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From Spurs to Silk Stockings: Women in Prime-Time Television, 1950-1965

Margaret Finnegan

At five-foot-two, ninety-five pounds, Gail Davis was no ordinary television actress. After all, she did her own riding and shooting. As the star of the syndicated series *Annie Oakley* (1953-1958), Davis gave viewers what, according to Gene Autry, the whole nation was crying for: "a cowgirl heroine."¹ For five years, Davis' character used her mental and physical agility to keep the Wild West free of corruption and skulduggery. She was quick-thinking, courageous, and calm under pressure. As one reviewer noted, "with her sure eye on the sights and her steady hand on the trigger," Annie could "take care of most of the desperadoes without any help from the male sex."²

By 1959, the networks were offering viewers a different kind of woman, working in a different kind of west--Hollywood. Mary Tyler Moore's Sam, the sultry-toned answering service operator for private investigator Richard Diamond (played by David Janssen), had an uncanny instinct for warning the daring detective of impending danger.³ While Annie Oakley's physical agility kept the Wild West honest, Sam's physical attributes kept Hollywood titillated. Her shapely legs, displayed through knee-length straight skirts, silk stockings and high heels, and occasionally the silhouette of her back and head, were the only parts of Sam viewers ever saw.

These contrasting images were not isolated instances in prime-time television. As the first part of this study reveals, between

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1950 and 1965, self-reliant female characters like Annie Oakley were gradually replaced by individuals like Sam, an object of male fantasy and desire.⁴ The shift did not occur overnight, nor was it part of a concerted plot to manipulate or control the representation of gender. Indeed, as the second half of this study will demonstrate, this transformation evolved out of TV decision-makers' efforts to ensure and enhance their industry's success by encouraging women's involvement in the consumer culture and by presenting increasingly idealized images of men and women.

From Annie Oakley to Sam: female images on prime-time television, 1950-1965

For a brief time in the early 1950s, white women of all types dominated the airwaves. In 1954, 72 percent of television shows had female cast members, and 41 percent of all programs actually revolved around female characters (see Table A). Regardless of class, marital status or occupation, many of these characters were depicted as bright, resourceful and admirable women. Like cowgirl Annie Oakley, they often worked for a living, although most held traditionally female positions, such as housekeepers, secretaries, teachers and the like.

Eve Arden's Connie Brooks, of the situation comedy *Our Miss Brooks* (1952-1956), was probably the most popular working woman in early television. A high school English teacher, Connie was independent, intelligent, witty and attractive. Students appreciated Miss Brooks' willingness to relate to them on a social as well as a professional level. And the character's intelligence and frankness earned her the respect of fellow teachers. Miss Brooks was so well-liked by audiences that viewers occasionally blurred the distinction between Connie Brooks and Eve Arden. Several academic organizations recognized and awarded the actress for her contributions to American education, and one school even offered Arden a teaching job. Over half of her fan mail came from educators themselves, and a grateful teacher once thanked the performer for "recording the human side of our profession," noting, "We're not all social leftovers, nor withered gnomes."⁵

High praise notwithstanding, Connie Brooks had one fatal flaw: she was single. The gravity of this shortcoming was not lost on the thirtyish school teacher, and many episodes revolved around Miss Brooks' efforts to win the heart of biology teacher Phillip Boynton. But the very qualities that made Connie a popular, competent professional frustrated her romantic endeavors. Her

unabashed pursuit of the ingenuous biology instructor confused and embarrassed Boynton and, if anything, further alienated Connie from her chosen suitor. This one-sided romance filled Connie and her friends with constant consternation, for it was quite clear that an unmarried woman, even one as accomplished as Miss Brooks, would never find true happiness.

The likable but meddlesome student Walter Denton explained the problem to Miss Brooks this way:

In spite of your warm and genial exterior, I get the feeling that seething beneath the surface is a vast discontent. To find the cause of the discontent and then eliminate it is the task at hand...And now the first step we should consider is the object of your very warm but so far unreturned affection: one Phillip Boynton...Let's face it, the longer this thing drags on the less chance you're ever gonna have of nailin' that buzzard down.⁶

But Miss Brooks sought more than mere marriage; she wanted love, too. Consequently, Connie did not hesitate to decline a marriage proposal from the school's French teacher, a man she liked but did not love.⁷ After all, she had friends and a good job. Spinsterhood might deprive Connie of total happiness but it would not deny her a life. Married or not, Connie would always be confident, competent and street smart. In an era that stressed female dependence on men, these qualities made Connie, as well as other working women in early television, unique.

Women characters who worked in traditionally male fields are even more noteworthy. Such roles demonstrated not only women's competence and independence, but their diverse range of capabilities and skills. Besides Annie Oakley, the most surprising instance is Mademoiselle Lui-Tsong (played by Chinese-American actress Anna May Wong). Wong played a beautiful art gallery entrepreneur and sleuth who traveled the globe amidst international intrigue and danger.⁸ Other examples of likable, competent professional women include journalists in *Big Town* (1950-1956), *Crime Photographer* (1951-1952) and *My Friend Irma* (1952-1954); a teenage sleuth in *Crime with Father* (1951-1952); a doctor in *City Hospital* (1952-1953); and an attorney in *Willy* (1954-1955).⁹ Although such examples are numerous, not all working women characters acted admirably. A 1953 study by Dallas W. Smythe

found that television portrayed working women as less law-abiding than working men and more villainous than TV housewives.¹⁰

Of course, TV housewives had numbers on their side. During the first five years of complete prime-time programming, it was far more common for television actresses to play housewives than working women (see Table B). Yet, like career women, not all housewives behaved venerably. For example, Lucille Ball's Lucy Ricardo (*I Love Lucy*, 1951-1957) excelled at causing trouble for her friends and family. A New York City housewife, Lucy aspires to more than her domestic role permits and often plots to fulfill her dreams of fame and fortune. However, Lucy's ambitions are almost always thwarted by either her own inadequacies or her orchestra leader husband, Ricky. Invariably, her schemes lead to public humiliation, embarrassment and even marital strife. But her ploys are instructive, for they teach Lucy that only by succumbing to her proper domestic role, as she almost always does, will she find acceptance in her social milieu.

Nevertheless, Lucy Ricardo is somewhat atypical of her TV compatriots, for as Smythe's 1953 study notes, many housewives were indeed depicted as heroic, albeit in quiet, feminine ways. The working class character of *Mama*, Norwegian immigrant Marta Hansen (played by Peggy Wood) is a noteworthy example. Marta regularly sacrificed her own interests and desires for the well-being of her San Francisco family. In "Mama's Birthday," for instance, Marta wishes for a new job for husband Lars, children and good spouses for daughters Katrin and Dagmar, and the Presidency of the United States for son Nels; she asks nothing for herself.¹¹ In fact, Marta's well-being is so tied to her family's happiness that she cleans and cooks with uncomplaining diligence and with little expectation of recognition or thanks.

