibility for their health. […] the National Association of Manufacturers wondered whether "it might be wise to repeal protective legislation entirely, trusting the women to make their own rules as they go along, just as men do." The National Woman's Party agreed: it believed that the wartime employment of women would "prove" women capable of performing a wide variety of jobs without harm to themselves or their families. Both groups had supported the Equal Rights Amendment since it was first introduced in Congress in 1923. In pursuit of that goal, the NWP had placed continual pressure on the protectionist Women's Bureau for twenty years. For instance, in 1934 Alice Hamilton and Women's Bureau Director Mary Anderson had discussed the procedure for including new precautions in the National Recovery Act's Chemical Code. Anderson doubted that the value of writing special regulations for women

> workers would be worth attracting the attention and opposition of the Woman's Party, "which we had better avoid whenever the issue is not one of decided importance" (Hepler 1998, 701 – 705).

Physicians and industrial physicians have differing points of view on the wave of female workforce. Milton Kronenberg of the Illinois Department of Public Hygiene said he believed that certain jobs and working conditions were not suited to women largely due to "limitations of physique, biologic differences, and experience," but he emphasized that the workplace environment should be made "equally safe for men and for women." (Kronenberg 1944, 124: 677-683) Dysmenorrhea (menstrual cramps) exasperated industrial physicians. While it was rarely caused solely by work, "epidemic dysmenorrhea" nevertheless created a great deal of lost time and interruption of production, according to Max Burnell of General Motors (Burnell 1943, 12:588-590); he and other physicians recommended that workers not be sent home, but instead be provided with exercises. A consultant for the industry's Industrial Hygiene Foundation wondered whether "a certain number of cases of dysmenorrhea may be an excuse . . . for absence" (Sappington 1944, 13:214-217). A Chicago physician added, "These mothers and wives often work as many hours at home as at the plant" (Hesseltine 1944, n.12, 693). These are just a small part of all the endlessly contradicting positions on women's health, safety, physical constitution and ability to work at the time. The only thing upon which there seemed to be an agreement, was that married women workers were suffering from a non-better medically described 'fatigue', implying that they were expected to have a double role:

> "Nevertheless, several counselors identified fatigue as the major cause of "health factors" resulting in female absenteeism. Citing the double duty of many married women […] several woman counsellors believed that "women workers are likely to succumb to fatigue if they have . . . household chores to perform in addition to the regular hours of work." Among East Coast shipyard workers, one survey attributed more than 75 percent of female absences to "illness and fatigue" and "home conditions." The Kaiser Company, which operated shipyards on the West Coast, surveyed four hundred of its "worst absentees" among women workers and described nearly half as "physically exhausted and in desperate need of medical attention." Susan Laughlin, a counsellor at Lockheed in California, investigated absences that turned out to be nutritionally related: "You'd find women cooking for their children and not wanting to eat." Solutions varied. Marinship counsellor Marcia Patterson recommended action that went well beyond changing the workplace: provide childcare, and persuade stores and

> dentists to stay open late. In many cases, counsellors acted as advocates for women workers as they dealt with school boards and other institutions. Still others made referrals for abortions, still illegal in the 1940s. Perhaps recognizing the limits of their influence, many counsellors turned to solutions that more closely reflected employer attempts to redirect the responsibility for fatigue-induced illness. Some blamed the tired worker for having too many dates or attending too many parties and made unfavourable comparisons with productive and hard-working German and Japanese women. Others encouraged women to adopt sound management strategies at home: better organizing and careful planning of household duties through a "wiser use of time," delegating authority, and seeking "expert advice" on housework. Failing that, this group of personnel counsellors urged the hiring of maids [despite] millions of working-class white and African American women who could not afford to hire [them]. Indeed, many of these war workers had left domestic employment themselves in order to seek better and more lucrative work opportunities. Virginia Lemire of the Kaiser Company was completely disgusted after reviewing the "worst absentees" among women workers at Kaiser's Swan Island yard in Oregon. Good use of pre-employment examinations and interviews, she argued, would have prevented the hiring of workers with big families. The company should be "eliminating these people from working," she wrote, because they were the ones who were absent most often: she cited women with three or four children who took time off due to a variety of common but serious illnesses that affected their children (Hepler 1998, 709-710).

We previously mentioned how many American women lost their newfound jobs at the end of the war. Hepler claims that women “began to lose defence-related jobs even before the war ended.” One would be hard pressed to find media praising men being homemaker, cooking for the family before their wife comes back from the factory, or raising their own children. In the 1930s *Good Housekeeping* still had articles titled “Should Wives Work?” (December 1937) and “Never say too busy! – Businesswoman or Busy Housekeeper, You Can entertain Without Benefit of Maid or Leisure” (January 1934). Paradoxically, much earlier, in January 1926, *Good Housekeeping* ran an article titled “Should Husbands do Housework?”, in which a minister’s wife claims that “the happiest homes in her husband’s parishes are those in which the husbands help their wives.” Still, the tone of that article would appear paternalistic nowadays, and men working at home sound like a novelty or a curiosity (“I saw a strange sight: neighbor Jones hanging baby clothes out on the line!”, “Every last member in the family had a

kitchen apron. Yes Sir! Even Daddy, and Big Brother and Little Brother who was eight"). 'Paradoxically', because in December 1941 (coincidentally when the United States entered the War and would soon need an unprecedent recruitment of industrial workforce) *Good Housekeeping*, in its recurring humorous illustrated page, still was recommending not to ask a husband to clean after himself, and not to expect him to be a good child carer (Figure 71):

Fig. 71 - (Detail) The illustrated ironical, recurring page giving 'advice' to women, on *Good Housekeeping*, December 1941.

In this analysis we have focused on a Female Gender Construction. However, on the pages of *Good Housekeeping* the attempt at a Female Gender Construction sometimes carries in itself an implied construction of 'masculinity', and we can gather its characteristics here and there in this female-oriented magazine. Looking at the the work of historians we have seen how married women workers showed signs of a 'fatigue' that was so widely diffused that it became acknowledged by industrial physicians. This either meant they had a husband at the Front or working for the Army (like the interviewed women from San Francisco), or simply had to keep up their dual job, and work for their family as a homemaker after the shift at the factory (see this paragraph, previously) and not expect domestic work or child-rearing from their partners, so much so that in some cases this led to discrimination of women with "too many children" at the moment of hiring, without the managers thinking too much of how problems in productivity

weren't so much derived from hiring women, but from having certain social expectations. Does this mean that there were no husbands who were not fighting at the Front, but were working on the Home Front? If there were, they simply clashed with the Gender Construction attempted by the media, and therefore not 'exemplary' or useful to that artificial construction. Ironically, a mention of a husband "pitching in" with housework has been found by Hepler in a 1943 article aiming to demonstrate why married women were "absenteeists":

> "Alma worked the night shift in 1943 in order to have her days free for the house and kids. She slept about five to six hours a day, and never all at one time. Irregular heat and ventilation in the plant where she worked and the cold she caught there left her with a cough, but she did not go home sick. When her husband and children caught cold, however, she stayed out of work for a week to nurse them. Still, Alma found the work preferable to full-time housewifery and wanted to continue it after the war, somehow balancing it with her family and household responsibilities. New York Times writer Elizabeth Hawes used Alma's story to illustrate why absenteeism was high among working mothers during World War II. Alma's experience also suggests two important and contradictory aspects of the war with respect to occupational health. First, she asked no special favors at work, suffering the same discomfort as other workers, both male and female, and she expected to be accorded both the freedom and the responsibility to make employment decisions for herself. Second, the reality of her household responsibilities, even with a caring husband who pitched in with preparing meals and washing dishes, meant that her family's health was directly tied to hers - a link that, in turn, affected how she interacted with the workplace" (Hepler 1998, 659-690).

