



# **CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES**

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## **Stencilled Occasional Paper**

**JACKIE: AN IDEOLOGY OF ADOLESCENT FEMININITY**

by

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These chapters are adapted from a longer study, presented as an MA Thesis in the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, on "Working-Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity".

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## SECTION I: JACKIE: CULTURAL PRODUCT AND SIGNIFYING SYSTEM

### Part 1

"Another useful expression though, i.e. the pathetic appealing look, which brings out a boy's protective instinct and has him desperate to get you another drink/help you on with your coat/give you a lift home. It's best done by opening your eyes wide and dropping the mouth open a little looking (hanging your head slightly) directly into the eyes of the boy you're talking to. Practice this."

Jackie, February 15, 1975.

One of the major reasons for choosing Jackie for analysis is its astounding success. Since its first appearance in 1964 its sales have risen from an initial weekly average of 350,000 (with a drop in 1965 to 250,000) to 451,000 in 1968 and 605,947 in 1976. This means that it has been Britain's longest selling 'teen' magazine for over ten years. Boyfriend, first published in 1959, started off with sales figures averaging around 418,000 but had fallen to 199,000 in 1965 when publication ceased. Mirabelle, launched in 1956, sold over 540,000 copies each week, a reflection of the 'teenage boom' of the mid 50's, but by 1968 its sales had declined to 175,000.<sup>(1)</sup>

However my aim here is not to grapple with those factors upon which this success appears to be predicated, instead it will be to mount a rigorous and systematic critique of 'Jackie' as a system of messages, a signifying system and a bearer of a certain ideology; an ideology which deals with the construction of teenage 'femininity'.

Jackie is one of a large range of magazines, newspapers and comics published by D.C. Thomson of Dundee. [Five newspapers in Scotland, 32 titles in all].

With a history of vigorous anti-unionism, D.C. Thomson is not unlike other large mass communication groups. Like Walt Disney, for example, it produces predominantly for a young market and operates a strict code of censorship on content. But its conservatism is most overtly evident in its newspapers which take a consistently anti-union and 'law and order' line. The Sunday Post, with a reputed readership of around 3m. (i.e. 79% of the entire population of Scotland over 15) is comforting, reassuring and parochial in tone. Comprised, in the main, of anecdotal incidents drawn to the attention of the reader in 'couthie' language, it serves as a 'Sunday entertainer' reminding its readers of the pleasure of belonging to a particular national culture.<sup>(2)</sup>

One visible result of this success has been, at a time of inflation and of crisis, in the publishing world, "enviably" high profit margins of 20% or more. More

than this, D.C. Thomson has expanded into other associated fields, with investments for example in the Clyde Paper Co. (27.15%) and Southern TV (24.8%).<sup>(3)</sup>

Two points should be made in this context. First, without necessarily adhering to the 'traditional' conspiracy plot thesis, it would be naive to envisage the 'interests' of such a company as being purely the pursuit of increased profits. D.C. Thomson is not, in Jackie, merely "giving the girls what they want". Each magazine, newspaper or comic has its own conventions and its own style. But within these conventions and through them a concerted effort is nevertheless made to win and shape the consent of the readers to a set of particular values.

The work of this branch of the media involves 'framing' the world for its readers, and through a variety of techniques endowing with importance those topics chosen for inclusion. The reader is invited to share this world with Jackie. It is no coincidence that the title is also a girl's name. This is an unambiguous sign that its concern is with 'the category of the subject'<sup>(4)</sup>, in particular the individual girl, and the feminine 'persona'. Jackie is both the magazine and the ideal girl. The short, snappy name itself carries a string of connotations: British, fashionable (particularly in the 60's); modern; and cute; with the pet-form 'ie' ending, it sums up all those desired qualities which the reader is supposedly seeking.

Second, we must see this ideological work as being grounded upon certain so-called natural, even 'biological' categories. Thus Jackie expresses the 'natural' features of adolescence in much the same way as, say, Disney comics are said to capture the natural essence of childhood. Each has, as Dorfman and Mattelart writing on Disney point out, a "virtually biologically captive, predetermined audience".<sup>(5)</sup> Jackie introduces the girl into adolescence outlining its landmarks and characteristics in detail and stressing importantly the problematic features as well as the fun. Of course Jackie is not solely responsible for nurturing this ideology of femininity. Nor would such an ideology cease to exist should Jackie stop publication.

Unlike other fields of mass culture, the magazines of teenage girls have not as yet been subject to rigorous critical analysis. Yet from the most cursory of readings it is clear that they, too, like those more immediately associated with the sociology of the media - press, TV, film, radio, etc. - are powerful ideological forces.

In fact women's and girls' weeklies occupy a privileged position. Addressing themselves solely to a female market, their concern is with promoting a feminine

culture for their readers. They define and shape the woman's world, spanning every stage from childhood to old age. From Mandy, Bunty and Judy, to House and Home, the exact nature of the woman's role is spelt out in detail, according to her age.

She progresses from adolescent romance where there are no explicitly sexual encounters, to the more sexual world of 19, Honey or Over 21, which in turn give way to marriage, childbirth, home-making, child care and the Woman's Own. There are no 'male' equivalents to these products. 'Male' magazines tend to be based on particular leisure pursuits or hobbies, motorcycling, fishing, cars or even pornography. There is no consistent attempt to link 'interests' with age (though readership of many magazines will obviously be higher among younger age groups) nor is there a sense of a natural inevitable progression or evolution attached to their readers' expected 'careers'. There is instead a variety of possibilities with regard to leisure (a point I take up later) many of which involve active participation inside or outside the home.

It will be argued here that the way Jackie addresses 'girls' as a monolithic grouping, as do all other women's magazines, serves to obscure differences, of class for example, between women. Instead it asserts a sameness, a kind of false sisterhood, which assumes a common definition of womanhood or girlhood. Moreover by isolating out a particular 'phase' or age as the focus of interest, one which coincides roughly with that of its readers, the magazine is in fact creating this 'age-ness' as an ideological construction. 'Adolescence' and here, female adolescence, is itself an ideological 'moment' whose connotations are immediately identifiable with those 'topics' included in Jackie. And so, by at once defining its readership vis-a-vis age, and by describing what is of relevance, to this age group, Jackie and women's magazines in general create a 'false totality'. Thus we all want to know how to catch a man, lose weight, look our best, or cook well! Having mapped out the feminine 'career' in such all-embracing terms, there is little or no space allowed for alternatives. Should the present stage be unsatisfactory the reader is merely encouraged to look forward to the next. Two things are happening here. 1) The girls are being invited to join a close, intimate sorority where secrets can be exchanged and advice given; and 2) they are also being presented with an ideological bloc of mammoth proportions, one which imprisons them in a claustrophobic world of jealousy and competitiveness, the most unsisterly of emotions, to say the least.

## Part 2.

There are several ways in which we can think through Jackie magazine as part of the media and of mass culture in general.

The first of these is the traditionalist thesis. In this, magazines are seen as belonging to popular or mass culture, something which is inherently inferior to 'high' culture, or 'the arts'. Cheap superficial, exploitative and debasing, it reduces its audience to a mass of mindless morons,

"the open sagging mouths and glazed eyes, the hands mindlessly drumming in time to the music, the broken stiletto heels, the shoddy, stereotyped 'with it' clothes: here apparently, is a collective portrait of a generation enslaved by a commercial machine." (6)

Alderson, writing explicitly on girls' weeklies, takes a similar position. Claiming, correctly, that what they offer their readers is a narrow and restricted view of life, she proposed as an alternative, 'better' literature, citing Jane Eyre as an example. (7)

The problems with such an approach are manifest. 'High' culture becomes a cure for all ills. It is, to quote Willis, "a repository of quintessential human values", (8) playing a humanising role by elevating the emotions and purifying the spirit. What this argument omits to mention are the material requirements necessary to purchase such 'culture'. And underpinning it is an image of the deprived, working class youngster (what Alderson calls the 'Newsom girl') somehow lacking in those qualities which contact with the arts engenders. Mass culture is seen as a manipulative, vulgar, profit-seeking industry offering cheap and inferior versions of the arts to the more impressionable and vulnerable sectors of the population. This concept of culture is inadequate because it is ahistorical, and is based on unquestioned qualitative judgements. It offers no explanations as to how these forms develop and are distributed. Nor does it explain why one form has a particular resonance for one class in society rather than another.

The second interpretation has much in common with this approach, although it is generally associated with more radical critics. This is the conspiracy thesis and it, too, sees mass culture as 'fodder' for the masses; the result of a ruling-class plot whose objective it is to keep the working classes docile and subordinate and to divert them into entertainments. Writing on TV, Connell, Curti and Hall describe this approach,

"from this position the broadcaster is conceived of as nothing more than the ideological agent of his political masters". (9)

Orwell, writing on boys' magazines in the 1930s, can be seen to take such a position,

"Naturally, the politics of the Gem and Magnet are Conservative .. .. All fiction from the novels in the mushroom libraries downwards is censored in the interests of the ruling class." (10)

By this logic, Jackie is merely a mouthpiece for ruling class ideology, focused on young adolescent girls. Again, mass culture is seen as worthless and manipulative. Not only is this argument also ahistorical, but it fails to locate the operations of different apparatuses in the social formation (politics, the media, the law, education, the family, to name but some) each of which is relatively autonomous, has its own level and its own specific material practices. While private sectors of the economy do ultimately work together with the State, there is a necessary separation, between them. Each apparatus has its own uneven development and one cannot be collapsed with another.