On the few occasions that Marta questions her role, the domestic happiness of the family is shattered. In the 1952 episode "Mama's Bad Day," for example, Marta complains that no one appreciates the time and care she devotes to her family. "What does a family mean?" she asks Aunt Jenny, "Work! And who appreciates it? Nobody."¹² Hoping to conquer her family's indifference through unflagging devotion, Marta proceeds to spend five hours preparing a complicated new dish for Lars and the children.¹³ When no one notices the evening's elaborate supper, Marta runs tearfully to a friend's home. But instead of finding solace, she is overwhelmed by guilt, anxiety, and worry. Rushing home to the family she loves, Marta realizes that a woman's fulfillment comes from neither

praise nor recognition, but from selflessly caring for a united and content family. Once again embracing her maternal responsibilities, Marta thus conquers her "bad day," making her family, and herself, happy once more.

Marta's heroism also stems from her unquestioned role as the backbone of the Hansen family. Sensitive, wise and compassionate, Marta is the first person family members turn to in times of crisis or disappointment. Indeed, amicable Lars clearly lacks Marta's strength of character. While he positions himself as the children's friend and playmate, Marta positions herself as the responsible caretaker, comforter and family disciplinarian. In "Katrin and the Countess," for example, only Marta questions Katrin's motives for missing Papa's upcoming birthday dinner.¹⁴ And in "Mama's Bad Day," she demands a clearly ambivalent Lars to reprimand Nels for smoking.¹⁵

As the foundation of the family, Marta is similar to many other early TV housewives, especially women in sitcoms, where the contrast between responsible women and ineffectual men was often quite striking. Indeed, in these shows, the home stood as the woman's domain, the place where her special skills ensured the unity, harmony and smooth running efficiency of the family. In contrast, male characters such as Stu Erwin in *The Stu Erwin Show* (1950-1955) and Ray Milland in the first season of *Meet Mr. McNutley* (later renamed *The Ray Milland Show*, 1953-1955) were portrayed as bumbling and foolish.¹⁶ One *TV Guide* article blamed television for this unflattering portrait of the American male, noting that men had taken "a fearful beating about the head and shoulders when cast in the guise of public entertainment."¹⁷

Beginning as early as 1954, however, ineffectual male characters faded from the screen as a new television climate offered a "small ray of hope" that the American male would assume a more authoritative role.¹⁸ New shows put commanding and knowledgeable husbands at the head of the family. According to *TV Guide*, newcomer Robert Young of *Father Knows Best* had "the audacity to make Pop out as a pretty astute gent in almost every department."¹⁹ Male leads in continuing shows also became more intelligent and resourceful. Stu Erwin, for example, received "glimmerings of almost human intelligence," while Ray Milland even had the name of his character changed from McNutley to McNulty.²⁰

The change in *The Ray Milland* show was so striking that it received special coverage in a *TV Guide* article about Phyllis

Avery, appropriately titled: "Back in Skirts: Phyllis Avery No Longer Wears the Pants in the McNulty Family."²¹ When the show began in 1953, Milland portrayed his character as bumbling and confused. The article noted that in one episode, for instance, "Milland got lost in the woods being a Man Scout for Boy Scouts, and in general tended to betray a shocking lack of common sense."²² In contrast, Avery, who played Milland's wife, was rational and calm throughout "every frame of the 26 minutes they spent on film each week."²³ In the fall of 1954, however, the program reversed its format. Avery became a scatterbrained, "giddy young wife" concerned chiefly with pleasing her husband, while Milland sagely came "to grips with life's little problems" and exuded "mastery from every pore."²⁴

Changes such as these reflect a widespread movement away from multi-dimensional representations of women, and toward more clearly marked, traditional gender roles on television in the mid-to late-1950s. Even shows like *Our Miss Brooks* were affected. In 1955, Miss Brooks found a new job at Mrs. Nester's Private Elementary School--a position offering less prestige and respect than that of a high school teacher. Moreover, the uninterested Mr. Boynton was replaced by an infatuated young physical education teacher who, this time around, chased Miss Brooks.²⁵

Ironically, as gender roles became more clearly delineated on television, recurring female characters became rarest in the most likely of settings, the home. The number of TV housewives had increased steadily in the first years of prime time television, equalling almost half of all female characters in 1954. By the following year, however, the percentage of homemakers on television began to decline, reaching a low of only 22 percent of women's roles by 1959 (see Table B).

Besides a decline in sheer numbers, by 1956 the characteristics of the average TV housewife had changed dramatically. There were no more working class, ethnic Marta Hansens, or wry, sarcastic Alice Kramdens (*The Honeymooners*, 1955-1956).²⁶ Even the inimitable Lucy Ricardo had changed somewhat. In 1957, the Ricardos moved to a country home in Connecticut, where Lucy's escapades focused more on the couple's domestic, suburban lifestyle than on Lucy's discontent with the housewife routine.²⁷

New series tended to glorify the middle-class nuclear family, as well as female domesticity and subordination. Characters like Donna Stone (*The Donna Reed Show*, 1958-1966) and June Cleaver (*Leave it to Beaver*, 1957-1963) were the epitome of the new TV

housewife. With their spacious, clean houses and comfortable lifestyles, characters like these gave the suburban home an unequaled glamour and sex appeal. Unlike the women in *Mama* and early episodes of *I Love Lucy*, new TV housewives were seldom seen physically working in the home or dressed for the realities of domestic labor. Indeed, as scholar Mary Beth Haralovich notes, even in the domestic confines of the suburban home, with its myriad of time and labor-intensive chores and responsibilities, June Cleaver always manages to look her best in "pearls, stockings and heels and cinch-waisted dresses."²⁸

Yet, like the idealized Marta Hansen, this new breed of TV housewife defined itself by the emotional and physical needs of the family unit. Unlike Marta, however, Donna, June and their contemporaries, recognized a thoroughly patriarchal family structure. The TV housewife thus became subordinate to the dominant male lead; as he instigated action and made decisions, she waited passively to follow his lead or take his advice. In effect, the TV housewife became mere window-dressing.