10.5 Conclusions

Discrepancy between Ideal Reader and Real Reader, the former reconstructed using Critical Discourse Analysis of the examined texts, the latter reconstructed by historians, on the pages of *Good Housekeeping* is nothing new. It existed at least since World War I, even though that period is not part of this analysis. However, with the development of a more pervasive propaganda content, and possibly more media reaching the population (via cinema and TV), the discrepancy appears to be wider. A female U.S. citizen is surrounded by propaganda messages everywhere, on every medium with *Good Housekeeping* echoing those messages. What should have been practical suggestions and hints on how to navigate the emergencies,

the shortages, and how to participate in the War Effort, hides a Gender Construction aimed at building a specific kind of 'femininity'. Applying CDA on the pages of *Good Housekeeping* it appears that the goal of the texts is to make the working women stay 'feminine'. Contradictingly, factories managers and Government's offices worry about femininity being a source of potential problems for the workplace's health and safety, and for production regime. The Government starts massively dealing with a changing workforce, industrial physicians find themselves dealing for the first time and in vast numbers with what today we would call gender medicine (that is, creating a medicine tailored to the male and female physiology, instead of having a workplace-related medicine primarily dedicated to the male gender and then hoping that women would adapt). While historians reconstructed objective problems arising from unsafe working conditions, at the time it was suggested that a concurring problem was being more or less woman-like, despite the vagueness of this expression. Part of the construction of 'femininity' derived from the idea that a woman worker had to have a dual role: a worker outside of the house and a homemaker. *Good Housekeeping* gave little advice on how to reconcile the two jobs in the twenty-four hours of a day, and industrial managers found it to be a hindrance to workers' health and productivity. Corpus Analysis, which might look more objective, being based on data and statistics, signals fewer Lakoff's Words of the 'Women's speech', and therefore a less hyperfeminine or stereotyped standard of writing style, in *Good Housekeeping* texts from the 1940s. And yet, Critical Discourse Analysis, for all the warnings of subjectivity given by Norman Fairclough, allows the linguist to bring to the surface an underlying attempt at Gender Identity Construction, which renders the text no more emancipated than the articled of the previous twenty years, because the reconstructed Ideal Reader proposed to the reader, and with whom the reader is supposed to compare herself, is almost practically unattainable. Finally, it is worth noting how both at home and on the industrial workplace, and from a merely practical point of view, this Ideal of Female Identity appears to be useless. It does not seem to have any practical outcome within the 'war effort'. Being 'feminine' by the, let's call them, *'Good Housekeeping* standards', brought women to be accused of distracting men on the workplace, and if they had an accident, the media would rather make it look like it was caused by their appearance, rather than the danger of the workplace. The constant comparisons with the working women of the Axis, especially German and Japanese, make this preoccupation with women's appearance sound like something that is part of the propaganda.

11. Comparisons

11.1 Introduction

This analysis, as the title states, is mainly CDS/A helped by CL, not viceversa. If it were a CL analysis it would look quite different. It has to be noted that several researchers have advocated more balance of CDS/A and CL. What we usually have is that on one hand

> "some researchers argue that corpora, while a helpful guide or source of examples, cannot give sufficient access to language to the extent that so-called 'qualitative' approaches to the data should be abandoned. A good example of this has emerged in CDA. CDA has traditionally been approached by the detailed analysis of single texts or small numbers of texts. On the basis of that detailed analysis, general claims about the use of language in society have then been made. […] Studies have tended either to focus mainly on either corpus linguistics or CDA at the expense of the other. Corpus-based studies may have explored discourse and its relation to power, but they have typically not been explicitly informed by CDA theory and its traditional methods, or else they have not aimed to contribute to a particular discourse-oriented theory (e.g. Stubbs 1994; Krishnamurthy 1996). Similarly, CDA researchers have at times used data and techniques which are undoubtedly inspired by work in corpus linguistics, but have not sought to engage fully with the corpus approach (e.g. Fairclough 2000; Kovacs and Wodak 2003). […] Why do some researchers in CDA only engage minimally with corpus data? An important argument presented by such researchers relates to the depth of analysis that they want using the data they have – they wish to undertake a detailed analysis of a small amount of data, taking into account not just the text itself, but also the social context in which it was produced and the social context in which it was interpreted. This work is so labour-intensive that a large-scale study using the corpus may not be possible" (McEnery 2012, 17-18).

This is certainly a more context-oriented analysis. Yet, it would be incomplete without a comparison between its corpus and other large corpora. At this point in this analysis, it might appear intuitive that a female-oriented magazine like *Good Housekeeping* uses an imitation of the 'women's speech' on every page, even though said 'speech' is idealised differently from decade to decade, or through the centuries, more than other genres of publications. However, it is important to make a comparison between corpora and confirm it, by using large corpora. If the first question that arises while studying one corpus is "what kind of corpus is this and which words are particularly characteristic of this corpus?", the first and most basic question

arising from comparing two corpora is “in what ways do two corpora differ?” (Kilgariff 2001). The resulting differences between this corpus and great corpora of American English, represent *Good Housekeeping*’s peculiarities proper of this kind of magazine. A viable comparison would be between the corpus used for this analysis and the Brown corpus of American English, while a second comparison will be between the corpus of this analysis and the Time Magazine corpus. The Brown corpus has been used for years by linguists as a source of American English, and, like the corpus of this analysis, is made up of published written texts. On the other hand (a part of) the Time corpus is the one ‘chronologically’ more suitable because it is contemporary to the corpus used in this analysis. The chapter is going to feature a search of the words ‘we’ and ‘you’ they frequency and relative frequency. In chapter two we have seen how these are words they are particularly frequent in the synthetic personalisation, which in turn signal the intention of the text producer of creating an advisor format or an idea of trustworthiness or authority of the staff, in order to then give advice and then maybe proceed to create an ideal reader. The second search will be for the words signalling the women’s speech which are most frequent in *Good Housekeeping* or more typical of the women's speech according to Lakoff, the same ones I used so far, with their frequency and relative frequency.

11.2 The Brown Corpus and the Time Corpus

When we compare two corpora, we must take into account the different number of words they are made of. Therefore, it is not enough to look for the raw frequency of a word in a corpus, but also for its normalised frequency. As we have seen in 7.7, the normalised frequency is the frequency per 10,000 words. The normalised frequency in a corpus is equal to the raw frequency divided by the total number of words of the corpus and multiplied by 10,000:

normalised f = raw f / total words X 10,000.

This way we can verify if a word is in fact more frequent in one corpus or the other, regardless of the difference in the number of tokens.