The third argument reverses both of the first two arguments, to the extent that it points to pop music and pop culture as meaningful activities: "... for most young people today .... pop music and pop culture is their only expressive outlet." (11)

Such a position does have some relevance to our study of Jackie. It hinges on the assumption that this culture expresses and offers, in albeit consumerist terms, those values and ideas held by both working class youth and by sections of middle class youth. Youth, that is, is defined in terms of values held, which are often in opposition to those held by the establishment, by their parents, the school, work, etc. Such a definition does not consider youth's relation to production, but to consumption, and it is this approach which has characterised that huge body of work, the sociology of culture and of youth, subcultural theory, and which includes, too, delinquency theory.

To summarise a familiar argument which finds expression in most of these fields: working-class youth, denied access to other 'higher' forms of culture, and in any case associating these with 'authority' and with the middle class, turns to those forms available on the market. Here they can at least exert some power in their choice of commodities. These commodities often come to be a hallmark of the sub-cultural group in question but not exactly in their original forms. The group subverts the original meaning by bestowing additional implied connotations to the object(s) thereby extending the range of its signifying power. These new meanings undermine and can even negate the previous or established meaning(s) so that the object comes to represent an oppositional ideology linked to the subculture or youth grouping, in question.

It then summarises for the outside observer, the group's disaffection from the wider society. This process of re-appropriation can be seen in, for example, the 'style' of the skinheads, the 'mod' suit, the 'rocker' motorbike, or even the 'punk' safety-pin! (12)

But this approach, which hinges on explaining the choice of cultural artefacts - clothes, records or motor bikes etc., - is of limited usefulness when applied to teenage girls and their magazines. They play little, if any, role in shaping their own pop culture and their choice in consumption is materially extremely narrow. And indeed the forms made available to them make re-appropriation difficult. Jackie offers its readers no active 'presence' in which girls are invited to participate. The uses are, in short, prescribed by the 'map'. Yet, as I have pointed out in some detail elsewhere, this does not mean that Jackie cannot be used in subversive ways. Clearly girls do use it as a means of signalling their boredom and disaffection, in the school, for example. The point here is that despite these possible uses, the magazine itself has a powerful ideological presence as a form, and as such demands analysis carried out apart from these uses or 'readings'.

The fourth and final interpretation is one most often put forward by media practitioners themselves. Writing on the coverage of political affairs on TV, Stuart Hall et al. label this the 'laissez-faire' thesis,

"Programming is conceived, simply, as a 'window' on the campaign; it reflects, and therefore, does not shape, or mould, the political debate. In short, the objectives of Television are to provide objective information ....., so that they /the public/ may make up their own minds in a 'rational' manner." (13)

By this logic, Jackie, instead of colouring the way the girls think and act, merely reflects and accurately portrays their pre-existing interests, giving them 'what they want', and offering useful advice on the way.

### Part 3.

While the argument made here will include strands from the positions outlined above, its central thrust will represent a substantial shift away from them. What I want to suggest is that Jackie occupies the sphere of the personal or private, what Gramsci calls 'Civil Society' ("the ensemble of organisms that are commonly called Private"). (14) Hegemony is sought uncoercively on this terrain, which is relatively free of direct State interference. Consequently it is seen as an arena of 'freedom', of 'free choice' and of 'free time'. This sphere includes:

"not only associations and organisations like political parties and the press, but also the family, which combined ideological and economic functions" (15)

and as Hall, Lumley and McLennan observe, this distinctness from the State has

"... pertinent effects - for example, in the manner in which different aspects of the class struggle are ideologically inflected." (16)

Jackie exists within a large, powerful, privately-owned publishing apparatus which produces a vast range of newspapers, magazines and comics. It is on this level of the magazine that teenage girls are subjected to an explicit attempt to win consent to the dominant order - in terms of femininity, leisure and consumption, i.e. at the level of culture. It is worth noting at this point that only three girls in a sample of 56 claimed to read any newspapers regularly. They rarely watched the news on television and their only prolonged contact with the written word was at school and through their own and their mothers' magazines. Occasionally a 'risqué' novel like Richard Allen's 'Skingirl' would be passed round at school, but otherwise the girls did not read any literature apart from 'love' comics.

The 'teen' magazine is, therefore, a highly privileged 'site'. Here the girl's consent is sought uncoercively and in her leisure time. As Frith observes

"The ideology of leisure in a capitalist society ... is that people work in order to be able to enjoy leisure. Leisure is their 'free' time and so the values and choices, expressed in leisure are independent of work - they are the result of ideological conditions." (17)

While there is a strongly coercive element to those other terrains which teenage girls inhabit, the school and the family; in her leisure time the girl is officially 'free' to do as she pleased. And as we have seen, teenage girls show a marked lack of interest in organised leisure activities, showing instead a preference for dancing or merely 'sitting about'. Otherwise the girls in the sample defined their leisure interests in terms of consumer goods - clothes, make-up magazines, records and cigarettes. It is on the open market then that girls are least constrained by the display of social control. The only qualification here is the ability to buy a ticket, magazine or Bay City Roller T-shirt. Here they remain relatively un-interfered with. It is of no consequence, for example, to the management of the Birmingham Ice Rink that their facilities are used as the place for picking up girls by Birmingham's 'pre-pub-going' working-class youth on Sunday afternoons. They have little or no moral interest in youth, unlike youth-club leaders who seem to equate adolescent courtship with flagrant immorality, drugs and violence.

Frith (18) notes that there are three main purposes for capital with regard to leisure. 1) The reproduction of labour physically (food, rest, relaxation). 2) The reproduction of labour ideologically (so that the work force will willingly return to work each day). 3) The provision of a market for the

consumption of goods, thus the realisation of surplus value.

Now, while the subjects of this study are not yet involved in production, they are already being pushed in this direction ideologically, at school, in the home and in the youth club. Jackie as a commodity designed for leisure covers all three of the points noted above. It encourages good health and 'beauty sleep', and it is both a consumer object which encourages further consumption and a powerful ideological force.

So, using Jackie as an example, we can see that 'leisure' and its exploitation in the commercial and private sector also provides capital with space to carry out ideological work. Further, it can be argued that the very way in which 'leisure' is set up and defined in capitalist society is itself ideological. Work is a 'necessary evil', possibly dull and unrewarding. But its rationale is to allow the worker to look forward to, as an escape, his or her leisure. That is, leisure is equated with 'free' choice and 'free' time and exists in opposition to 'work', which is associated with 'necessity', 'coercion' and 'authority'. In this sphere of individual self-expression and relaxation, the State remains more or less hidden revealing itself only when it is deemed politically necessary (for example at football matches and rock concerts; through the laws relating to obscene publications and through licensing and loitering laws, etc.)

Commercial leisure enterprises with their illusion of freedom have, then, an attraction for youth. And this 'freedom' is pursued, metaphorically, inside the covers of Jackie. With an average readership age of 10 to 14, Jackie pre-figures girls' entry into the labour market as 'free labourers' and its pages are crammed full of the 'goodies' which this later freedom promises. Jackie girls are never at school, they are enjoying the fruits of their labour on the open market. They live in large cities, frequently in flats shared with other young wage-earners like themselves.

This image of freedom has a particular resonance for girls when it is located within and intersects with the longer and again ideologically constructed 'phase' they inhabit in the present. Leisure has a special importance in this period of 'brief flowering' <sup>(19)</sup>, that is, in those years prior to marriage and settling down, after which they become dual labourers in the home and in production. Leisure in their 'single' years is especially important because it is here that their future is secured. It is in this sphere that they go about finding a husband and thereby sealing their fate.

To return to the original point, it is in the interests of capital that leisure be to some extent removed from direct contact with the State, despite the

latter's welfare and leisure provisions for youth. Thus a whole range of consumer goods, pop music, pubs, discos and in our case 'teen' magazines occupy a space which promise greater personal freedom for the consumer. Jackie exists in this private sphere. The product of a privately owned industry and the prime exponent of the world of the private or personal emotions.

Frith makes the point that:

"The overall result for capital is that control of leisure has been exercised indirectly, leisure choices can't be determined but they do have to be limited - the problem is to ensure that workers' leisure activities don't affect their discipline, skill or willingness to work." (20)

That is, capital needs to provide this personal space for leisure, but it also needs to control it. This is clearly best done through consumption. Hence ultimately State and private spheres do function "beneath the ruling ideology" but they also have different "modes of insertion" on a day-to-day basis, which, as pointed out earlier, in turn produce "pertinent effects" vis-a-vis their 'handling' of the class struggle.

To put it another way, there is an unspoken consensus existing between those ideologies 'carried' in State organised leisure, and those included in Jackie. The former is typically blunt in its concern with moral training, discipline, team spirit, patriotism, etc. while the latter is dedicated to fun and romance!