With women characters relegated to this idealized yet passive and subordinate status, it is not wholly surprising that television began concentrating less on the home and more on the public sphere, where dramatic conflict and challenge were still appropriate. By 1955, male-dominated action-adventures and westerns were rapidly replacing the domestic sitcom as the most popular television genres. Since these programs revolved around public life, working women, not housewives, usually inhabited this new, action-oriented TV world. Thus by 1956, almost 40 percent of female characters worked, and over half worked by 1963 (see Chart B and Graph A).²⁹ But like the new housewife, TV's working women acted at the male lead's beck and call and increasingly found themselves relegated to smaller roles.³⁰ When not cast in minor roles, actresses during this period typically found no recurring roles at all. By 1959, almost half of all programs had no permanent female cast members and only 10 percent of shows revolved around female characters.

However, in the early 1960s, the number of recurring women characters on television began to grow once more (see Chart A). Indeed, by 1965, two-thirds of all shows included regular women characters. This increase cut across virtually all genres, but was particularly obvious in adventure/drama shows, in which the percentage of women cast members grew from 38 percent in 1959, to 67 percent in 1965. The sitcom proved the one genre to notably resist

this change. Between 1959 and 1965 the number of sitcoms without permanent female characters actually tripled.

The overall increase in recurring female television characters did not go unnoticed. *TV Guide* speculated that television decision-makers must have realized that the "battle of the sexes" was more entertaining than "sheriff fighting baddie."³¹ But no "battle" emerged. With the exception of a small cadre of sitcoms, most actresses continued to be confined to minor roles, and most female characters still found themselves subordinate to the male lead.

Even *The Nurses* (1962-1964), one of the few drama series in the 1960s focusing on female characters, depicted women as submissive and servile. Originally, the show focused on the difficulties and problems of two urban nurses: Liz Thorpe and Gail Lucas. Regularly, however, the show used the nurses as springboards for episodes about particular patients or hospital staff members. The nurses' primary role was to provide emotional support, although they also aided patients and colleagues by using more medically conventional methods. Yet in 1964 the show suddenly changed formats.³² According to *The Nurses'* producer Earl Booth and network executive Michael Dann, the original female-focus of the program had proven problematic because of the difficulty in finding scripts with enough action and excitement. Consequently, Booth wrote in two "strong male" doctors and changed the title of the program to *The Doctors and the Nurses*.³³ Despite the introduction of the doctors the actual structure of the program changed little. Episodes still used cast members as springboards for focusing on different events and individuals. The greatest change in the new format was the professional and emotional hierarchy of the hospital. On both a social and professional level, the female nurses became help-mates to the male doctors. Indeed, doctors superseded nurses' authority in even the emotional realm. In times of crisis, the men commanded the screen with a clear sense of assertiveness and logic, while the women remained passive and sympathetic.

Despite exceptions like *The Doctors and the Nurses*, female characters in many programs during this period increasingly served male leads in explicitly sexual ways. One of the most illuminating examples of such sexuality is Jeannie, of *I Dream of Jeannie* (1965-1970). As a genie, Jeannie is the willing slave of astronaut Anthony Nelson. With her bare midriff and suggestive harem attire, Jeannie devotes her existence to Nelson and works incessantly to win his love and fulfill his every need.

The western *Hotel de Paree* (1959) similarly demonstrates women's sexual servitude. Set in Colorado during the 1870s, the show features two French dancers who operate a European style hotel, chiefly to the pleasure of Sundance, the women's body-guard/protector. However, while most earlier westerns featured women in high-neck, floor length dresses, characters Monique and Annette Deveraux wore off-the-shoulder cancan style costumes.³⁴

Of all such shows, however, *Richard Diamond's* Sam best exemplifies women's sexual servitude. Sam's only responsibilities are to take Diamond's telephone messages and warn him about ensuing danger. She is neither physically involved in any action nor even at any risk. Sam's duties are reduced to such an inactive, passive state that her character does not even need an entire body--only a pair of legs. In fact, only her legs, blatantly sexual to even the most casual viewer, suggest Sam's real function in society.

To be fair, male sexuality was also increasingly emphasized during this period. Yet while the industry leaders remained relatively silent about the changing image of women, they openly acknowledged the growth in "male cheesecake." Ironically, their explanations also shed light on the relative absence of women in television. In a 1964 interview with Betty Friedan for *TV Guide*, for example, television writer Madelyn Martin noted that, "You can't package a dramatic show around a woman because women want only to look at a man, and they don't want their husbands to look at other women."³⁵ Attractive doctors, like those added to *The Nurses*, as well as virile cowboys and other authority figures allowed female viewers to carry on a "fantasy affair" with the character. Women cast members, Friedan was told, interfered with viewers' vicarious relationships with male leads. MGM executive producer Norman Felton told Friedan that women viewers resented female characters that were even kissed by the male star--"That kiss jars the viewer's fantasy that she is the one with whom he's having the love affair."³⁶ Friedan blamed these images and ideas about women viewers on the feminine mystique, which, she told *TV Guide* readers, "glorifies woman's only purpose as the fulfillment of her "femininity" through sexual passivity, loving service of husband and children, and dependence on man for all decisions in the world outside the home (the "man's world")."³⁷

By 1965, television perpetuated many of the stereotypes Friedan described. Indeed, some of her conclusions can be traced back to the earliest representations of women on television. But there is an important difference. In the early years of television,

the sheer diversity of women's roles helped prevent female characters from being easily pigeonholed. Furthermore, while early TV housewives, like Marta Hansen, found fulfillment in selflessly serving their families, they also maintained an important, respected status in the home. Indeed, such characters acted as the family's backbone by ensuring harmony and unity in spite of ineffectual husbands and the chaos of daily survival. By 1965, such a revered status was usually reserved for male characters. Now portrayed as passive and submissive, female characters seldom initiated action or made their own choices. The one power women still retained was their power to sexually entice, and even that was less of a mental exercise than a physically imposed and manipulated reality.

With these changes in mind, let us now consider the social context of television decision-making in these years. As we will see, these shifts in the representation of women reflect TV industry leaders' efforts to maximize audiences and profits. To accomplish this goal, television decision makers focused on the housewives' dual role as TV viewer and consumer. Thus as the social significance of the housewife changed, so did television's depiction of women. The drive to maximize profits also encouraged industry leaders to emphasize the medium's cathartic role as champion of traditional values. This, too, influenced television's depiction of gender.

Postwar America through the eyes of Hollywood

At first glance, the systematic reduction of women on television into primarily sexual objects may imply a conspiracy of some sort. However, the television industry's decision making process is far too complex and multi-dimensional for a consciously designed social agenda to find a uniform voice in the medium.³⁸ Indeed, as historian William Boddy has noted, the motivations of industry leaders, including networks, sponsors, advertising agencies and producers, are so distinct, they result in contentious, fragile power relations between different decision-makers.³⁹ Yet all of these individuals have one thing in common: the desire to be involved in shows that deliver maximum, steady audiences.⁴⁰ Maximum audiences ensure maximum advertising dollars, well-publicized consumer goods, and jobs for advertising agencies and creative artists. Thus, in the end, behind the glamour and the stardom, television is a business, a highly competitive, profit-oriented, conservative business.