This Brown Corpus of American English is dated 1961 and it is made up of written texts of newspapers, fiction, academic writing, and general prose. It consists of 1,014,361 Tokens, 49,686 types, 44,622 lemmas. Using LancsBox, we find that the frequency of the word ‘you’ is 3,289. This raw frequency divided by 1,014,361 tokens, and then multiplied by 10,000 equals 32.42, which is the relative frequency of the word. The frequency of the word ‘we’ is 2,655,

while its relative frequency is 26.17. As we have seen in Figure 2, in 3.3, in the *Good Housekeeping* corpus the word 'you' has an occurrence of 2884 times, while the word 'we' has a raw frequency of 2807. So, the word 'we' in *Good Housekeeping* has a normalised frequency of 52.54, while the word 'you' has a normalised frequency of 51.14:

Normalised frequency of the word 'we': 2884 / 548860 X 10,000 = 52.54

Normalised frequency of the word 'you': 2807/ 548860 X 10,000 = 51.14

Word / Normalised F.	Brown Corpus	*Good Housekeeping* Corpus
We	26.17	52.54
You	32.42	51.14

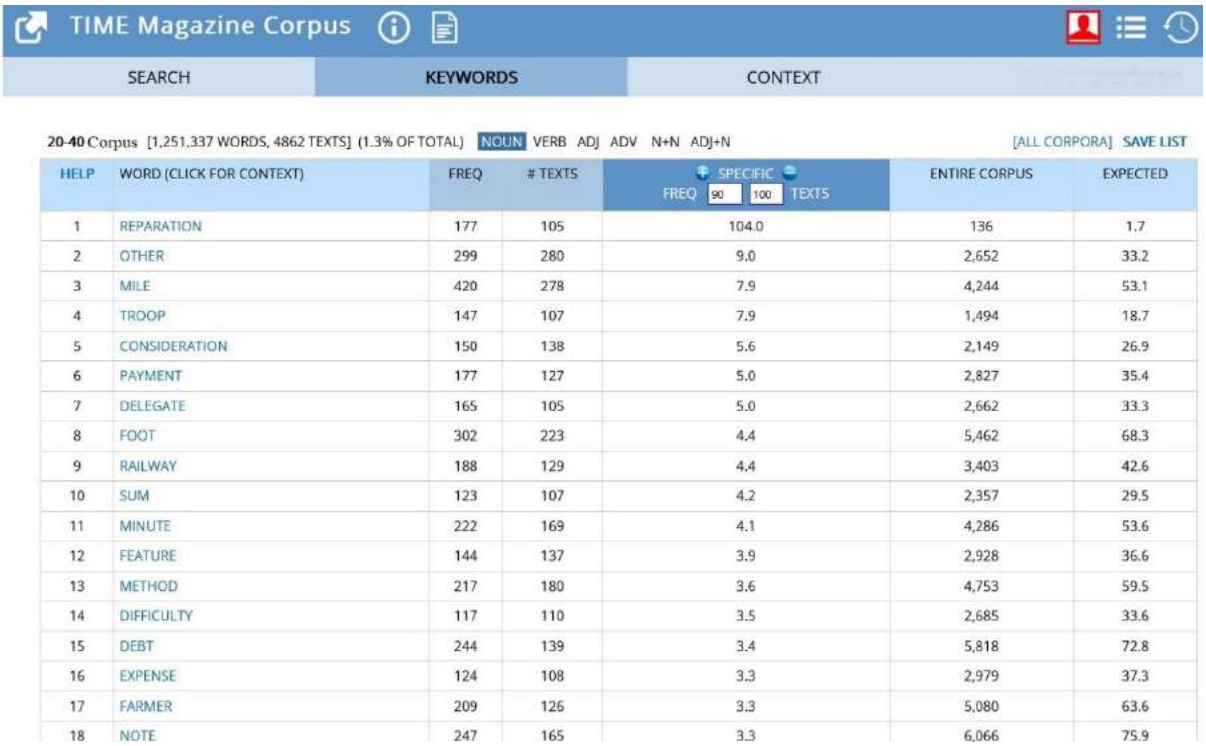
Table 14 – Normalised Frequency of 'You' and 'Me', indicators of the Synthetic Personalisation, in the Brown Corpus and in the *Good Housekeeping* Corpus.

This difference can only signify a vast use of the Synthetic Personalization as a linguistic strategy by the staff of *Good Housekeeping*. Now we look at the most frequent Lakoff words in the *Good Housekeeping* corpus: so, such, little, should, great, pretty, lovely, graceful, feminine, beautiful, delightful.

	Brown Raw F.	Brown Normalised F.	*Good Housekeeping* Raw F.	*Good Housekeeping* Normalised F.
So	1985	19.56	1618	29.47
Such	1303	12.84	611	11.13
Little	831	8.19	886	16.14
Should	888	8.75	731	13.31
Great	665	6.55	635	11.56
Pretty	107	1.05	91	1.65
Lovely	44	0.43	104	1.89
Graceful	49	0.48	19	0.34
Feminine	12	0.11	23	0.41
Beautiful	205	2.02	129	2.35
Delightful	30	0.29	52	0.94

Table 15 – Most frequent words of the 'Women's Speech' in the *Good Housekeeping* Corpus, plus a few words more peculiar of the speech identified by Lakoff, and their raw and normalised frequency in the Brown Corpus.

Looking at the normalised frequency of the words of the 'women's speech', and keeping in mind that according to linguists this is a social construct, and women are not predisposed for this speech, we can have an idea of how much more intentional and artificial this writing style was for the *Good Housekeeping* staff, even between the 1920s and the 1940s, compared to other publications. The Brown corpus, however, as we mentioned, is from 1961 and includes texts of different genres. It does include non-fiction texts, like the ones we are examining in *Good Housekeeping*, and those are the ones used here, but it also features collections of fictional texts and academic writing. Therefore, we move on to the Time Corpus for one more comparison.



HELP	WORD (CLICK FOR CONTEXT)	FREQ	# TEXTS	SPECIFIC FREQ 90 100 TEXTS	ENTIRE CORPUS	EXPECTED
1	REPARATION	177	105	104.0	136	1.7
2	OTHER	299	280	9.0	2,652	33.2
3	MILE	420	278	7.9	4,244	53.1
4	TROOP	147	107	7.9	1,494	18.7
5	CONSIDERATION	150	138	5.6	2,149	26.9
6	PAYMENT	177	127	5.0	2,827	35.4
7	DELEGATE	165	105	5.0	2,662	33.3
8	FOOT	302	223	4.4	5,462	68.3
9	RAILWAY	188	129	4.4	3,403	42.6
10	SUM	123	107	4.2	2,357	29.5
11	MINUTE	222	169	4.1	4,286	53.6
12	FEATURE	144	137	3.9	2,928	36.6
13	METHOD	217	180	3.6	4,753	59.5
14	DIFFICULTY	117	110	3.5	2,685	33.6
15	DEBT	244	139	3.4	5,818	72.8
16	EXPENSE	124	108	3.3	2,979	37.3
17	FARMER	209	126	3.3	5,080	63.6
18	NOTE	247	165	3.3	6,066	75.9

Fig. 72 – The Time Corpus, from 1920 to 1940, and its most frequent Keywords (Nouns)

The Time Magazine corpus is based on 100 million words of text in about 270,000 articles from Time magazine from 1923 to 2006. This is another source of American English, like the English used in *Good Housekeeping*, but we can also narrow the corpus down to a corpus made of only texts that are contemporary to the *Good Housekeeping* corpus' texts (1920-1940). In fact, the Time corpus can be narrowed down to the texts from 1923 to 1940. The corpus we have now created is made of 4862 texts from Time magazine, for a total of 1,251,337 words.

In the Time corpus 'we' has a raw frequency of 1292, while 'you' has a frequency of 1177.

Word / Normalised F.	Time Corpus	*Good Housekeeping* Corpus
We	10.32	52.54
You	9.40	51.14

Table 16 – Normalised Frequency of 'You' and 'Me' in the Time Corpus compared to the *Good Housekeeping* Corpus.

In the Time corpus, which is from the same era of the *Good Housekeeping* corpus and in American English, the normalised frequency of a deictic 'we' or 'you' is even more clearly lower. The Synthetic Personalisation, with all the constructs it represents, is much more defining of a magazine like *Good Housekeeping*. As for the 'women's speech', we look for the same words we looked for in the Brown corpus, and then calculate the Normalised Frequency.