#### Part 4

What then are the key features which characterise Jackie? First there is a 'lightness' of tone, a non-urgency, which holds true right through the magazine particularly in the use of colour, graphics and advertisements. It asks to be read at a leisurely pace indicating that its subject matter is not wholly serious, is certainly not 'news'. Since entertainment and leisure goods are designed to arouse feelings of pleasure as well as interest, the appearance of the magazine is inviting, its front cover shows a 'pretty' girl smiling happily. The dominance of the visual level, which is maintained throughout the magazine reinforces this notion of leisure. It is to be glanced through, looked at and only finally read. Published at weekly intervals, the reader has time to peruse each item at her own speed. She also has time to pass it round her friends or swap it for another magazine.

Rigid adherence to a certain style of lay-out and patterning of features ensures a familiarity with its structures(s). The girl can rely on Jackie to cheer her up, entertain her, or solve her problems each week. The 'style'

of the magazine once established, facilitates and encourages partial and uneven reading, in much the same way as newspapers also do. The girl can quickly turn to the centre page for the pin-up, glance at the fashion page and leave the problems and picture stories which are the 'meat' of the magazine, till she has more time.

Articles and features are carefully arranged to avoid one 'heavy' feature following another. The black and white picture stories taking up between 2½ and 3 full pages are always broken up by a coloured advert, or beauty feature, and the magazine opens and closes by inviting the reader to participate directly through the letters or the problem pages.

This sense of solidness and resistance to change (Jackie's style has not been substantially altered since it began publication) is reflected and paralleled in its thematic content. Each feature (as will be seen later) comprises workings and re-workings of a relatively small repertoire of specific themes or concerns which sum up the girls' world. These topics saturate the magazine. Entering the world of Jackie means suspending interest in the 'real' world of school, family or work, and participating in a sphere which is devoid of history and resistant to change.

Jackie deals primarily with the terrain of the personal and it makes a 'turning inwards' to the sphere of the 'soul', the 'heart', or less metaphorically, the emotions. On the one hand, of course, certain features do change - fashion is itself predicated upon change and upon being 'up to date'. But the degree of change even here is qualified - certain features remain the same, e.g. the models' 'looks', poses, the style of drawing and its positioning within the magazine and so on. All that does change is the length of the hem, shade of make-up, style of shoe, etc.

Above all, Jackie, like the girl she symbolizes is intended to be 'looked at'. This overriding concern with visuals affects every feature. But its visual appearance and style also reflects the spending power of its readers. There is little of the extravagant or exotic in Jackie. The paper on which it is printed is thin without being wafer-thin. The fashion and beauty pages show clothes priced within the girls' range and the adverts are similarly focused at a low budget market featuring, principally, personal toiletries, tampons, shampoos and lipsticks rather than larger consumer goods.

Next, I want to turn to the question of the method of analysis. Instead of drawing on the well-charted techniques of content analysis, I will be using

approaches associated with semiology, the 'science of signs'. However, this approach offers no fool-proof methodology. As a 'science' it is still in its infancy, yet it has more to offer than traditional content analysis <sup>(21)</sup> if only because it is not solely concerned with the numerative appearance of the content, but with the messages which such 'contents' signify. Magazines are specific signifying systems where particular messages are produced and articulated. Quantification is therefore rejected and replaced with understanding media messages as structured wholes and combinations of structures, polarities and oppositions are endowed with greater significance than their mere numerative existence.

Semiological analysis proceeds by isolating sets of codes around which the message is constructed. These conventions operate at several levels, visual and narrative, and include also sets of sub-codes, such as codes (in Jackie) of fashion, beauty, romance, personal/domestic life and pop music. These codes constitute the 'rules' by which different meanings are produced and it is the identification and consideration of these in detail that provides the basis to the analysis. Semiology is, in short, concerned with the internal structuring of a text or signifying system, with what Barthes calls 'immanent analysis'.

"The relevance shown by semiological research centres by definition round the signification of the objects analysed: they are examined only in relation to the meaning which is theirs without bringing on - at least prematurely, that is, before the system is reconstituted as far as possible - the other determining factors of these objects (whether psychological, sociological or physical). These other factors must of course not be denied .....  
 .... The principle of relevance evidently has a consequence for the analyst a situation of immanence; one observes a given system from the inside." (22)

How then do we apply such an analysis to Jackie? Given the absence of any definitive rules of procedure - an absence which stems from the polysemic qualities of the image, ("It is precisely this polysemy which invites interpretation and therefore makes the imposition of one dominant reading among the variants .... possible") <sup>(23)</sup> my approach is necessarily exploratory.

First then, I will attempt to locate the more general structural qualities of Jackie. Having described the nature and organisation of the codes which hold it together, I then go on to consider these separately in some detail although in practice they rarely appear in such a 'pure' form.

One of the most immediate and outstanding features of Jackie as it is displayed on bookstalls, newspaper stands and counters, up and down the country, is its ability to look 'natural'. It takes its place easily within that whole range

of women's magazines which rarely change their format and which (despite new arrivals which quickly achieve this solidness if they are to succeed) always seem to have been there! Its existence is taken for granted. Yet this front obscures the 'artificiality' of the magazine, its 'product-ness' and its existence as a commodity. It also obscures the nature of the processes by which it is produced.

Jackie is the result of a certain kind of labour which involves the implementation and arrangement of a series of visual and narrative signs. Its meanings derive from the practice of encoding 'raw material' (or re-encoding already coded material) which results in the creation of new meanings. These new meanings depend upon the specific organisation of different codes all of which in turn involve different kinds of labour - photography, mounting, framing, drawing, headlining etc.

There is nonetheless, a real problem as to what constitutes 'raw material'. It can be argued that any such 'material' by virtue of its existence within a set of social relations is already encoded. But does 'raw material' refer merely to the material existence of 13-15 year old girls? Or does it recognise that they have already been in constant contact with various ideologies since early childhood? That is, does it assume an already existing culture of femininity?

I would argue that it is the latter which is the case. For 'raw material' we can 'read' that pre-existent 'level' of femininity which both working class and middle class girls can hardly avoid. As part of the dominant ideology it has saturated their lives, colouring the way they dress, the way they act and the way they talk to each other. This ideology is predicated upon their future roles as wives and mothers.

In conclusion I want to turn briefly to the codes themselves. Each code combines within it, two separate levels: the denotative - the literal and the connotative. It is this latter which is of greater interest to the semiologist.

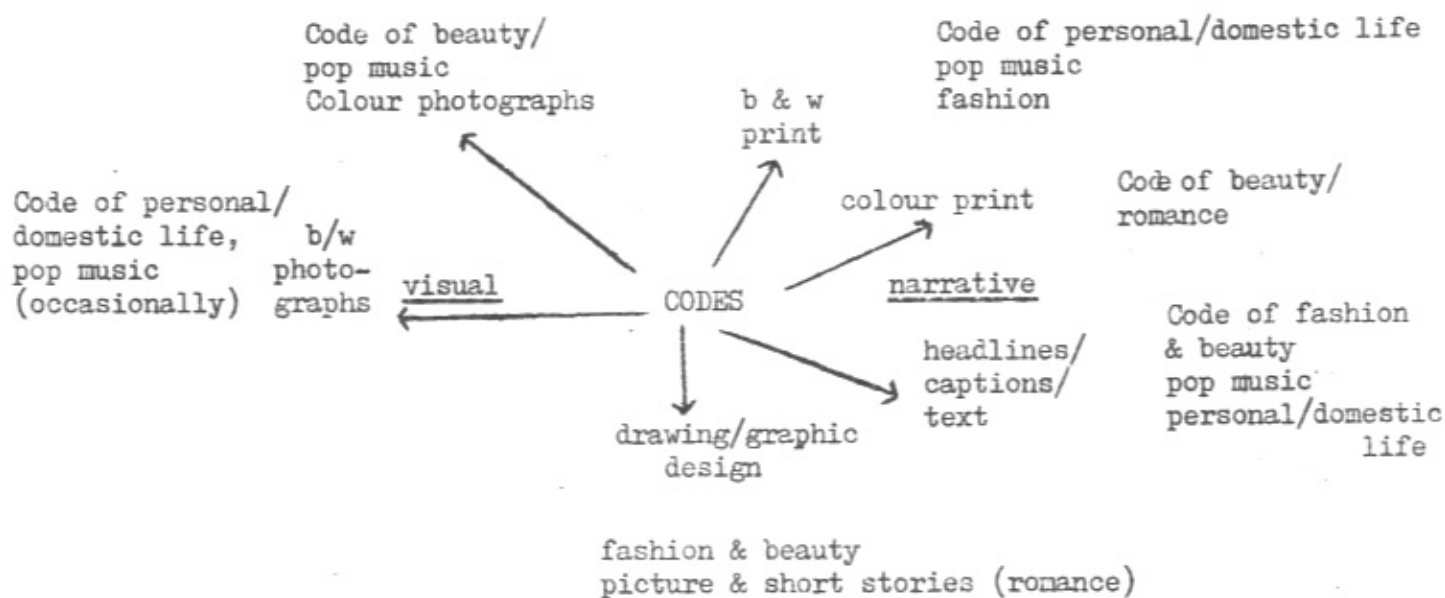
"... connotative codes are the configurations of meaning which permit a sign to signify in addition to its denotative reference, other additional, implied meanings." (24)

Connotation then, "refers subjects to social relations, social structures, to our routinised knowledge of the social formation." (25) And as Barthes comments

"As for the signified of connotation, its character is at once general, global and diffuse; it is if you like a fragment of ideology". (26)

Codes of connotation depend on prior social knowledge on the part of the reader, observer, or audience, they are "cultural, conventionalised and historical." (27)

A large range of codes operate in Jackie (see diagram), but for present purposes I have identified four sub-codes, and organised the study around them. <sup>(28)</sup> These are (1) the code of romance, (2) of personal/domestic life, (3) of fashion and beauty and (4) or pop music. It is to the first of these that we now turn.