Part of the industry's conservatism derives from its fear of offending viewers. As an advertising executive told *Sponsor* magazine in 1951, "While you can't hope to please everyone...there's no point in antagonizing some of the people you want to sell. You've got to forget you're in New York and make like you're running a theatrical company on Main Street."⁴¹ This philosophy pervaded television decision makers' programming rationale and even resulted in a "Broadcasters Creed," which, among other things, promised to "Observe the proprieties and customs of civilized society. Respect the rights and sensibilities of all people. Honor the sanctity of marriage and home."⁴² Because of the intricate connection between the housewife, the home and consumer culture, TV decision makers perceived this last canon as especially important.

Consumer culture was not new to the postwar world. Indeed, historians have traced the origins of a consumer-defined identity to the late nineteenth century.⁴³ However, as a result of the tremendous economic growth after World War II, an unprecedented number of middle and working class men and women gained access to a consumer-oriented lifestyle. At the heart of this expanding consumer culture stood the suburban home, now more accessible and affordable to white middle and working class families than ever before.⁴⁴ Indeed, by as early as 1946, a majority of American families owned their own homes, and by 1970, 74 million Americans lived in single-family dwellings in the rapidly expanding suburbs.⁴⁵ Themselves symbolic of one's access to consumer culture, suburban homes also became showcases for conspicuous consumption. Owning more and better goods, especially household appliances, testified to a family's financial and personal success, for not only did material goods attest to wealth but to the generosity of male breadwinners in providing for loved ones.

While consumer culture promised men public recognition of their financial success, it promised women an idealized life as wife and mother free of the drudgery and boredom of household chores.⁴⁶ Just how eagerly American families wanted to believe these promises is apparent in the remarkable growth of consumer spending. Historian Elaine Tyler May notes that, while consumer spending increased 60 percent between 1946 and 1951, spending on appliances and household furnishings increased 240 percent. By contrast, spending on food and clothing increased only 33 and 22 percent respectively.⁴⁷

Increasingly, the perceived advantages of the consumer-oriented lifestyle were publicized on the most important household

appliance of all, the television. Television became entrenched in American life and culture almost immediately. Between 1950 and 1954, the number of American homes with TV sets jumped from 9 to 54 percent. By 1964, over 92 percent of all American homes had at least one television.⁴⁸ And within those homes, women comprised the new medium's target audience.

TV decision makers believed that in order for commercial television to succeed and networks to establish long-lasting relationships with sponsors, women's programming tastes had to be recognized. As the primary buyers of household goods, female viewers were seen as the link between successful programming and successful advertising. Thus as early as 1948, individuals involved in the television industry debated over the best ways to appeal to this important market.

Writer Richard McDonagh, for example, argued that television would have to rely on the medium's audio as well as visual quality. Storylines, he maintained, needed to be verbalized in a way that let viewers devote less than full attention to the screen, otherwise television might disrupt normal family relations. If the housewife watches too much television, warned McDonagh, "the divorce rate may skyrocket, as irate husbands and neglected children begin to register protest."⁴⁹ Unintentionally, the wrong kind of programming might keep women away from their household responsibilities, including the chore that TV most sought to perpetuate--consumption.

Consequently, programming promoted the kind of lifestyle that conspicuous consumption promised. As historian George Lipsitz has shown, early television encouraged consumerism through ethnic and working class programs, such as *Mama*, in order to persuade viewers to find happiness through consumption and identify with the benefits of buying on credit--"the American way."⁵⁰ He notes, for example, that Marta Hansen's role as mother and wife is tied to her role as consumer. Episodes begin with Marta serving a piping hot pot of Maxwell House Coffee, the sponsor's product. The weekly programs conclude with Marta once again retrieving her coffee pot, while, simultaneously, the announcer connects the episodes' mandatory morals about family togetherness to good tasting Maxwell House. In "Katrin and the Countess," for example, the announcer reminds viewers that "whenever families gather, the simple pleasure of being together is enhanced by the flavor of Maxwell House Coffee."⁵¹

Even *Our Miss Brooks*, which takes place outside the confines of the domestic sphere, is directly tied to consumption. At the end of each episode, Miss Brooks stands at her blackboard and gives viewers their weekly assignment. Viewers of the 1953 episode "Cure that Habit," were assigned Swans Down Cake Mix and Sanka Instant Coffee, the two sponsor products of the week's program.⁵²

But for some industry leaders, connecting a program to its sponsors proved an insufficient appeal to consumption. Programs thus sought to catch women's attention through flattering, idealized images of the housewife. Consequently, early television depicted working and middle class homemakers as rational and competent--the backbone of the family and the obvious brains behind the smoothly running efficiency of the home. Marta Hansen is thus as wise, if not wiser, than husband Lars, just as Peggy McNutley originally behaved far more competently and responsibly than her husband. Indeed, shows with ineffectual male leads like *Meet Mr. McNutley* directly appealed to the housewife's sense of self-worth. Reviewers who criticized the bumbling demeanor of the television husband missed the point that such programs served to reassure women about their vital domestic and consumer roles.

On the other hand, discontented TV housewives such as Lucy Ricardo were ridiculed as selfish or childish. Although such representations of women no doubt reconfirmed traditional gender roles, they were more the perpetuation of old stereotypes than the machinations of men bent on creating consumer-happy housewives. Throughout the 1940s, popular culture had touted marriage and domesticity as the keys to female happiness. Psychologists insisted that a woman unable or unwilling to depend upon a man was psychologically unsound.⁵³ Therefore, Lucy's aspirations to escape the boundaries of the home are comical and unbelievable; they confirm her immaturity, which is why failure or embarrassment cause Lucy to lapse into a strident wail of child-like frustration.

Among these examples, characters like Annie Oakley seem incomprehensible. They stress neither domesticity nor consumerism, and they reject traditional gender roles with little fear of rejection or reprisal. In reality, however, these characters are less inexplicable than they appear. Annie Oakley, like most of early television's working women characters, was single and thus free of the domestic restraints limiting her married counterparts. Moreover, as an inhabitant of the rough, untamed West, Annie was excused from the constraints placed on modern urban and suburban women. And

with sponsors and programmers eagerly appealing to female consumers, an unusual character like Annie Oakley gave writers and producers the opportunity to glorify women in unique ways, like outsmarting and outshooting dangerous cattle rustlers and stage-coach thieves.