	Time Raw F.	Time Normalised F.	*Good Housekeeping* Raw F.	*Good Housekeeping* Normalised F.
So	1619	12.93	1618	29.47
Such	1010	8.07	611	11.13
Little	722	5.76	886	16.14
Should	874	6.98	731	13.31
Great	1482	11.84	635	11.56
Pretty	74	0.59	91	1.65
Lovely	26	0.20	104	1.89
Graceful	16	0.12	19	0.34
Feminine	18	0.14	23	0.41
Beautiful	129	1.03	129	2.35
Delightful	32	0.25	52	0.94

Table 17 – 'women's Speech' words' raw and normalised frequency in the Time Corpus and in *Good Housekeeping*.

Again, the 'women's speech' is much more employed on *Good Housekeeping* texts, except for the word 'great', which is more frequent in Time.

11.3 Conclusions

The *Good Housekeeping* corpus, when compared to other American English corpora, and particularly to publications with massive circulation and from the same years, like the Time Corpus, is vastly characterised by a 'women's speech' that all the members of the staff used in

every item, for every topic, from fashion to politics. The use of the Synthetic Personalisation is markedly more used in *Good Housekeeping*, and it is telling of how much the staff diligently uses it in most items of the magazine to establish an apparent air of involvement of the reader, an air of authority on any matter, or to introduce the Advisor Format. These are all linguistic techniques usually aimed at requesting an action or a behaviour from the reader.

12. Ladies' Pages and Canyon Country

12.1 Introduction

African American women are almost completely missing from the pages of *Good Housekeeping*. They are missing both from the articles and from the visual elements, with just a few, unflattering exceptions in the span of the thirty years considered for this analysis. Noliwe M. Rooks, associate director of African American studies at Princeton University, has researched some of the earliest U.S. magazines targeted at African American women. Rooks' is not a linguistic analysis but a historical one; as previously mentioned, it is not easy, so far, to find a linguistic analysis or a corpus analysis of women's magazines from the first half of the Twentieth Century, even less so from the Nineteenth Century, or to find such an analysis related to ethnicity in those years. However, despite being published in the context of a vastly multi-ethnic society like the American one, *Good Housekeeping* is clearly and completely targeted at white American women. Therefore, a look at the accurate and ground-breaking work by Rooks, is much needed. In 12.3 we find the even more rare representations (or non-representations) of northern Native Americans in *Good Housekeeping*.

12.2 Ladies' Pages and *Good Housekeeping*

One of the first things striking the reader of Noliwe Rooks' research on African American women's magazines, and the reason why her research is being used here for a comparison with the contents of *Good Housekeeping*, is not the magazines themselves, but the fact that they had to be found, first. 'Found' does not mean that they had to be picked from a library record, but that they were not on record, and lied stored among libraries' uncatalogued holdings:

> "I will save you the details of my search except to say that when African American women's magazines from the 19th century through the 1950s are mentioned, it is rare to find a list of libraries in possession of the materials. One is more likely to find … notes or asides saying that the magazines themselves are either lost, missing, or of such minor importance that their absence is negligible." (Rooks 2004, 3)

African American women's magazine between the late Nineteenth Century and the first half of the Twentieth Century were flourishing just like many other new popular magazines multiplying during this 'golden era'.

> "While a majority of African American women's magazines published before Essence's appearance in May 1970 are largely unknown, they have existed in the United States

> for well over 100 years. [...] between 1891 and 1950 there were 80 African American women's magazines published for a variety of audiences and purposes. Some, like Ringwood's AfroAmerican Journal of Fashion (1891- 1894), Woman's Era (1894-1897), and The Sepia Socialite (1936- 1938) so their role as providing a space for what one scholar has termed "culture by association." ... other publications, like Half-Century Magazine for the Colored Home and Homemaker (1916- 1925), Woman's Voice (1912-1927), and The Home Magazine in Tan Confessions (1950- 1952) common describe themselves as preparing African American women for a place in urban social landscapes and overwhelmingly focused on the significance of consumerism for African American women in those locales. Still others, like Our Women and Children (1888- 1891) and Aframerican Woman's Journal (1935- 1954), attempted to speak to specific political, domestic, or religious aspirations on the part of an African American female readership. Of the hundreds of magazines started in the United States between 1890 and 1950, only the handful just mentioned... could boast ownership and editorial control by African American women." (Rooks 2004, 4)

Just like *Good Housekeeping*, these magazines start with up to a third of their pages taken up by advertising, and with grand aspirations of emancipating the masses. *A Colored Magazine for the Home and Homemaker* stated its mission in its eight reasons to buy the magazine: "1.To conduct your home more easily more cheaply, 2. to dress smartly at the lowest cost, 3. to read the best stories by the leading Colored writers, 4. to bring up and train your children better. 5. to see our own beautiful women depicted in the latest and smartest costumes of Dame Fashion, 6. to know the most novel ideas for entertaining, 7. to be a leader in the social life of your community to keep in touch with all that his newest and most vital in women's interests, inside and outside the home" (December 1917, 8). The contents include "short-fiction, biographical sketches, serialised novels, editorials, … etiquette, domestic science…". Indeed, by the 1930s half of every issue of *Good Housekeeping* was fiction, hosting writers such as Virginia Woolf (in the British edition), Evelyn Vaugh or Agatha Christie. When it comes to fashion, social life and domesticity, the contents of most of these magazines appear as well to be very similar to those of *Good Housekeeping*. On the pages of *Half-Century* in 1917 we find now-familiar headlines such as "Smart Fashion for Limited Incomes" or "Hats for Early Spring". The dress speaks about the woman wearing it, and even on a low income, appearance, in every little detail, is important. Just like on the pages of *Good Housekeeping*, there is concern for the migrants or new-comers struggling to integrate into society. Katherine Williams, owner and

editor of *Half-Century Magazine*, "consistently offered advice to newly arrived migrants to urban areas […] in a 1920 editorial titled "Are We Our Brothers' Keepers?" [she] complains: "many members of the race lack respect for conventionality, decorum, and even common decency in public places. […] Our women should be taught to wear becoming clothes, they cost no more than the other kind. […] The race as a whole could be taught to be quiet and polite in public places." According to Rooks "new migrants were often discussed and spoken to as if they were lower class and therefore uncivilised or lacking in the basic skills they would need to be considered upstanding members of "the race."" There is much discussing on the benefits of training African American women for domestic work. In "The Talks About Women" column of the April 1911 issue of the *Crisis*, Mrs John E. Millholland writes "when the advantages of domestic workout are considered the wonder is that more American women do not properly equip themselves for such a life." The women's column from the *New York Age* in July 1911 points out that 10,000 white girls have left the domestic trade in New York and suggests that this turn of events means those jobs are just waiting for African American women who may want them and complaints the young African American women have a bad habit of leaving these types of jobs before they are properly completed or refusing to do this type of work at all." To Rooks "the consistent pressure young African American women faced as to where and for whom they would work was applied by an older generation deeply anxious about the relationship of African American women to modernity, the voice associated with the city, and the contemporary place of the Victorian sensibilities with which they had been engrained when they had been young themselves."

A glaring difference with *Good Housekeeping* was the discourse on the devastating consequences from slavery and differences and identities within the African American community. Rooks brings forward the example of Ringwood's Journal, which was "the first popular magazine published in the United States by and for African American women" and which proceeds to do what Rooks calls "Refashioning Rape":

> "At the turn of the century, and the generation after slavery's end, narrative concerns with promiscuity, rape, and enslavement in African American women's magazines would not be left behind. They would come however, be reworked. Moving to an urban area and consuming the appropriate products came to be viewed, within the context of what the magazines argued was an automated representational and narrative backdrop, as means to shape a new, modern, and libratory meaning for Blackness in general and African American womanhood in particular." (Rooks 2004, 15)

The Ringwood's journal's founder, Julia Ringwood Coston (Figure 73), who was a slave when she was a child, "would repeatedly turn her gaze toward the tangle of her southern family history as she rewrote and represented her heritage and its association with rape in the most positive light possible." (Rooks, 25).