## SECTION II: THE CODE OF ROMANCE: THE MOMENT OF BLISS.

"The hero of romance knows how to treat women. Flowers, little gifts, love letters, maybe poems to her eyes and hair, candlelit meals on moon-lit terraces and muted strings. Nothing hasty, physical. Some heavy breathing ... Mystery, magic, champagne, ceremony ... women never have enough of it." (29)

Jackie picture stories are similar in form to those comic strips, and tales of adventure, time travel, rivalry and intrigue which regularly fill the pages of children's weeklies. Yet there is something distinctive about these stories which indicates immediately their concern with romance. First the titles clearly announce a concern with "you", "me", "love" and "happiness". Romantic connotations are conveyed through the relationship between titles and the names of 'pop' songs and ballads. Jackie does not however use the older Boyfriend technique of using a well-known pop song and its singer to both inspire the story and give it moral weight!)

The title, then, anchors the story it introduces. In our sample these include:

'The Happiest Xmas Ever', 'Meet Me On The Corner', 'As Long As I've Got You', 'Come Fly With Me', and 'Where Have All The Flowers Gone?'

This concern with romance pervades every story and is built into them through the continued use of certain formal techniques and styles.

For a start, the way the characters look indicates clearly that this is serious, not 'kids stuff'. They are all older and physically more mature than the intended reader. Each character conforms to a well-established and recognisable standard of beauty or handsomeness and they are all smart, fairly sophisticated young adults, rather than adolescents or 'teenagers'.

The most characteristic feature of 'romance' in Jackie is the concern with the narrow and restricted world of the emotions. No attempt is made to fill out social events or backgrounds. The picture story is the realm, par excellence, of the individual. Each story revolves round one figure and the tiny web of social relationships surrounding him or, usually, her.

Rarely are there more than two or three characters in each plot and where they do exist it is merely as part of the background or scenery -- in the cafe, at the disco or in the street.

Unlike comic strips, where the subject is fun, excitement or adventure, these stories purport to deal with the more serious side of life -- hence the semi-naturalistic style of the drawings and the use of black and white.

This, along with the boldness of the drawings, the starkness of stroke and angularity of the figures, conspire to create an impression of 'realism' and seriousness (see fig.1.). The form of the stories alone tells us that romance is important, serious and relevant. Yet simultaneously in the content, we are told that it is fun; the essence and meaning of life; the key to happiness, etc. It is this blend which gives the Jackie romance its characteristic flavour. In general terms this is nothing new, these stories owe a great deal to popular cinema romances, and to novellettes. For a start the characters closely resemble the anonymous but distinctive type of the 'film star' - dewy-eyed women and granite-jawed heroes. Their poses are equally soaked in the language of film - the clench, the rejected lover alone by herself as the sun sets - , the moon comes up - to name but a few (see fig.2). But this cinematic resemblance is based on more than just association. The very form of the comic strip has close links with the film. Strung together, in a series of clips, set out across and down the page, - the stories 'rise' to a climax and resolution, graphically illustrated in larger images erupting across the page.

From these clips we can see clearly that the emotional life is defined and lived in terms of romance which in turn is equated with great moments rather than long term processes. Hence the centrality and visual impact of the clench, the proposal, the wedding day. Together these moments constitute a kind of orchestration of time; through them the feminine career is constructed. The picture stories comprise a set of visual images composed and set within a series of frames laid out across the page to be 'read' like a text. But these frames communicate visually, resemble film-clips and tell the story by 'freezing' the action into sets of "stills". Unlike other comics (Bunty or Judy), Jackie stories do not conform to the convention of neatly mounted images set uniformly across the page. Instead a whole range of loose frames indicating different kinds of situations or emotions are used. These produce a greater continuity between 'form' and 'content', so that as the pace of the story accelerates, the visuals erupt with the breathless emotional feelings, spilling out over the page.

Each separate image which makes up the story is 'anchored' with sets of verbal messages illuminating the action and eliminating ambiguity. This is necessary since

"all images are polysemic; they imply, underlying their signifiers, a 'floating chain' of signifieds, among which the reader can choose a few and ignore the rest." (30)

But anchorage only refers to one part of the written message accompanying the image in the comic strip, i.e. the caption, title and statement of fact ('the next day', 'later that evening', etc.). The second function of the linguistic message here is 'relay'. Again quoting Barthes:

"words (most often a snippet of dialogue) and image stand in complementary relationship; the words like the images, are thus fragments of a more general syntagm, and the unity of the message occurs at a superior level, the level of the story, anecdote, narrative .... The two functions of the linguistic message can co-exist in an iconic group but the dominance of one or the other is not a matter of indifference for the general economy of the work. .... In some strips which are meant to be read quickly, the narrative is entrusted above all to the word, and the image gathers up the attributive, paradigmatic information (the stereotyped status of persons). (31)

Thus the moment of reading and looking are collapsed into one, and the reader is spared the 'boredom of having to read more lengthy descriptions; she merely 'takes it in' and hurries on to the next image. The techniques through which this relay operates are well known; - dialogue is indicated by the use of balloons issuing from the mouths of the speakers and filled with words; - and thoughts are conveyed through a series of small bubbles which drift upwards away from the character's mouth - thinking being associated with a 'higher' level of discourse, an 'intellectual' pursuit.

The central and most dramatic incident in each story is specified by the spilling out of one visual image over the page. This image sums up graphically the fraught nature of the moment; the moment when the timid shy heroine catches sight of her handsome boyfriend fascinated by her irresistible best-friend at a party which she stupidly invited her to; (see fig.3) or when the girl, let down by her boy rushes out of the coffee bar across the street to be hit by a passing car ... and so on. (see fig.4)

Each frame represents a selection from the development of the plot, and is credited with an importance which those intervening moments are not. Thus the train, supermarket, and office have meaning, to the extent that they represent potential meeting-places where the girl could well bump into the prospective boyfriend, who lurks round every corner. It is this which determines their inclusion in the plot; the possibility that everyday life could be transformed into social life.

Within the frames themselves the way the figures look, act, and pose contributes also to the ideology of romance. For a start there is very little variation in types of physical appearance. This homogeneity hinges

on a blend of modernity and conservatism which typifies the Jackie look. The girls are 'mod' but neat and conventional, rarely are they 'way-out'. Boys may look acceptably scruffy and dishevelled by displaying a kind of managed untidiness.

This appearance is matched by language. Deriving seemingly from the days of the teenage commercial boom it has a particularly 50's ring about it. (32) Bereft of accent, dialect, slang or vulgarity it remains the invention of the media - the language of pop, and of Radio 1 disc jockeys. Distinctly modern it is also quite unthreatening, peppered with phrases like:

"rave", "yacked", "zacked", "scrummy hunk", "dishy", "fare",  
"comeon, let's blow this place", "I'm the best mover in town",

all of which convey an image of youth "on the move" of "a whole scene going" and of "wowee dig the slick chick in the corner", "a nice piece of talent", teenagers "doing their own thing". But these teenagers are a strangely anonymous and unrecognisable grouping, similar only, perhaps, to the "Young Generation" seen on TV variety shows or the young people in Coca Cola or Levi Jeans adverts. It is a language of action, of 'action ads', of 'good times', of enjoyment and of consumerism. The characters in Jackie stories and in Coca Cola TV adverts at least seem to be getting things done. They are constantly seen 'raving it up' at discos, going for trips in boyfriends' cars, or else going on holiday. And yet as we shall see, the female and male characters in Jackie are simultaneously doing nothing but pursuing each other, and far from being a pleasure-seeking group in fact these stories consist of isolated individuals, distrusting even their best-friends and in search of fulfilment only through a partner. The anonymity of the language then parallels the strangely amorphous Jackie girls. Marked by a rootlessness, lack of ties or sense of region, the reader is unable to 'locate' them in any social context. They are devoid of history. Bound together by an invisible 'generational consciousness' they inhabit a world where no disruptive values exist. At the 'heart' of this world is the individual girl looking for romance. But romance is not itself an unproblematic category and what I will be arguing here is that its central contradiction is glaringly clear and unavoidable even to the girl herself who is so devoted to its cause. This contradiction is based round the fact that the romantic moment, its central 'core', cannot be reconciled with its promise for eternity. To put it another way, the code of romance realises, but cannot accept, that the man can adore, love, 'cherish' and be sexually attracted to his girlfriend and simultaneously be 'aroused' by other girls, (in the present of the 'future'). It is the recognition of this fact that

sets all girls against each other, and forms the central theme in the picture stories. Hence the girl's constant worries, as she is passionately embraced; "can it last?" or "how can I be sure his love is for ever?"