Other unusual angles or twists also gave TV creators an excuse to break from the confines of traditional gender expectations. Entrepreneur/sleuth Mademoiselle Lui-Tsong could overstep the boundaries of domestic womanhood because of her race. After all, society had different expectations of an exotic Asian woman than a white American housewife. Single women in less glamorous occupations could remain beyond reproach by recognizing their marital status as a deficiency. Consequently, the articulate Connie Brooks was obsessed with finding a spouse. Indeed, this obsession kept Miss Brooks from appearing deviant. However, as more women actually entered the work force, these images became increasingly rare. In an era so ambivalent about social change, independent women characters such as these seemed perhaps too radical for this very conservative medium to depict favorably.

American women entered the labor force during the 1950s and 1960s at an astounding rate. The number of working women expanded four times as quickly as did the number of working men, and twice as many women were employed in 1960 as had been in 1940.⁵⁴ Ironically, the greatest increase in female workers was among married women whose husbands earned moderate incomes of \$7,000 to \$10,000 a year. Women from such backgrounds grew from 7 percent of the work force in 1950 to 25 percent in 1960.⁵⁵ For these women, employment became a way of chasing the elusive promises of consumer culture, in which success meant "keeping up with the Joneses."⁵⁶ However, few men and women initially intended for female employment to disrupt the traditional power structure of the family or undermine the breadwinner's authority.⁵⁷

Yet, to some extent, that is exactly what happened. A 1960 New Jersey study found that in families where both spouses worked, men were responsible for far more household tasks than in single-income families. The study also concluded that women in double-income families had more influence over important family decisions than did non-working wives.⁵⁸ The study's director, Robert Blood, noted that,

A working wife's husband listens to her more. She expresses herself and has more opinions. Instead of

looking up into her husband's eyes and worshipping him, she levels with him...Thus her power increases, and relatively speaking, the husband's falls.⁵⁹

In this case, the degree to which power relations were renegotiated is less important than the perception that change was occurring. Indeed, the sheer nature of such a study implies a general concern about working wives' impact on patriarchal authority.

Other experts seemed worried as well. In 1957, Columbia University economist Eli Ginzberg cautioned the American Orthopsychiatric Association that working mothers presented a dangerous psychological threat to society. With the proliferation of nonworking mothers, career aunts, married teachers and the like, warned Ginzberg, young girls no longer had clear role models.⁶⁰ As for husbands, questioned the economist: "To what extent...is the male to take a different attitude toward his role and modify his demands on the wife who is working?" Moreover, who could say that husbands did not resent their wives changing roles?⁶¹ After all, added Ginzberg, "The fact that the family may need and welcome the extra income does not always reduce [the husband's] suffering."⁶²

Along with this perceived threat to male authority came a critique of American manhood. In particular, journalists and social scientists criticized what they viewed as diminished individualism. William S. Whyte's, *The Organization Man*, and David Reisman's, *The Lonely Crowd*, for example, popularized the notion of the American male lost in a faceless, nameless, bureaucratic maze, emasculated by his incapacity to reassert his individuality in any meaningful way. Female employment and growing authority in the home aggravated fears that the American male was becoming a powerless figure.

As part of this social milieu, television decision-makers surely recognized this anxiety and, no doubt, shared in the ambivalence about gender roles. But, while the personal feelings of industry leaders may indeed have contributed to the mid-1950s trend toward dominant male roles on television, change was primarily motivated by economics. Intent on relieving and pleasing audiences, and fearful of offending viewers with anything but the most uncontroversial of characters, TV programming offered reassuring images of the patriarchal family and traditional gender relations. Thus, although increasing depictions of working women correlated with a

real increase, television promised that changing social patterns and increased consumerism did not threaten the social construction of gender or the family. Whether as helpmates at home, in the office, or in the western saloon, women characters increasingly glorified the dominance and rationality of the American male.

When audiences rewarded these programs with top ratings, networks deluged the small screen with copycat westerns and adventure dramas. Especially popular was the independent, handsome western hero like Matt Dillon of *Gunsmoke* (1955-1975) or Brett Maverick of *Maverick* (1957-1962) who negated Whyte and Reisman's image of a conforming, group-oriented male. The individualistic qualities of the western hero also found expression in the contemporary private detective or spy, and even in suburban fathers, where less heroic male images were replaced by characters like Jim Anderson of *Father Knows Best*, whose composure, intelligence, and sensibility preserved the dignity of the middle class family.

Television executives attributed the success of these dominant male characters in the late 1950s and early 1960s to the housewife, who continued to be the target viewer. ABC President Leonard Goldenson told *Forbes* in 1959 that his network's "Get Age" campaign, with its predominance of westerns and action-adventure programs, was geared toward "[t]he young housewife--one cut above the teenager--with two to four kids, who has to buy the clothing, the food, the soaps, the home remedies...It's this woman," Goldenson continued, "that the action pictures appeal to most. The heroes are all good-looking virile types. The women like to look at them. And the husbands go along for the self-identification with the he-man type."⁶³

Yet, it was not "this woman" the action-adventure program appealed to most. Several contemporary studies found that there was little difference in the television genres favored by men and women. If anything, men preferred action-adventure and western shows. Women tended to prefer "lighter" programs, such as sitcoms or music shows.⁶⁴ Surely a top-level network executive, consumed with maximizing ratings and revenues, would be aware of these conclusions.

How, then, do we make sense of the inconsistency between Goldenson's remarks and these findings? Without studying network archives solid conclusions are difficult to make. But we can, I believe, speculate about the cathartic quality of television. To some extent, Goldenson was perhaps correct. Many women probably did

appreciate "the good-looking virile types," and male viewers may well have enjoyed identifying with the "he-man." But, possibly, the real allure of these programs was that they reassured social constancy in the face of widespread change.

Along with the growing number of dominant male and subordinated female television characters came an increased emphasis on sexuality, the one arena in which female characters could not be replaced. But even television's depiction of female sexuality conservatively reconfirmed the status quo. Although the 1950s saw the rise of companionate marriages, in which men and women viewed sex as something to be shared and enjoyed equally, men were still considered sexually dominant. As a consequence of this asymmetry, the reciprocal sexuality of wives came to be seen as vitally important. Without sexually exciting wives, writes May, "the degenerative seductions of the outside world that came from pornography, prostitution, 'loose women, or homosexuals' could lead men down the path to communism and the destruction of the country's moral fiber."⁶⁵ Thus sex in the companionate marriage was not just part of a healthy marital relationship, but part of a wider public ideology--linked even to politics and national security.