Fig. 73 – Julia Ringwood Coston, owner and editor of Ringwood's Afro-American Journal of Fashion

From the pages of her magazine, contradictions emerge which waited to be reconciled. On one hand "for many nineteenth century African Americans, light skin and white features would come to be highly prized as markers of class privilege and status," while "until late into the nineteenth century, light skin and white features on an African American body signified interracial rape in the minds of white 19th century Americans". At the end of the nineteenth century, "black women's clubs and in 1895 the separate clubs would join together to become one national organisation.

> "Though not an official organ, the magazine was connected with and informed by the ideology of this newly forming political movement, and many of the women who would go on to be its movers and shakers were associated with Ringwood's Afro-American Journal of Fashion in its early days." (Rooks, 30)

On the pages of *Good Housekeeping*, between 1920 and 1940, African American women are so infrequently represented that sometimes they are completely absent for entire issues. When

they are pictured, they are in the background as domestic workers, or in adverts, again as domestic workers, often as cooks. One example is Aunt Jemima. Sometimes African American women in adverts are not realistic, but cartoonish. One January 1933 article (Figure 74) is dedicated to comedy characters, following the success of the radio show Amos ‘n’ Andy. The show was an American sitcom about black characters, initially written and performed by two white men. The characters ‘speak’ with an accent in written form.

The LADY FRIENDS

Introduced in Person

By Perriton Maxwell

Madam Queen

Mrs. Crawford

Lulu May and the Landlady

Dixie Davis Lightnin'

YOU can't hoodwink twelve million Americans! No? Well, perhaps *you* can't, but Amos 'n' Andy can. They have been hoodwinking their nation-wide listening audience six days a week for three years. And by hoodwinking I mean winking through their hoods at you and me every time one of their women folks is mentioned. Why don't we know more about these dusky dames? Why hasn't some one given them a chance to speak for themselves? The way "the boys" have kept their feminine associates in the background amounts to a national scandal.

28

I am referring, of course, to the temperamental Madam Queen, the gentle-mannered Ruby Taylor, the aggressive Battle-Axe (spouse of the cunning Kingfish), and the chronically unhappy marital partner of Brother Crawford. I am thinking, too, of Aunt Lillian, Sadie Blake, Mrs. Lightnin' (the flirtatious Dixie Davis that was), and the landlady, anonymous until now, who presides over the rooming house where Amos 'n' Andy lived before the Okay Hotel catapulted them into a larger life.

Here is a roster of feminine names familiar in most American households, and yet not one of the famous group would be recognized on the street. In fact, you could line up all of them in any public square, and not a soul would identify Amos's sweetheart or Andy's chief inamorata.

To correct this grave injustice and bring these celebrated but practically unknown personalities into the spotlight where all could see them, I set out the other day for Harlem.

In the seething heart of the area known as the Black Belt I soon found the beauty "shoppe" of Madam Queen. It was not difficult to locate, for while it flourishes no outward and visible sign of its proprietorship, no symbol of Venus on its modest façade, there was a fly-specked wooden bust in the window on whose head rested crookedly a moth-eaten wig and at its base rested a penciled card telling the world that here it could get PERMANUNT WAIVES AT DEPRESHIN PRISES.

Across the street, at the curb, stood the crazy vehicle famous as the motivating force behind the Fresh Air Taxicab Company of America, Incorpolated. A raucous bell jangled over the entrance door as I stepped cautiously into beauty's bower. An overwhelming tidal wave of odors blending boiling cabbage, facial creams, soapsuds, and scorched hair bore down on me, and on the crest of it rode forward a buxom, amber-hued woman in a kaleidoscopic dress that made one's eyes jitter. An imitation pearl necklace the size of an anchor chain and huge earrings of the same synthetic origin vied in luster with her wide and toothy smile.

"You are Madam Queen?" I ventured nonchalantly.

"You said it," she grinned. "Does you want a mananicure?"

Fig. 74 – (and following page) The Lady Friends of Amos 'n' Andy, *Good Housekeeping*, January 1933

# of AMOS 'N' ANDY

Illustrated by
J. Clinton Shepherd

"No, thanks," I said. "I do my own nails in these dime-saving days."

"You—you ain't fum de gas company, is you?" A look of worry crept into her large velvet eyes. "Efn you is, I expects I can pay dat bill nex' week. Business ain't been—"

"Put away your fears, Madam Queen," I interrupted. "I come on a far more personal errand—a more pleasant one than bill collecting. I want to talk with you about your fiancé, Andrew H. Brown."

A rush of crimson flowed under the saffron patina of her cheeks. "What you know about me and Andy Brown?" she demanded.

"That's just the point, Madam Queen," I explained. "I don't know anything, except what Andy has told all of us by radio. Representing a large number of interested people I've come to hear from your own lips some facts about your forthcoming marriage. When does it come off, and where will it take place?"

I expected her to launch forth in a torrent of detail with at least some of the enthusiasm of a prospective bride, proud and happy over her approaching nuptials. Instead, her brow puckered, and she eyed me with cold suspicion.

"What fo' I has to tell *you* 'bout my ma'iage? How does I know you ain't one o' dem slick lawyer mens come here to help Andy bust up our 'gagement?"

"But," I remonstrated, "why should Andy want to break off your engagement? Everybody knows he has promised to marry you. He couldn't back out of it now, even if he wanted to."

Her spacious smile returned. "Mistuh, you doan' know dat big black boy like I does. He liable to wiggle outer anythin' doesn't he like it. I has had one 'sperience with him already. Ain't no way to make Andy keep his promises 'ceptin' nailin' him to de flo'." She sighed heavily. "Even den he mos' likely turn hisself loose an' say he never heard nothin' 'bout it."

I said: "Madam Queen, I'm confident that Andy means to do the right thing by you this time. He'll go through with it now, even though he didn't love you—which, of course, he does."

She pushed out her generous, red lips in a contemplative pout. "Does dat cullud pusson ever say he ain't lovin' me no more, I is through with his sassiety forever an' den some. But—"

"You're the only woman that Andy ever truly loved," I broke in. "And we all know that you are deeply enamored of him. So what—?"

"Uh—huh," she mused. "Maybe I is 'namored on him." Then with sudden fury: "But it's mighty funny dat dat Andy Brown keeps on postpronin' our weddin' day. He say he got to git hisself a heap o' swell new clothes, an' fix up a 'partment or a benthouse, an' do dis and do dat an' a lot o' other (*Continued on page 144*)

12.3 Native Americans and *Good Housekeeping*

If African American women do not have a 'speaking voice' on the pages of *Good Housekeeping*, Native Americans have possibly an even more sparse 'role'. The only representations found during this analysis are a comics page for children titled "Kiddies of the Canyon Country" (Figure 75). In other columns of the magazine 'Native American'