Earlier we asserted that Jackie was concerned with "the category of the subject", <sup>(33)</sup> with the constitution of the feminine personality. Indeed 'personality' itself forms an important organising category in the magazine. Each week there is some concern with 'your' personality, how to know it, change it or understand those of your friends, boyfriends, families. <sup>(34)</sup> In the picture stories 'personality' takes on an important role alongside 'looks'. The characters depend for their meaning on well-known stereotypes. That is, to be 'read' correctly the reader must possess previous cultural knowledge of the 'types' of subjects which inhabit his or her social world.

Jackie boys fall into four categories. First there is the fun-loving grinning, flirtatious boy who is irresistible to all girls; second, the 'tousled' scatterbrained 'zany' youth who inspires 'maternal' feelings in girls; third the emotional, shy, sensitive and even 'arty' type; and fourth, the juvenile delinquent usually portrayed on his motorbike looking wild, aggressive but 'sexy' and whom the girl must 'tame'.

In every case the male figure is idealised and romanticised so that there is a real discrepancy between Jackie boys and those boys who are discussed on the Cathy and Claire page. The central point here is that Jackie boys are as interested in romance as the girls.

"Mm! I wish Santa would bring me that for Christmas  
... so how do we get together?"

and this, as countless sociological studies, novels and studies of sexual behaviour indicate, simply does not ring true. Boys in contemporary capitalist society are socialised to be interested in sex although this does not mean they don't want to find the 'ideal' girl or wife. (This point is considered in more detail later).

Female characters, significantly show even less variation in personality. In fact they can be summarised as three opposite or contrasting types. The 'blonde', quiet, timid, loving and trusting girl who either gets her boy in the end or is tragically abandoned; and the wild, fun-loving 'brunette' (often the blonde's best-friend) who will resort to plotting and conniving to get the man she wants. This 'bitch' character is charming and irresistible to men although all women can immediately 'see through' her. Finally there is the non-character, the friendly, open, fun-loving 'ordinary' girl (who

may perhaps be slightly 'scatty' or absent-minded). She is remarkable in being normal and things tend to happen to her rather than at her instigation. Frequently she figures in stories focusing round the supernatural.

Most of these characters have changed little since the magazine first appeared in 1964. Their 'style' is still rooted in the 'Swinging London' of the mid-60s. The girls have large, heavily made-up eyes, pale lips and tousled hair, turned up noses and tiny 'party' mouths (a la Jean Shrimpton). They wear clothes at least partly reminiscent of the 60s, hipster skirts with large belts, polo neck sweaters and, occasionally, 'flared' trousers. Despite the fact that several of these girls introduce themselves as 'plain', their claims are contradicted by the accompanying image indicating that they are without exception 'beautiful'. Likewise the men (or boys) are ruggedly handsome, young versions of James Bond (to the extent that some even wear 'shorty' raincoats with 'turned-up' collars). They have thick eyebrows smiling eyes, and 'granite' jaws.

While some of the stories seem to be set in London, the majority give no indication of 'locale'. The characters speak without an accent and are usually without family or community ties. They have all left school, but 'work' hovers invisibly in the background as a necessary time filler between one evening and the next or can sometimes be a pathway to glamour, fame or romance. Recognisable 'social' backgrounds are rare. The small town, equated with boredom, is signified through the use of strangely anachronistic symbols - the coffee bar, and the motorbike and the narrow street. The country on the other hand, is where the girl escapes to, following a broken romance or an unhappy love affair. But when her problems are resolved, she invariably returns to the city where things 'really happen'. But it is a city strangely lacking a population that these teenagers inhabit. There are no foreigners, black teenagers, old people or children. No married couples and rarely any families or siblings. It is a world occupied almost solely by young adults on the brink of pairing-up as couples.

The messages which these images and stories together produce are limited and unambiguous, and are repeated endlessly over the years. These are (1) the girl has to fight to get and keep her man, (2) she can never trust another woman unless she is old and 'hideous' in which case she doesn't appear in the stories anyway and (3) despite this, romance, and being a girl, are 'fun'.

No story ever ends with two girls alone together and enjoying each other's company. Occasionally the flat-mate or best-friend appears in a role as 'confidante' but these appearances are rare and by implication unimportant.

A happy ending means a happy couple, a sad one - a single girl. Having eliminated the possibility of strong supportive relationships between girls themselves, and between people of different ages, Jackie stories must elevate to dizzy heights the supremacy of the heterosexual romantic partnership.

This is, it may be argued, unsurprising and predictable. But these stories do more than this. They cancel out completely the possibility of any relationship other than the romantic one between girl and boy. They make it impossible for any girl to talk to, or think about a boy in terms other than those of romance. (A favourite story in both picture form and as a short story, is the 'platonic' relationship which the girl enjoys. She likes him as a friend - but when she is made jealous by his showing an interest in another girl, she realises that <sup>it</sup> is really love that she feels for him and their romance blossoms).

Boys and men are, then, not sex objects but romantic objects. The code of romance neatly displaces that of sexuality which hovers somewhere in the background appearing fleetingly in the guise of passion, or the 'clinch'. Romance is about the public and social effects of and implications of 'love' relationships. That is, it is concerned with impressing one's friends with a new handsome boyfriend, with being flattered by the attention and compliments lavished by admirers. It is about playing games which 'skirt about' sexuality, and which include sexual innuendo, but which are somehow 'nicer', 'cleaner' and less 'sordid'. Romance is the girls' reply to male sexuality. It stands in opposition to their "just being after the one thing"; and consequently it makes sex seem dirty, sordid, and unattractive. The girl's sexuality is understood and experienced not in terms of a physical need or her own body, but in terms of the romantic attachment. In depicting romantic partnerships, Jackie is also therefore constructing male and female roles ensuring that they are separate and as distinct as possible. They are as different as they 'look' different and any interchange between the sexes invariably exudes romantic possibilities. What Jackie does is to map out all those differences which exist between the sexes but to assert that what they do share is a common interest, indeed devotion to, 'romance'.

So far, I have outlined in some detail the organizing principles around which this discourse (the picture story) is structured. Now, while I would not hold the separation of form and content as being either possible, or necessary for analysis, there are a number of recurring themes which can

be identified through a process of extrapolation from both the image and the accompanying text. Thus, temporarily holding constant the formal features of the picture story; the 'balloon' form of dialogue; the action through 'relay'; and the style of illustration - we can go on to deal with the patterns, combinations and permutations of those stock situations which give Jackie its characteristic thematic unity.

The stories themselves can be categorised as follows:

- (1) the traditional 'love' story,
- (2) the romantic/adventure serial,
- (3) the 'pop' special (where the story revolves around a famous pop star),
- (4) the 'zany' tale and
- (5) the historical romance.

But those ~~story~~-types are worked through and expounded by the use of certain conventions or devices and it is through these that the thematic structure can be seen most clearly.

The first of these is the convention of 'time' or of 'the temporal'. Under this heading four different modes can be categorised including the flashback. Here the opening clips signify 'aloneness' conveyed through images of isolation; a single figure against, say, a rugged, beautiful threatening landscape. Along this same chain of signifieds and following 'aloneness' comes the explanation - that is - 'alone-and-rejected-by-a-loved-one', or 'separated-from-a-loved-one'. Next comes the elucidation; what has caused such a state of unhappiness or misery, and this is classified and expounded upon through the use of the flashback. "I remember only a year ago and it was all so ..." "But Dave was different from the others even then." The reader is transported into the narrator's past and confronted with scenes of love, tenderness, excitement etc. The difference between the past and present state is emphasised by changes of season, and particularly by changes of expression. Warm weather, for example, goes with smiling, happy faces gazing in mutual pleasure at one another.

From this point onwards different conventions intervene to carry the story along, and it is nearly concluded with a return to the present, and a 'magical' or intentionally un-magical resolution. (The boy reappears, or doesn't, or a new one takes his place --.)

Through this device the reader is invited to interpret her life, past and present, in terms of romantic attachments - her life has meaning through him.

The second temporal device is the diary. Again this allows the reader access to the innermost secrets of its writer, sometimes mediated through

a plotting, and a guilty best-friend reading her friend's outpourings. But it is the third convention "History" which is without doubt the most popular. By locating the characters in a specific 'period' the scriptwriter and artist are provided immediately with a whole string of easy, and ideologically constructed, concepts with which they can fill out the plot. History means particular styles of clothing, 'quaint' language, strange customs and rituals.