Concepts of domestic sexuality filtered their way into television through the glamorous, middle class, suburban housewife, the June Cleavers and Donna Stones who cooked dinner in high heels and pearls. But sexuality was not confined to the household. In television, as in reality, sexuality outside the home presented a host of dangers, as represented by Mary Tyler Moore's Sam. Strangely omniscient, never fully seen, yet blatantly sexual, Sam represents the hazards that haunt single and unhappily married men. Through Sam, the viewer is vicariously carried away to a dark, seedy world of unrestrained lusts and desires. Only the devotion of a sexually potent Donna Stone could keep husbands from falling prey to such exotic allure.

Yet, as the years progressed, even the heroic image of the housewife began to falter. A new single's culture, supported and popularized by individuals such as Hugh Hefner and Helen Gurley Brown rebelled against the family-centered ethic and encouraged men and women to find sexual fulfillment outside the confines of marriage. Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* mocked marriage and its impact on the modern man, and rejected the sanctity of the housewife. One 1963 article sarcastically offered men the chance to, "BE YOUR OWN BOSS!!! Yes, an Assured Lifetime Income can be yours *now*, in an easy, low-pressure, part-time job that will permit you to

spend most of each and every day as *you please!* --relaxing, watching TV, playing cards, socializing with friends!" (Italics original)⁶⁶ This job description described nothing less than the American housewife.

Helen Gurley Brown gave women their chance to play the field. According to Estelle Freedman and John D'Emilio, Brown's 1962 *Success and the Single Girl*, offered women a future based on consumption and sexual liberty outside of marriage--a vision where a woman found success "by what she does rather than whom she belongs to."⁶⁷ As young singles popularized ideas of sexual freedom, some of those values found expression on TV, where industry leaders no doubt realized the enormous commercial potential of this market group (\$60 billion in the 1960s).⁶⁸

Looser standards of sexuality on television delivered the final blow to the image of the heroic housewife. We have seen that her image first faltered in the mid-1950s, when women ceased to be portrayed as the backbone of the family and became passive respondents to male-controlled activity. With competing values successfully challenging the significance of the housewife's role, her decline was complete. With the popular conceptualization of the heroic housewife toppled from its high plane, the image of women on television lost its greatest source of prestige and respect. Thus in 1964, Norman Felton told Friedan that no serious drama could revolve around the housewife because "If you showed it honestly, it would be too dull to watch...Everyone knows how dull the life of a housewife really is."⁶⁹ Such outright disdain for the American housewife would have been considered commercially disastrous a mere ten years earlier. Felton's ability to argue this point without fear of reprisal in itself signifies the changing status of the housewife. With this increasing disillusionment toward women's primary source of status and power, television reduced female characters' solely to their sexual role. Thus Sam, and characters like her, became so much the servant of male sexual desires that her mind, face, and sheer humanity were inconsequential.

This is the image of woman--a mindless, sexual servant--that, by the mid-1960s, dominated prime-time television. As always, there were exceptions: characters such as housekeeper Hazel (*Hazel*, 1961-1966), secretary Della Street (*Perry Mason*, 1957-1966, 1973-1974), and even housewife Donna Stone, still played an important part in programming. But the proliferation of mindless characters like Jeannie (*I Dream of Jeannie*), Ellie Mae Clampatt (*The Beverly Hillbillies*), Billie Jo, Bobby Jo and Betty Jo Bradley

(*Petticoat Junction*), Lisa Douglass (*Green Acres*), and Ginger Grant and Mary Ann Summers of (*Gilligan's Island*) legitimized the notion of women as primarily sexual objects. And as her name suggests, even the bold, daring and single detective *Honey West* (1965) was chiefly an object of desire.⁷⁰

By 1964, television had no room left for Annie Oakleys. The concept that women could be effective agents of action had vanished so completely that David Dortort, producer of the western *Bonanza* said with little fear of recrimination that,

...writing-wise, a woman, with all her special feminine problems, gets to be a nuisance. Many things have to be explained. Other things *can't* be explained. So she becomes a constant embarrassment. For instance, what do you do with her when all the men ride away from the ranch?⁷¹

Annie Oakley would have left the men in a cloud of dust. But clearly, the days when a sharp-shooting woman could give "little cowgirls" a heroine of their own were gone.

And according to Norman Felton, the blame for passive, objectified women rested with female viewers, since, as the primary consumers and watchers of television, they dictated acceptable and unacceptable programming. The problem, Felton told Betty Friedan, was that,

If you have a woman lead in a television series she has to be either married or unmarried. If she's unmarried, what's wrong with her? After all, it's housewives were appealing to. If she's married, what's her husband doing in the background? He must not be very effective. He should be making the decisions.

Television genres compounded this situation, continued Felton. "For drama, there has to be action, conflict. If the action is led by a woman, she has to be in conflict...She has to make decisions; she has to triumph over opposition. For a woman to make decisions, to triumph over anything, would be unpleasant, dominant, masculine. After all," Felton concluded, "most women are housewives, at home with children; most women are dominated by men, and they would react against a woman who succeeded at anything."⁷²

TV decision-makers must have liked the simplicity of Felton's assertion that since women are the primary buyers and consumers of sponsor products, what they want is what they get. But as the dynamism of television images suggests, such an answer is incomplete. The depiction of gender in the first decade and a half of television did indeed reflect what television and advertising leaders believed would increase ratings and ad dollars. Thus television created consumer culture heroines like Marta Hansen and Connie Brooks.

When ambivalence about societal changes made those images seem threatening, television devised new characters that provided simple answers to complex social issues. For example, as the conflicts of the consumer culture encouraged women to join the work force, television reassured men and women that social change did not necessarily affect the definition of traditional gender roles. Men were still the primary figures of authority. Women, while subordinate to men, were important members of society through their domestic and sexual glorification of the suburban household.

However, as the housewife's role became more ambiguous in the mid-1960s, female television characters were reduced to exalting the one function where they could not be replaced--physical love. In a world of faceless figures and mindless, magical slaves, there was little room for self-reliant, quick-shooting, fast-riding cowgirls.