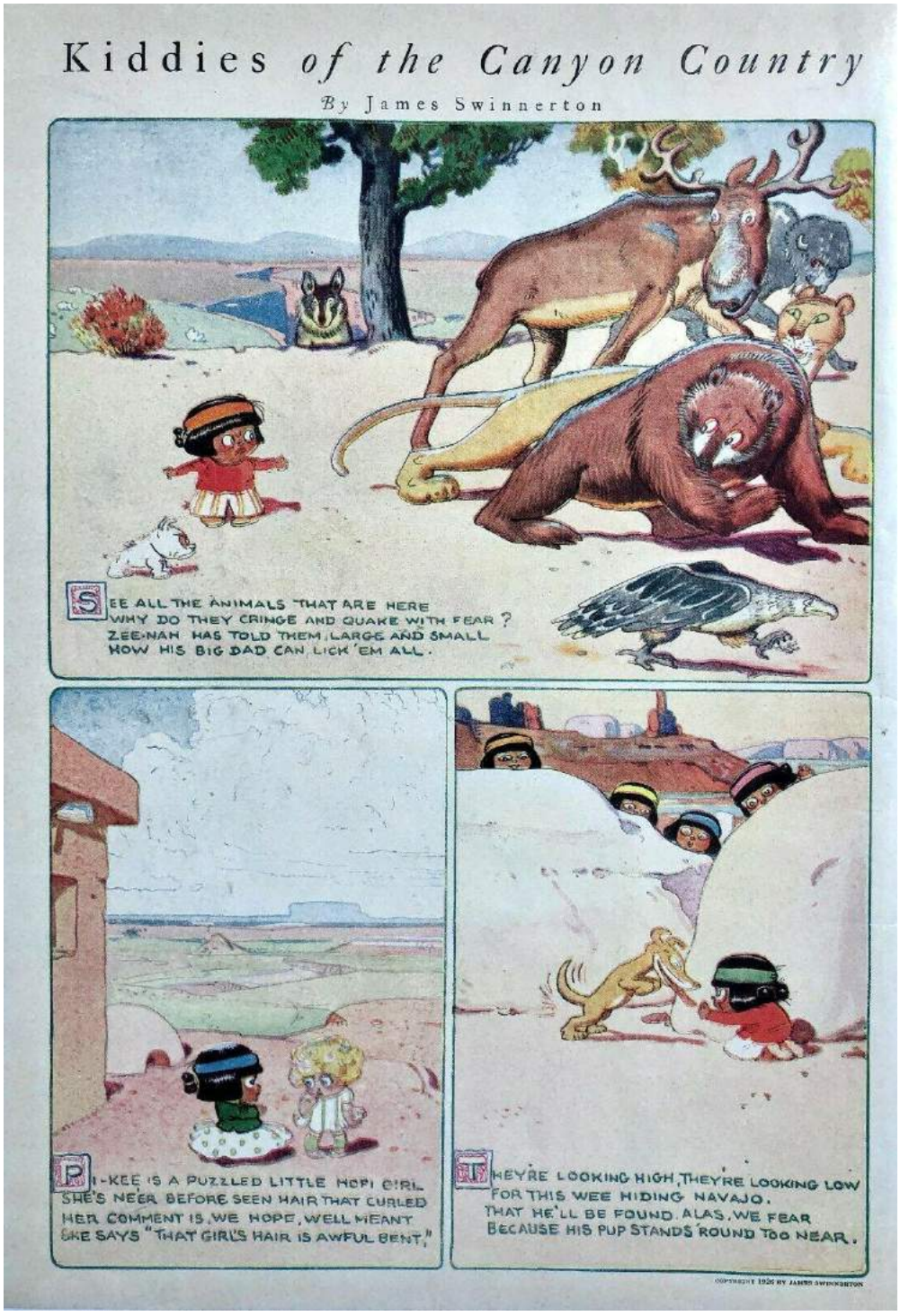
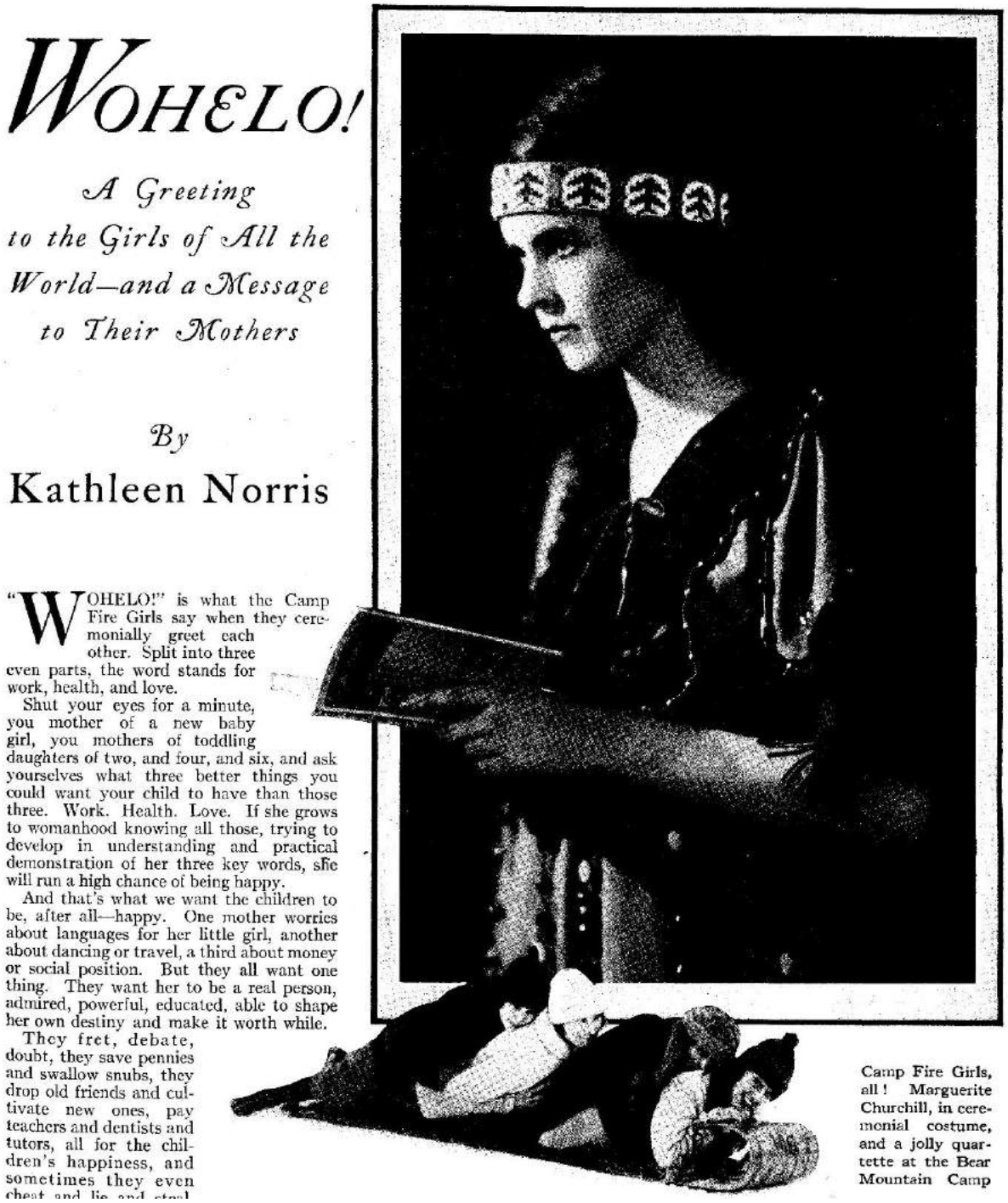


Fig. 75 - Kiddies of Canyon Country, comics appearing on *Good Housekeeping* throughout the 1920s.

(still defined as 'Indian') does not refer to people, but to a style imitating Native art which, generally, inspires house décor, although European style and colonial style are favoured. In adverts we see several children playing 'Cowboys and Indians' in full costume, but they are all white. Curiously, in one article dedicated to a summer camp for girls, "Wohelo!" (June 1921), the "ceremonial costume" of the camp seems to be inspired by Native clothes and accessories, but not of any specific Native tribe (Figure 76). Wohelo is not a Native American word,



WOHELO!

A Greeting to the Girls of All the World—and a Message to Their Mothers

By

Kathleen Norris

"WOHELO!" is what the Camp Fire Girls say when they ceremonially greet each other. Split into three even parts, the word stands for work, health, and love.