Thus we have the Victorian heroine connoted through her dress and background dissatisfied with her life and bored by her persistent suitor. When she is transported, magically, into the present she is, however, so horrified by 'liberated' women, (policewomen and girls in bikinis) that she is glad to return to her safe and secure environment. Thus, culturally-defined notions of the Victorian period, are used to glamourise the past and criticise the present which is, by implication, bereft of romance. (Bikinis and uniforms don't connote frailty, passivity and fragility). At the same time, this story is incorporating popularised notions of present phenomena which threaten the established order, and in doing so it is thereby diluting and ridiculing them. (This technique has been well documented elsewhere and is also described by Dorfman and Matelart discussing similar processes in Disney comics).<sup>(35)</sup>

Likewise the Edwardian period, again recognisable through costume and this time carrying connotations of more active women, is used to relate a simple story of love, jealousy and reconciliation, with its participants (literally) carrying out their romances on bicycle saddles.

But history is not just novelty, it is also used to demonstrate the intransigence of much-hallowed social values, and 'natural resistance' to change. When a patrician (in the setting of Ancient Rome) falls for a slave girl he can only die for her thereby allowing her to escape with her slave boyfriend; he cannot escape or be paired off with her. Similarly when a flower girl is attracted by a gentleman her thoughts only become romantic when she discovers that he is not really a gentleman but rather a bohemian artist. A 19th century woman and her child arrive at the doorstep one Christmas but are turned away. Two guests help them and it emerges that the woman is the disinherited daughter of a wealthy man .... The messages are clear; love conquers and simultaneously renders unimportant poverty - which at any rate only "exists" in the past (and is thus contained and manageable). People marry into their own class and their own race. (When a nurse falls for a wounded German prisoner in wartime Britain she knows

her love cannot be fulfilled .. and the prisoner returns to Germany). Similarly, social class, too 'controversial' an issue to appear in stories set in the present, can be acknowledged as having existed in the past.

History then provides the Jackie team with a whole set of issues which are more safely dealt with in the past; social problems, social class, foreigners and war. But history also means unchanging eras characterised primarily by splendid costumes (the code of fashion), exoticism (language and customs) and adventure. And yet despite this the reader can derive reassurance which lingers on a recognition of the sameness which links past and present. Underpinning all the adventures and historical tableaux is romance, the young girl in pursuit of it, or being pursued by it. Love, it is claimed, transcends time and is all-important, and history is, again, denied.

The fourth and final temporal device is that of the 'seasons'. The importance of weather in reflecting 'moods' and creating atmosphere is a feature throughout the stories. 'Love' takes different forms at different times of the year, and holiday romances give way to autumnal "blues".

The second set of conventions we will be looking at are those which relate to the exigencies of plot. Thus we have (1) the 'zany' tale where romance is blended with comedy. Here the drawings are less dramatic and are characterised by softer lines. The plots revolve around unusual, unlikely events and coincidences resulting in romantic meetings. At their centre is the 'zany' boy whose bizarre hobbies lead him through a number of disasters until eventually he finds a steady girl who 'tames' him. ("Now they're crazy about each other".)

'Zany' girls of this type are rare. Girls are not really interested in anything outside the confines of femininity, besides which, no girl would willingly make a public spectacle of herself in this way. Often, perhaps instead, animals, always the subject of sentiment, figure strongly in these stories. A camel escapes from the zoo, is caught by a young girl in the city centre who has to await the arrival of the handsome, young, zookeeper. Another favourite centres around the ritual of walking the dog and taking an evening stroll in the local park where numerous handsome young men are doing the same thing or are willing to be pestered by her dog - and so on. "Hmm, funny names you call your cats."

Again the message is clear - a 'zany' absent-minded boyfriend is a good bet! He is unlikely to spend his time chasing other girls and is indeed incapable of doing so, he is the lovable 'twit', who needs mothering as well as loving. (Some Mothers Do 'Ave 'Em!)

Second there is the plot which depends on a recognisable social locale. The hospital appears frequently here and carries rich connotations of romance and drama. A girl, for example, is recovering from a throat operation and discovers her boy is going out with someone else, but she overcomes her disappointment by meeting someone new in the hospital.

In another story a dashing young man catches sight of a pretty girl and follows her to her place of work, a bloodbank. Terrified to sign up to give blood he thinks of ways of getting to know her...

But hospitals are not the only places where romance can happen; at the bus stop, on the bus, in the park, in the flat downstairs, depending on luck, coincidence or "stars". "He must be on day release ... he's on the train Mondays and Wednesdays but not the rest of the week". And there is a moral here, if love strikes, or simply happens 'out of the blue' then all the girl needs to do is look out for it, be alert without actively seeking it. In fact this allows her, once again, to remain passive, she certainly can't approach a young man, only a coincidence may bring them together (though she may work on bringing about such a coincidence). At any rate she certainly can't hang about the bus-stop or street corner waiting to be picked up.

This convention of place also, by implication, deems leisure facilities for youth unnecessary. There is no need for them, if your boy is on the bus or train each morning. There are no stories set in youth clubs, community centres, even libraries or evening classes, and discos only appear as a backdrop where a girl is taken to by her boyfriend. Youth means individuals in search of or waiting for a partner and when this occurs all other leisure needs evaporate.

The third convention takes the idea of luck or coincidence one step further by introducing unambiguously supernatural devices. This way the reader is invited to share a fantasy, or 'dream come true'. These include magazines, leprechauns, magic lamps and dreams themselves.

But the dream or fantasy occupies a central place in the girls' life anyway - to an extent all the picture stories are fantasies, and escapist. Likewise real-life boys are frequently described as "dreamy". Day-dreaming is an expected 'normal' activity on the part of girls, an adolescent phase. But dreaming of this sort is synonymous with passivity - and as we have already seen romance is the language of passivity, par excellence. The romantic girl, in contrast to the sexual man is taken in a kiss, or embrace. Writing on the development of female sexuality in little girls, Mitchell (36) describes

their retreat into the 'Oedipus complex' where the desire to be loved can be fulfilled in the comforting and secure environment of the home. Likewise in Jackie stories the girl is chosen,

"Hmm, this mightn't be so bad after all - if I can get chatting to that little lady later"

is taken in an embrace,

"Hmm, I could enjoy teaching you, love ... very, very much".

And is herself waiting to be loved.

"I must be a nut! But I'm really crazy about Jay.  
If only I could make him care."

Finally there is the convention based round personal or domestic life. Here the girl is at odds with her family and siblings (who rarely appear in person) and eventually is saved by the appearance of a boyfriend. Thus we have a twin, madly jealous of her pretty sister, who tries to 'steal' the sister's boyfriend when she has to stay in bed with flu.

"Story of my life! Just Patsy's twin. He doesn't even know my name, I bet. Just knows me as the other one. The quiet one."

Another common theme (echoed in the problem page) is the girl with the 'brainy' family. In one case such a girl is seen reading Shakespeare in the park, by a handsome young man. When he begins to take her out she insists on going to art galleries and museums, but gives herself away when his 'clever' friend shows that she doesn't know what she's talking about. Breaking down she admits to reading cheap romances inside the covers of high-brow drama! Through this humiliation and admission of inferiority (the daughter of another 'clever' family) she wins the true love of the boy. So much for Jackie's anti-intellectualism. All the girl needs is a good personality, 'looks' and confidence. Besides which boys don't like feeling threatened by a 'brainy' girl.

Jackie asserts the absolute and natural separation of sex roles. Girls can take humiliation and be all the more attractive for it, as long as they are pretty and unassertive. Boys can be footballers, pop stars, even juvenile delinquents, but girls can only be feminine. The girl's life is defined through emotions - jealousy, possessiveness and devotion.

Pervading the stories is an elemental fear, fear of losing your boy, or of never getting one. Romance as a code or a way of life, precipitates individual neurosis and prohibits collective action as a means of dealing with it.

By displacing all vestiges or traces of adolescent sexuality and replacing it with concepts of love, passion and eternity, romance gets trapped within

its own contradictions, and hence we have the 'problem page'.

Once declared and reciprocated this love is meant to be lasting, and is based on fidelity and pre-marital monogamy. But the girl knows that where she, in most cases, will submit to these axioms, there is always the possibility that her boy's passion will, and can be, roused by almost any attractive girl at the bus-stop, outside the home, etc. (see fig. 5).

The way this paradox is handled is to introduce terms like resignation, despair, fatalism - i.e. "all in the game". Love has its losers, it must be admitted, but for the girl who has lost, there is always the chance that it will happen again, this time with a more reliable boy. Girls don't, then, fight back. Female 'flirts' always come to a 'bad end'; they are abandoned by their admirers who quickly turn their attention to the quiet, trusting best-friend who had always been content to sit in the background,

The girl often has long, wavy, dark hair and is heavily made-up. Her eyes are always dark and look as if they were heavily made-up. Their expressions indicate feelings of despair, anxiety or despair about what the photograph belongs to a past time when the girl is questioned and answered by the boys (fig. 6).

The problem page itself depends on the ideal and realistic readers for its impact. They are invited to participate in a personal correspondence with each other as well as with Cathy and Claire. The girls dialogue is, of course, not unproblematic. The readers are given an opportunity to write up, and are encouraged to share their problems with Cathy and Claire. The girls appear on the page and the boys are given a chance to respond to them in a letter to the hands of the editors.

The tone is friendly and understanding.

"Some of the boys' up-letters"

"None of them have their serious yet, but I live as hope"

and the replies, both "jolly" and "sympathetic".