Tables

Table A: Women Characters in Episodic Serials, 1950-1965

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Programs	17	27	31	34	41	33	20	29	15	10	13	10	8	22	16	21
Percent focus on women																
Percent no women characters	39	40	33	29	28	33	38	45	47	48	34	31	30	29	28	33
Percent women characters	61	60	67	71	72	67	63	55	53	52	66	69	70	71	72	67

Table B: Women in Episodic Serials, 1950-1965

Women Characters	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Percent	31	33	39	39	45	38	33	35	27	22	29	36	38	28	32	28
Housewives																
Percent employed	10	18	22	31	32	34	37	30	41	46	40	41	34	51	39	33
Percent	31	28	24	23	18	25	22	32	25	27	28	19	24	15	22	28
Other																
Percent Unidentifiable	28	23	16	6	5	3	8	3	7	4	4	3	4	7	7	11

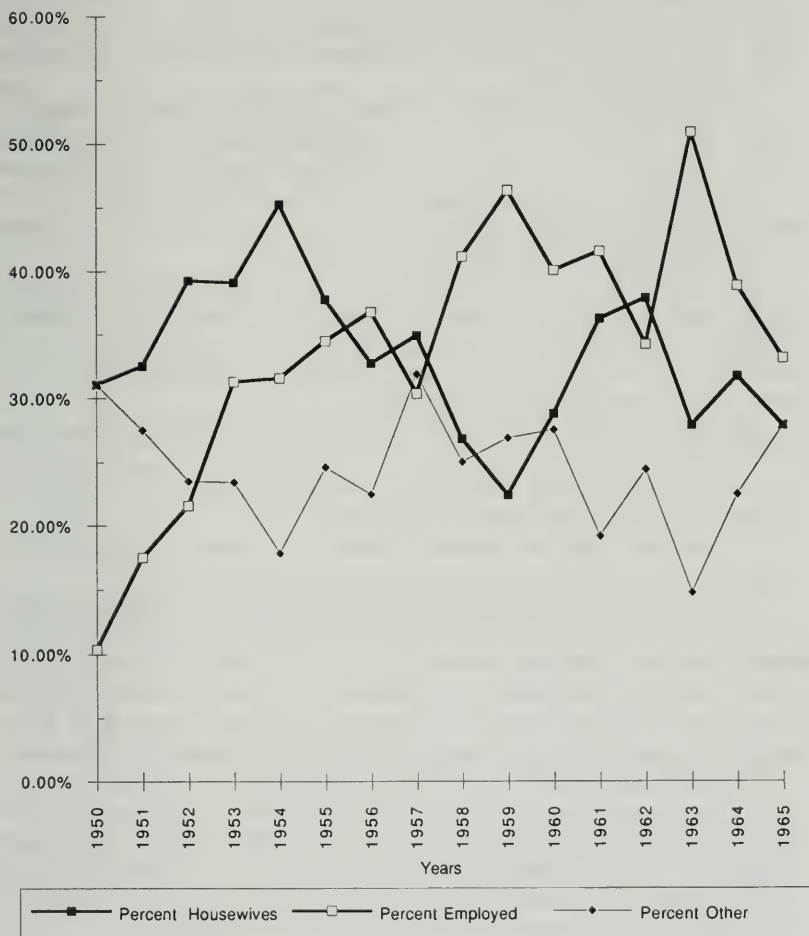
This data was compiled by analyzing programming schedules in Tim Brooks and Earle Marsh, *The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network TV Shows, 1946-1979*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1979. Additional information was found in Vincent Terrace, *The Complete Encyclopedia of Television Programs, 1947-1979*, vol 1 and 2. New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1979, and through personal viewing of programs.

Table C: Changes in Three of the Most Popular TV Genres, 1950-1965

Genres	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Percent Adventure/Drama	22	13	5	8	13	18	25	16	20	18	19	14	15	22	22	21
Percent Adventure/Drama no women	20	0	0	0	67	71	50	25	45	62	46	30	33	37	43	33
Percent Sitcom	26	27	56	58	63	54	42	39	29	23	31	34	42	41	56	47
Percent Sitcom focus on women	33	38	36	36	34	33	29	35	31	25	18	17	12	38	22	29
Percent Sitcom with women	100	100	100	100	100	95	94	95	100	100	100	96	96	90	89	88
Percent Western	9	7	5	8	7	15	18	32	40	38	30	21	22	20	9	17
Percent Western no women	100	100	100	67	100	50	71	81	78	65	71	60	54	40	50	75

This data was compiled by analyzing programming schedules in Tim Brooks and Earle Marsh, *The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network TV Shows, 1946-present*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1979. Additional information was found in Vincent Terrace, *The Complete Encyclopaedia of Television Programs, 1947-1979*, vol 1 and 2. New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1979, and through personal viewing of programs.

Graph A: Women Television Characters, 1950 - 1965



Percents do not total 100 because of unidentifiable characters.

NOTES

1. Vincent, Terrace. *The Complete Encyclopedia of Television Programs, 1947-1979*, vol 1. (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1979), p. 60. "Girl of the Golden West," *TV Guide* 2 (March 5, 1954) p. 8.

2. "Girl of the Golden West," *TV Guide*, p. 9.

3. Richard Diamond, *Private Detective* (1957-1960). Moore joined the cast in 1959, when Diamond relocated his business from New York City to Hollywood. Tim Brooks and Earle Marsh, *The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network TV Shows, 1946-present*, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1979), p. 527.

4. Early television was host to a number of different genres, including musical and varieties programs, dramatic anthologies, and episodic serials. This essay deals only with episodic serials, which are defined as shows, usually aired weekly, that have the same recurring characters. The action in episodic serials is generally limited to one of several locations and each episode is usually self-contained.

In a medium as fast-paced and complex as television, there are inevitably exceptions that challenge conclusions about programming trends. By looking across genres, however, this study attempts to show that widespread, dominant characteristics about changes in the representation of gender can be recognized and analyzed.

5. Marjorie Dent Candel, ed., *Current Biography* 1953, (New York: H.W. Wilson Company, 1954), p. 32.

6. "Conklin's Love Nest," *Our Miss Brooks*, (Mar. 13, 1953), Los Angeles: UCLA Film and Television Archives.

7. Ibid, and "She's a One-Man Woman," *TV Guide* 2 (April 2, 1954) p. 5-6.

8. The show was the short-lived crime drama: *The Gallery of Mme. Lui-Tsong* (1951), Brooks and Marsh, p. 217. Interestingly, a 1953 New York television survey found that heroines from "non American-white nationality race groups" were nearly as effectual and active as white American male heroes, while white-American heroines were less effectual and active than either group. Dallas W. Smythe, "Reality as Presented by Television," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 13 (Summer 1954), p. 153.

9. Brooks and Marsh, p. 67, 139, 427, 140, 122, 686. Significantly, all but two of these programs are dramas, which tends to imply that these characters and their professions were taken seriously. By positively portraying women as professionals these shows, to some extent, may have legitimized the involvement of real women in such occupations.