Shut your eyes for a minute, you mother of a new baby girl, you mothers of toddling daughters of two, and four, and six, and ask yourselves what three better things you could want your child to have than those three. Work. Health. Love. If she grows to womanhood knowing all those, trying to develop in understanding and practical demonstration of her three key words, she will run a high chance of being happy.

And that's what we want the children to be, after all—happy. One mother worries about languages for her little girl, another about dancing or travel, a third about money or social position. But they all want one thing. They want her to be a real person, admired, powerful, educated, able to shape her own destiny and make it worth while.

They fret, debate, doubt, they save pennies and swallow snubs, they drop old friends and cultivate new ones, pay teachers and dentists and tutors, all for the children's happiness, and sometimes they even cheat and lie and steal

Camp Fire Girls, all! Marguerite Churchill, in ceremonial costume, and a jolly quartette at the Bear Mountain Camp

Fig 76 - Wohelo!, *Good Housekeeping*, June 1921. An Article dedicated to a summer camp for girls.

it is the motto of the camp and stands for “Work, Health, Love”: the camp aims to inspire positive values in teenage girls. For the rest, in about three hundred articles analysed, it is rare to find a native ‘face’.

12.4 Conclusions

When it comes to African Americans and Native citizens on the pages of *Good Housekeeping*, the problem is not so much reconstructing the kind of representation or proposed ideal of these ethnicities as presented by the staff, as much as actually *finding* them in the articles. We might conclude that there is no representation at all, given that a few adverts with cartoonish Black women, and comics on little Native children are not enough to make a social analysis, much less to apply Critical Discourse Studies, or draw impressions on the use of language. Indeed, there is no ‘Discourse’ around these populations to be analysed. The ‘world’ of *Good Housekeeping* is a world made of white families of European descent, in large part Christian with children, despite the magazine having been founded in a multi-ethnic country.

13. Conclusions

13.1 The 1800s New Magazine and its Mission

As Ellen Gruber Garvey pointed out, at the turn of the century "middle class" was a fairly recent designation, and "unlike the classes below, the late Nineteenth Century middle class had money to participate in the new kinds of shopping … and might … for example, have the economic leeway to choose packaged goods over cheaper bulk goods." the new middle class was also unlike in the classes above it in that "it had a large enough membership to shape mass institution" (Gruber Garvey 1996, 18). This in turn provoked a rush to create new magazines targeting this new readership. Some of the magazines had women editors, we have mentioned Williams and Ringwood. Vogue has had only female editors from the start (Redding, Harrison, Woolman Chase…). *Good Housekeeping* did not have a female editor until the mid-1990s. The new magazines had varying fortunes, but they all started by offering many pages as advertising spaces. In 1893 the three largest monthly magazines in the United States – *Munsey's*, *McClure's* and *Cosmopolitan* - reduced their prices to $0.10, shifted the basis of their enterprise from sales to advertising, and, for the first time achieved circulations in the hundreds of thousands. At the same time, several of these magazines are introduced to the public as necessary to shape a new kind of emancipated and civilised citizen. Many of these magazines are targeted at women but not all of them have been created by women. The mission of these magazines was clear, and openly stated: the owners and editors believed it was their duty to 'shape' a new kind of reader. In the case of *Good Housekeeping*, the founder, Clark W. Bryan, wanted no less than *"perfection" in the household*, and to solve the problems facing the homemaker. Linguists have dedicated much attention to literature, theatre, and government-issued material, especially from dictatorships, but women's magazines, from the late Nineteenth Century throughout the first half of the twentieth century, have been under-analysed. Maybe they are perceived as something to read in one's spare time, or vehicles for advertising, today, and it wouldn't be wrong. But, at least in the United States, they once appeared to be a serious attempt at 'creating' a woman by the owners. *Good Housekeeping*'s contents appeared at first to be much different, and more political and actively involved in social change, firmly asking women to use their new suffrage rights to participate in the democratic life, by voting, writing to representatives, and joining activist groups. Before the need to advertise products brought staff and advertisers to 'problematise' children's health and women's bodies, and before the moral panics and perceived threats on children and, later, teenagers, *Good Housekeeping* wanted to be a manual on domestic health, was a correct vehicle

of political news, and most importantly revealed itself to be one of the ‘muckrakers’ that, through investigative journalism, forced the U.S. government to pass reforms on public health.

Still, it cannot be denied that Bryan’s intent was to teach a woman how to be a woman, that he thought the main job of a woman was being a homemaker, and that this job had to be treated in a fully professional way. He thought a new middle class, wealthier and more productive, meant that women would have better means to revolutionise their housework, when instead what happened was that millions of women, in the following decades, would start looking for jobs outside of the house. Despite his mistaken ‘prediction’, it is relevant to understand what kind of Ideal Reader his publication built, because **linguistic strategies that started being massively used, a century ago, are still in use in today’s mass media**, and therefore some of the conveyed ideas of the time might still be circulating thanks to that use of language. Not to be underrated, magazines contribute to the formation of collective memory and provide a foundation for subsequent portrayals of issues and events (Kitch, 2005). Kitch (2008) noted that journalism, in general, can be considered both a first draft of history and a first draft of memory, “a statement about what should be considered, in the future, as having mattered today” (p. 312). Magazine texts and visual images define issues and events, potentially influencing public opinion. Therefore, it is important to understand what the Text Producer wants from the reader, and CDS/A and CL can help find the elements of the profile of the writer’s ideal female citizen featured in political, non-political, entertaining, advertising texts. Still, it is worth remembering a limitation of research on Gender and Language. Even looking for a method to recognise Gendered Language is the result of a series of choices made by the researcher. Sunderland acknowledges that the identification and naming of a gendered discourse, and her approach is categorising discourses in term of their functions (conservative, resistant, subversive or damaging). What has been (re)confirmed by this analysis is that the identification of gendered discourse needs to take into account many types of context.

13.2 Goals and Consequences of a Language that Wants to Build a Gender Identity.

To Penelope Eckert, the language used by society to ‘talk’ to women and the language that society ‘teaches’ women, or would like to teach women, is an instrument used to ask women not only ‘to do’, but also ‘to be’ something. Her definition of this message perfectly applies to the content of the first fifty years of *Good Housekeeping*:

> "... [it is] the painstaking creation and elaboration of a worthy self. While men can justify and define their status on the basis of their accomplishments, possessions, or institutional roles, women must justify and define theirs on the basis of their overall character and the kinds of relations they can maintain with others. […] Women, unlike men, are inclined to be preoccupied with being the perfect teacher, the perfect parent, the perfect spouse. Men do things, women be things. Women are expected to be a particular kind of person - to perfect not their skills or their actions, but their selves" (Eckert 2004, 167).

Making the reader (male or female) desire a better physical aspect brings in turn desire for products promising to better that physical aspect, and therefore it is part of marketing techniques. Introducing the reader to ideal behaviours of the Wartime citizen in a way is part of the National (or ethnic) Identity Construction, and this construction looks already structured by the magazine's staff well before the article is written. But what kind of advantage does gender identity construction bring to society? To Eckert, in the case of the female gender, once women have modified their "self" they become easily objectified:

> "It seems perfectly natural, then, that women also are symbolic capital. The trophy wife and the first lady serve to enhance the images of their husbands. And however much they may accomplish with work they will be viewed as 'pretenders' for working purely in the symbolic" (Eckert, 167).