"But seriously love ..."

"... But we agree it's a good thing rather"

"You don't want to stop going out with a girl, love, but you do want to stop going out with a girl who's not right"

Cathy and Claire's collective image is one of informality. They are neither anonymous editors nor professional problem-solvers (usually introduced by their full names, e.g. Anna Barbara, or Evelyn Rose). They are instead like older sisters; young and trendy enough to understand the

## SECTION III: THE CODE OF PERSONAL LIFE: THE MOMENTS OF ANGUISH

Two sets of features can be categorised under the heading of 'personal life'. These are (1) the 'Cathy and Claire' page and (2) the 'Readers True Experience'. In contrast with fun, fantasy and colour which pervades much of the rest of the magazine, this is the realm, par excellence, of realism and of actuality. This is announced clearly in the use of black and white photographs which occupy a prominent position in both these features.

These photographs indicate that the subject being dealt with is 'real life'. They show real, and distinctly unglamorous people in ordinary settings, and they consequently display what Barthes calls the 'having-been-there' <sup>(37)</sup> of all photographs. This depends both on the form (black and white, connoting seriousness) and on the content (a couple together or a girl alone). Each figure looks ordinary, unlike the willowy drawings found on the fashion pages. The girl often has long, untidy hair and is heavily made-up. The boy looks even more unkempt in frayed jeans. Their expressions indicate feelings of misery, anxiety or despair except when the photograph belongs to a past state when the girl in question was once happy. (see fig. 6).

The problem page itself depends on the dialogue between readers for its impact. They are invited to participate in a personal correspondence with each other as well as with 'Cathy and Claire'. Yet this dialogue is, of course, not so open-ended. The readers are given an address to write to, and are encouraged to share their problems with 'Cathy and Claire', but what appears on the page itself, and what, as a result, constitutes a problem is wholly in the hands of the editors.

The tone is friendly and confidential,

"Sorry if this sounds big-headed"

"None of them have been serious yet, but I live in hope".

and the replies, both 'jolly' and supportive.

"But seriously love ..."

"... But we agree it's no joking matter"

"You don't want to stop going out with him, love, but you do want to cut down on seeing him so often".

'Cathy and Claire's' collective image is one of informality. They are neither anonymous editors nor professional problem-solvers (usually introduced by their full names, e.g. Anna Raeburn, or Evelyn Home). They are instead like older sisters; young and trendy enough to understand the

girls' problems but also experienced and wise enough to know how to deal with them. This experience is evident in the way they cross-refer between particular problems,

"You'd be surprised at how regularly we get letters like this in our post-bag."

and also their knowledgeable tone,

"unfortunately it's very true that a crowd of girls together tends to get bitchy."

"We know it's an old line, but try to remember looks aren't everything y'know, an attractive personality is just as important."

The problem itself is rooted in and understood in terms of the personal even when it is one which is shared by many girls. The situation is invariably an individual one and never involves organisation or discussion between girls. Like the "letters" page, the problem page is a symbol of women's and in this case, girls' isolation. Frequently they begin with, "There's nobody I can talk to about this ..." and the image presented is of the writer alone in her bedroom, like the housewife trapped in the home. The page is, then, a sign of women's isolation and separation from each other. And the Cathy and Claire page at once seeks to overcome this isolation through the correspondence and to maintain and nourish it. The personal 'solution' is offered to the readers, regardless of the fact that they may be all experiencing the same problem. That is, the logic which informs the very existence of the problem page depends on problems being individual, not social and their solution likewise revolves round the individual alone, not on girls organising together.

This page depends upon, exploits and offers a magical solution to, the isolation of women. What actually constitutes a problem is never questioned. In fact problems, according to this definition, invariably stem from an inability to measure up to some standard or convention either in 'looks', 'popularity' or with 'boys'. The advice which is offered comprises suggestions as to how to avoid or remedy this situation and conform to the 'norm'. For example one girl seeks advice about bringing a partner to a wedding. There is no question of encouraging her to go alone, or with a girl friend!

"You could say something like "I've been invited to this wedding and I've got to take a partner and I just don't know who to ask". Then you could look at him and smile sweetly".

However, a whole range of topics, by virtue of their absence are deemed, by implication, either unproblematic or unacceptable as far as this age-group of girls is concerned. These include all references to sexuality as well as more social problems like having nowhere to go in the evening, no privacy at home, no job, prospects or money, etc. (Sexual problems where they do appear are found under the 'Dear Doctor' column and are treated in purely clinical terms. Girls are reassured about irregular periods, public hair, weight and so on, but there is no mention of masturbation, contraception or abortion).

This avoidance of sexuality is quite in keeping with the Jackie image. But when 'Cathy and Claire' are confronted with situations which could possibly give rise to promiscuity, their tone quickly becomes one of full-blown moralism. The girl is encouraged, for example, to concede to her parents' demands and stay with an aunt while they go on holiday. Likewise she is persuaded to abandon all plans of going on a youth hostelling holiday with her boyfriend if it is against her parents' wishes.

Three points should be made here. First what Cathy and Claire are distributing is "really useful feminine knowledge" so that all readers will know how to act, should they find themselves in such a predicament at some point in their teenage years. Second, the discourse, or discussion, is carried out in a tone of secrecy, confidence and intimacy evoking a kind of female solidarity, a sense of mutual understanding and sympathy. But simultaneously the values adhered to are wholly conservative and endorse uncritically the traditional female role. Third, the problem page invariably occupies the same place in all women's magazines, i.e. the inside back page. Comfortably apart from the more light-hearted articles, and set amidst the less flamboyant and colourful small advertisements, it regenerates a flagging interest and also sums up the ideological content of the magazine. It hammers home, on the last but one page, all those ideas and values prevalent in the other sections, but this time in unambiguous black and white.

As with the picture stories, there are a limited number of themes which appear and re-appear in slightly different combinations throughout the problem page and this applies to both questions and answers. Moreover, each page includes a balanced cross-section of each type of problem so that the 'one-off' reader gets an opportunity to witness the whole spectrum of issues deemed "problematic".

The first of these is, ironically, the non-problem. What typifies this category is that, within the definitions set up on the 'Cathy and Claire'

page regarding what constitutes a problem, the writer has no real problem and knows it. Hence the semi-apologetic tone in which it is written -

"I absolutely hate to admit this, but I'm rather pretty.  
Now you may think I'm lucky ..."

The purpose of the reply is clearly moral. It is designed to bring the girl 'down to earth', show her that she is lucky, etc., whilst reminding her that 'looks aren't everything'. Under this heading we have the girls whose best friend's brother fancies her, much to her consternation as she is not interested in him. Another girl is worried because, being pretty and attractive, she is accused of being a flirt. In both these cases 'the problem' is "over-success", and in each case the reply is similar. Be firm, say no, but in a 'friendly' way.

Under this heading comes the 'oddball', the girl worried about not having developed an interest in boys, and who is instead devoted to some hobby. The reply to this 'deviation' is reassuring. The girl is encouraged to wait, sooner or later it will happen and she will join that mass of girlhood, united in their pursuit of one goal - a boyfriend! Such an occurrence is so inevitable that there is no real problem, she simply has to wait.

"So don't let the opinions of some other school girls upset you. --- However there is a danger that you could retreat a bit into your own little world, and cut yourself off from the outside. ---"

The second category of problems are those dealing with family life. This also marks the sole presence of the family in Jackie and here it is acknowledged that the girl will conceivably have difficulties. 'Cathy and Claire' invariably side with authority and advise either submission, or compromise on the part of the girl.

Dealing with the family, the discussion is couched in the language of sentiment and the girl in question made to feel guilty. When her career (university or college) is posed against the family needing her - she is advised to go to a local college or university.

The possibilities that the family throws up for conflict are seemingly endless. One girl's mother reads her diary, another's father acts as though he's jealous - one reader is being confronted with her parents' imminent divorce and doesn't like her prospective step-father and another worries about her parents' extravagance and debt!

It seems that family problems are then a 'natural' part of life and growing up. Yet they do seem to have a particular resonance for girls.

It is after all they who have to carry the burden of extra housework if 'Mum' is ill, or have to look after younger brothers and sisters. The girls' solid entrenchment in the 'heart' of the family is registered in the extent to which she experiences its problems. Moreover it represents the agent of social control, par excellence, for the girl, as, say the police do for boys (see next section). As such, in 'Jackie's terms, parents are invariably right and their authority is to be bowed to.

Not surprisingly it is then the family which bears the brunt of the girls' rebellion against authority - as Jackie eloquently testifies. Year in, year out, <sup>the</sup> 'Cathy and Claire' page is littered with letters from girls who have run away, hitched to London, or have gone to live in a flat. The family in short at least represents an unambiguous point of tension in the girls' lives.

As with the picture stories, every so often juvenile crime figures as a topic in the 'Cathy and Claire' page. The focus of interest here is the rough boyfriend who rides a motorbike, has been in trouble and may even be in Borstal. One writer for example tells how she is frightened that her ex-boyfriend will be 'after' her when he comes out of Borstal, as she is 'going with' someone else.