10. Smythe, p. 153.

11. This example is noted in: George Lipsitz, "The Meaning of Memory: Family, Class, and Ethnicity in Early Network Television Programs," *Cultural Anthropology* 1, (Nov. 1986), p. 364.

12. "Mama's Bad Day," *Mama* (1952), Los Angeles: UCLA Film and Television Archives.

13. Marta devised this plan after meeting a group of friends at the local market. Marta and her friends were upset about how difficult it was to find new and interesting recipes to please their husbands. This allusion to the difficulties faced by contemporary housewives is noteworthy. Whether or not nineteenth century women discussed the difficulties of choosing the right supper for their husbands, advertisers, eager to make mealtime another component of the consumer culture, must have perceived such dilemmas as everyday occurrences for post-war wives.

14. "Katrin and the Countess," *Mama* (Mar. 9, 1951), Los Angeles: UCLA Film and Television Archives.

15. "Mama's Bad Day," *Mama*.

16. This phenomenon was described with far more flair by *TV Guide*, which, in 1954, wrote that "It has been said, with considerable truth, that TV's sitcoms are cut pretty much from the same formula cloth. They usually feature a husband-and-wife combination, the husband characterized as something of a barely civilized oaf; the wife portrayed as the tolerant, wise, understanding and beautiful epitome of married womanhood." "She's a One-Man Woman," *TV Guide*, p. 5.

17. "Hot TV News: Men are Getting Smarter," *TV Guide* 2 (Nov 13, 1954), p. 8. No similar notice that women were often portrayed as irrational and foolish, however, was noted.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*, p. 9

21. "Back in Skirts: Phyllis Avery No Longer Wears the Pants in the McNulty Family," *TV Guide* 3 (Jan 22, 1955), p. 13-15.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. Brooks and Marsh, p. 468.

26. For a discussion on early working-class and ethnic programs see Lipsitz, "The Meaning of Memory."

27. See, for example, "Lucy Gets Chummy with the Neighbors," "Lucy Raises Tulips," and "Building a Bar-B-Que," synopses of which are given in Joel Eisner, and David Krinsky, *Television Comedy Series, An Episode Guide to 153 TV Sitcoms in Syndication*, (Jefferson N.C.: McFarland and Company, 1984), p. 407.

28. Mary Beth Haralovich, "Sitcoms and Suburbs: Positioning the 1950s Homemaker," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 2 (1989), p. 78.

29. In only two of the next nine years (1957 and 1962) did the number of TV housewives exceed that of employed women characters (see Graph A).

30. As always, there were exceptions. A few actresses did manage to succeed in programs where they did not function solely in relation to men, including Gale Storm (*The Gale Storm Show*, 1956-1960) and Ann Sothern (*The Ann Sothern Show*, 1958-1961). But both Storm and Sothern had proven television track records, as did Lucille Ball, whose *The Lucy Show* (1962-1974) proved to be one of the most durable female-focused programs. Another exception is Rose Marie who played Sally Rogers, the wise-cracking comedy writer on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. Like many working women characters before her, Sally was constantly searching for a husband. Far from a role model for young women, producer Carl Reiner described Sally as "essentially a sad almost tragic [character]." The "prototype of a glib, caustic career woman who makes big money and frightens the men." "Whatever Became of Baby Rose Marie," *TV Guide* 11 (January 12, 1963), p. 16.

31. "Let's Join the Ladies: Television Finally has Discovered Girls," *TV Guide* 7 (Oct 17, 1959), p. 13.

32. Neil Hickey, "One Battle the Women Lost," *TV Guide* 13 (March 16, 1965), p. 10.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Brooks and Marsh, p. 273; Terrace, Vol. 1, p. 446, 447.

35. Betty Friedan, "Television and the Feminine Mystique," *TV Guide* 12, (Feb. 1, 1964), p. 10.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

38. For a detailed discussion of the television decision making process see Todd Gitlin, *Inside Prime Time*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

39. William Boddy, *Fifties Television: The Industry and its Critics*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), p. 4.

40. Gitlin, p. 24, 25.

41. "Viewer Gripes are Your Tip-Off to Better Programs," *Sponsor* 5 (August 13, 1951), p. 72, 73.

42. "Be Careful on the Air," *Sponsor* 5 (September 19, 1951), p. 31.

43. The historiography of the U.S. consumer culture is somewhat limited. Good starting points include: *The Culture of Consumption*, ed. Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983); Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982); Warren Susman, *Culture as History*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973). For an excellent analysis of American advertising see Roland Marchand's *Advertising the American Dream*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

44. For more on suburbanization see Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984) and

Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). Of vital importance to postwar suburbanization were cheap, time-saving construction methods and federally supported home-ownership programs (including VA loans, tax incentives and highway grants).

45. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound*, (New York: Basic Books, 1988), p. 170.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

48. Cobbett S. Steinberg, *TV Facts*. (New York: Facts on File, 1980), p. 141,142.

49. McDonagh, p. 39.

50. Lipsitz, "The Meaning of Memory," p. 362-368.

51. "Katrin and the Countess," *Mama*.

52. "Cure that Habit," *Our Miss Brooks* (June 12, 1953), Los Angeles: UCLA Film and Television Archives.

53. Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s*, (Boston: Twayne Publishing, 1982), p. 164.

54. William Henry Chafe, *The American Woman*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 218.

55. *Ibid.*

56. May, p. 167.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Robert Hamblin and Robert Blood, "The Effect of the Wife's Employment on the Family Power Structure," *Social Forces* 36 (May 1958), p. 347-352.

59. *Ibid.*

60. "Working Mother Warned on Role," *New York Times*, (March 9, 1957), p. 39. The fact that Dr. Ginzberg, an economist, was lecturing psychiatrists on the psychological problems caused by working wives is worth noting.

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

63. "The abc of ABC," *Forbes* 83 (June 15, 1959), p. 17.

64. Gary A. Steiner, *The People Look at Television*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), p. 172. Leo Bogart, *The Age of Television*, (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1956), p. 82-86. Bogart includes a 1953 WHAN Kansas radio-television survey, a 1954 Hooper, Inc. survey, a 1951 NBC-Hofstra survey, and an undated U.S. Pulse TV survey.

65. May, p. 97.

66. Quoted in Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men*, (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1983), p.48.

67. Quoted in John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), p. 304.

68. Ibid., p. 305.
 69. Friedan, "Monsters in the Kitchen," *TV Guide* 12 (Feb. 8, 1964), p. 21.
 70. Brooks and Marsh, p. 270. *Honey West* was aired in 1965 on ABC.
 71. "Television's Tight Little Band," *TV Guide* 12 (Jan 11, 1964), p. 20.
 72. Friedan, "The Monsters in the Kitchen," p. 21.

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