13.3 Non-Progressivism of the Language

There are further observations to be made on Gender Construction carried on by massively distributed magazines. For example, the reader might think that the Gendered Language becomes less gendered and therefore more emancipated through time, because the stereotyped, almost childish, characteristics of the "women's speech" highlighted by Lakoff, are fewer and fewer as the time passes. Analysing a diachronic corpus from *Good Housekeeping*, it turns out that it is not the case. It is true that used language is in perpetual transformation, especially lexicon and imitation of informal, spoken dialogue, and therefore it has a slow, diachronic evolution. In the article "How an Employer Should Behave" from the January 1938 issue, "fat" is used with a connotation of 'healthy and not nervous', and in many other articles the word "gay" has the only meaning of 'happy'. However, when we look beyond the language and reconstruct the Ideal Reader through the CDA, what exactly the writer *wants* from the real

reader, and especially if we consider the corpus in its context, the 'feminine' ideal might appear more emancipated in the 1920s, for example, only to look almost Victorian in the 1940s. A 1923 article titled "Self Possession – Self Consciousness" includes this passage:

> "why are women so fettered? What do they fear and why do they fear it? The answer is they fear the opinions of others. They have had too much attention drawn to themselves or their defects in childhood; too much of "What will people think, and what will people say?" in their later social training" (Delavan 1923, 97).

If we eliminate the fashion of the time, like the idea of an ideal posture, recommended by the author, an if we rewrite the article in a more modern style, it might be published today, especially in a time in which society is debating cyber-bullying, peer-pressure induced teenage depression, revenge-porn, body-dysmorphia. Meanwhile, the article "MEMOS from HOLLYWOOD" that I have analysed, might have been written in the late 1800s, in one of the first issues of the magazine, or one of the articles published during the first World War, instead of the second one. It is also important to remember that a government's propaganda office appears to be strictly connected to the press and if on one hand it needs to mobilise both the soldiers to send to the battle front and the civilians working on the Home Front, on the other hand it leaves bare the idea that that Government has of its female citizens. When we look beyond the surface of the stylistic choices of the *Good Housekeeping*'s staff during the War, and reconstruct the Ideal Reader through the CDA, and what exactly the writer wants from the real reader, that is, the function of the language, **we cannot speak of an evident diachronic progressivism**. Gender Identity Construction is still present, and its aims become even contradicting: in a time of emergency, distress and financial hardship, *Good Housekeeping* and other mass media cannot seem to decide if a woman should be more or less feminine in order to help the country and the defence-related factories. The 'degree' of femininity appears, however, to be something on the mind of magazines' staff, agencies creating propaganda content, and even physicians. **The most recent text is not necessarily the most emancipated**, **just like the most non-gendered text is not necessarily the most progressive**. Language change doesn't necessarily mean cultural change, and CL researchers, even when they are working on different / larger / more recent corpora, or corpora of British English instead of American English, appear to come to the same conclusions. For a comparison with CL work, corpus-based research by Baker (2010) on the BNC makes him doubt that a reduction of male bias in the corpus means a more emancipated use of language:

> "Mair (2006) uses phenomena described by Fairclough (1992, 1995), such as democratisation, technologisation and informalisation of public discourse, in order both to describe and to explain the changes that seem to be happening to British and American language use in recent decades. […] [Baker's study focuses on] an aspect of democratisation – changes in use of gendered language. It could be theorised that as (patriarchal) societies become more democratic, there would be reductions in gender-based bias, which would hopefully be reflected in language use. […] [The work takes into consideration] collective frequencies of male pronouns (he, him, his) and female pronouns (she, her, hers) in the four British members of the Brown family. […] Use of male pronouns has started to decrease, particularly since the 1960s, whereas use of female pronouns is increasing […] At every sampling point, the differences between the male and female pronouns are indicative of a male bias in language. [Data] suggest, though, that there are moves towards equality of gender references, at least in terms of frequency. Clearly, however, equal frequency is not necessarily the same thing as equal representation. […] We might naïvely conclude that the high level of references to the [increased frequency of the] term girl in the 1931 and 1961 data is indicative of a female bias. However, this interpretation is unlikely. First, it counters the evidence [on gendered pronoun use over time] and also it doesn't fit with our knowledge of gender relations in the Twentieth Century (in the UK women achieved suffrage on the same terms as men only in 1928)" (Baker 2010, 13-14).

There is one more contradiction to consider: just like in today's media, throughout thirty years we find more emancipated text producers writing in the same years as the less emancipated ones, sometimes even in the same issue of the magazine. As we have seen sometimes *Good Housekeeping*'s articles give strongly contradicting messages depending on who is the author of the article. Another problem defining an audience is that women's roles in society during the 1920s varied immensely. Not only were women's roles in mass society constantly changing, but conflicting descriptions of being a woman were given by different magazines, as well as other media. According to Nancy Walker "magazines sometimes celebrated a woman's primary role as a homemaker and at other times subverted that ideology" (Walker 2000). Therefore different women's magazines during one time period may have been targeting different groups of women such as mothers, singles, or career women. It can be claimed, anyway, that the most recent mass media content is not necessarily the most emancipated.

13.4 The Linguistic Determinism Hypothesis

Language is non-random because language users never use words randomly (Kilgarriff 2005). But can the use of language in the general society modify other people's behaviour? Linguists have hypothesised a linguistic determinism, suggesting that language in use can influence or determine the way we see the world. Undoubtedly magazines' text producers present they own particular view of the world and try and bring the reader to adopt that same point of view. This is true for both political ideologies and ideas on gender. Many personality traits, behaviours, stereotypes, and characteristics we associate to one gender or another, are often the result of a cultural history, and institutions play a fundamental role in the construction or attempted construction, of such identities. From school to media, we are receivers of different kinds of use of language, language which can have the characteristic of a gendered discourse. The characterising traits of the discourse can either tend to more egalitarian structures, or simply can maintain old linguistic strategies, just with different intentions: it is up to the text interpreter's choice of readings. Nowadays certainly different discourses still coexist, and there still is a gendered discourse in contemporary magazines that uses patterns and linguistic strategies that we have seen in this analysis. We still have today a women's speech and a men's speech which have just changed their lexicon, colloquial expressions and word puns (McLoughlin 2000) compared to those highlighted by Lakoff in 1975, and created different depending on the sex of the intended text interpreter. The content of the discourse may appear modern, and the choice of the lexicon can suggest a sexual or social emancipation, or sound more vulgar or more futuristic to the distracted reader, but if we apply in the critical discourse analysis and we can identify the idea of the reader we realise the gender traits the texts are suggesting are retrogressive. It is even more evident in Linda McLaughlin's *The Language of Magazines* where she applies Critical Discourse Analysis to women's magazines from the late 90s and early 2000s and some of the results are similar to the results of this analysis. Texts written decades after the corpus from the 1920s 1930s and 1940s examined here still reveal some of the same linguistic strategies. This might mean that contemporary magazines are attempting a gender construction based, at least in part, on traits attributed to the male and female gender almost a century ago. Besides the obvious fact that in order to bring this gender traits to the surface we still have to decipher a different language used depending on the sex of the text interpreter, in other words, they still are conveyed by gendered discourse. Language can be an instrument of power. Through language we can be subjected to strong social expectations. According to Roger W Andersen (1988), even though our experiences are

strongly influenced by the discourse of the societies in which we grew up, we can still rationalise this influence:

> "Language can help us to become aware of the unconscious pressures than operate on the ways we think and behave. These pressures are not all related to deep and distant experiences lost in our infancy, but also to immediate social expectations that we should act out in certain roles, behave and talk in certain ways. We can become more aware of these pressures and so make ourselves less liable to be influenced by them." (Andersen 1988 qtd. in Bloor 2004, 229).

These social expectations are not always dissimulated or hidden in a text. When Clark W. Bryan founded *Good Housekeeping* in 1885, he clearly announced that his aim was perfection. He was referring to the perfection in the household, even though sometimes it looks like to him the reader should have *been* the household: "the magazine's mission is to produce and perpetuate perfection as may be obtained in the household."

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