Although there are no female criminals in the picture stories, they do make an appearance on this page. But their crime is, by definition, less serious than the boys, comprising in the main petty pilfering, shoplifting and stealing out of 'Mum's' purse. No mention is ever made of female violence or of girl gangs.

That said, there is something unwieldy about the way in which Jackie 'handles' the subject of crime. The images of the local 'toughie' who 'comes from the wrong side of town', has a typically 50's ring about it:

"My boyfriend comes from a rough area in town and he used to go around in a gang before he met me".

The deviant is the exception, the pathological or 'sick' individual who can't help it. Gangs are mentioned in passing but more often the focus is on the 'rough' individual boy who can lead an innocent girl astray.

The message here is clear; like the family the law must be obeyed. Nonetheless, reverting to the vocabulary of romance, the 'wild' character remains attractive, even irresistible.

"Warning - These Boys Mean Trouble! Bad, Bad, Boys and Why We Love Them."

"your mum and dad don't like him ... He's mad, bad and dangerous to know ... but you think he's magnificent. And that's just the beginning of that fatal fascination for a bad boy."

The delinquent has then, something of the appearance of the rebellious pop star. The girl is admiring somebody for doing as he pleased and there is an element of vicariousness in this admiration. There is also a trace of masochism in her interest in such a figure,

"... the worse he treated me, the more deeply I fell in love with him".

in fact it seems that part of 'his' attraction lies in the threat of sexual violence he represents; another example of the barely disguised rape fantasy so prevalent in Jackie. This is clearly illustrated in the way he looks and in the 'violent' objects which surround him - motorbike, leather and so on.

But it is boyfriend problems which occupy the dominant position in the 'Cathy and Claire' page each week, and the tensions which arise between 'best-friends' and boyfriends, already documented in the previous chapter, are duplicated here. Under this heading come, for example, the pleas from the girl whose boyfriend is such a flirt, how can she keep him, get him back, or get 'over' him?

And the cry for help from a girl wracked by insecurity and unconfidence, whose boyfriend is so good-looking, attractive and friendly that all girls are after him. How can she overcome her feelings of inadequacy? Finally, there is the girl whose romance is continually being broken off by her indecisive boyfriend.

In each of these cases the girl is plainly powerless and exploited and the stock reply is to become more independent and thus more confident. The girls in question are encouraged to have some 'pride', not to make fools of themselves and thereby become the more attractive to boys simply by not being too available.

"This should stop his hanky-panky, but if it doesn't, then you must make an effort yourself. Don't submit to his affectionate kisses the next time he comes to see you - he'll soon realise that you mean what you say".

and

"Get out with other friends so that you have a life of your own, independent of Jake."

The tone of the answers here are bluntly common-sensical. That is they represent the voice of a true friend, somebody who will tell the 'plain' truth and not deceive the girl as even her best-friend may do. Likewise the girl who is pursued by a married 'bloke' in the office is given short shrift, "Hands off, he's someone else's property".

In short the smart girl doesn't run after boys but traps them with more subtlety. The bad relationship, where the girl is clearly being exploited, is worse than no relationship at all; the girl is wasting her time on him, and there are always other boys available. The ideal boyfriend and the one all girls should aim at 'catching' is reliable, attentive, flattering, gallant, undemanding and "willing to wait".

But if, as seems the case, this type of boy is unfortunately thin on the ground, true friends are even more scarce. In Jackie problems, best-friends continually steal boy-friends, broadcast their friends' inner-most secrets to the outside world, are bitchy and catty, have B.O. or else are so pretty that their friend doesn't have a 'look in' where boys are concerned. In short, real female solidarity doesn't and can't exist. It is up to the girl herself to fight her own battles. If a boy comes along, he takes priority over the best-friend who is relegated to the role of 'girl-friend' and is then seen on a more casual basis one night a week. Friendship makes little demands on the girl, involving only a degree of loyalty and characterised otherwise by convenience and selfishness.

"But now you don't need her so much, now that you're beginning to rebuild your own life".

Finally there are a set of problems which refer to the girls' material situation or her work. These problems are never given priority but simply appear regularly, in one form or another each week.

One girl detests her Saturday job in a supermarket and is encouraged to find something less strenuous like baby-sitting. Several readers have problems affording clothes, make-up and the 'latest' fashion, and there is always the girl who doesn't like her full-time job. This usually stems not from the nature of the work, but from the social relationships of the work-place, for example the bitchiness and cattiness of the office. In one case a girl complains of her workmates' jealousy, the result of her being a relative of the 'boss'. She is encouraged to change jobs where she has no such advantages and thereby is promised the friendship of the other girls. The point here is that work is defined for the girl in terms of the agreeable social relationships which surround it and is never seen as problematic in itself.

In conclusion it can be argued that the problem page encourages conventional individualism and conformist independence. That is, the girl is channelled towards both traditional female and passive behaviour and to having a 'mind of her own'. She is warned of the dangers of following others blindly and is discouraged from wasting time at work, 'dogging off' school or 'gossiping'. Problems are then to do with behaviour; with the individual personality; and with the fact of going through a 'biological phase'. They are never to do with structures or with factors arising from social life outside the world of the teenage girl, like for example, class relations.

Operating under the same code as the problems are the 'Cathy and Claire Specials' and the 'Readers' True Experience' features. These latter take the forms of cautionary tales; confessions culminating in an admission of guilt and a warning to other readers. This in fact, allows certain problems to be dealt with in depth, under the guise of the slightly 'spicy' story.

In fact these issues duplicate exactly those dealt with more briefly in the problem page. In "I Made Him Hate Me" the girl describes how, to keep her boy, she joined in with a group of girls who stole from shops. She then presented him with an expensive birthday present which he realised was stolen. Disgusted by her actions he went off with another girl at his party!

Another 14 year old girl describes how she was tempted into a pub and was seduced by the glamour of drinking bacardi and coke, to be rudely awakened by the arrival of the police.

In 'She's Just Another Run Away' a girl tells how she left home after an argument, hitched to London, got a flat, job and boyfriend. Things went wrong however when her boyfriend arrived drunk one night at her flat demanding entry. Frightened and unhappy she returned home.

Fears based round insecurity and unconfidence also crop up time and time again. In "She Stole My Boy" a writer, who claims to be, "quite plain apart from my hair" has her boy stolen, yet again by her best-friend, and in another feature this time a 'pretty' girl tries to grapple with her lack of success with the boys.

"I played every trick I knew in an effort to be the sort of girl boys would rave about."

In the 'Cathy and Claire Specials' the readers have spelt out for them even more clearly, how they should act. In "Are You Ready For Love" infatuations and crushes are dealt with and girls are encouraged to make a break with dream relationships and look round for more satisfying 'real' romances. Finally, in a feature titled Does He Feel the Same? a boy gives

advice to girls about how they should act.

"Don't plan what you're going to say beforehand ...  
just make some casual remark."

"... I don't like girls who are always wanting  
you to give a big demonstration of how you feel  
about them, especially when their friends are around."

To sum up, the same themes appear and reappear with monotonous regularity  
so that the narrowness of the Jackie world and its focus on the individual  
girl and her own problems comes to signify the narrowness of the woman's role  
in general and to pre-figure her later isolation in the home.

## SECTION IV: FASHION AND BEAUTY: A GIRL'S BEST-FRIEND ... IS HER MIRROR.

"When I go out without mascara on my eyes I experience myself as I knew myself before puberty. It is inconceivable that any man could desire me sexually, my body hangs together quite differently. Rationally I can see the absurdity of myself. But this does not mean I experience myself in a different way." (38)

So far I have considered the two main sub-codes which operate in Jackie, those of romance and of personal and domestic life. I have noted how each grants ascendancy to the boyfriend/girlfriend relationship, and cites as problematic girls' relations with each other. Romance focuses round the 'high points' of the 'affair', emphasising the 'first kiss', the passion, ecstasy and despair. The code of personal life looks at the more long term factors surrounding these relationships. Together these codes throw open for discussion, fill out and eventually 'close' the Jackie definition of 'girlhood'.

But there are two other codes which also contribute to this ideology of adolescent femininity in Jackie. These are (1) fashion and beauty, and (2) pop music. Again they rarely appear in their 'pure' form; the whole fashion and beauty enterprise is, for example, predicated upon the romantic possibilities it precipitates. Greer quotes from a romantic weekly

"She had a black velvet ribbon round her small waist ...

'She's going to her first ball' her mother said to me,

'She's wildly excited'." (39)

and adds that

"All romantic novels have a pre-occupation with clothes.

Every sexual advance is made with clothing as an attractive barrier." (40)

Likewise pop music centres round, for teenage girls, the pop idol who is the prime embodiment of the 'romantic' hero. But despite this general overlap, each of these codes does occupy its own specific place in Jackie. First I want to look at fashion and beauty.

To put it briefly, the central concerns of fashion and beauty are the care, protection and improvement and embellishment of the body with the use of clothing and cosmetics. As signifying systems they each have a powerful existence outside the world of Jackie and a few words should be said on these more general cultural meanings.

Firstly, one clear way in which the oppression of women has been expressed is in their aesthetic idealisation by men as objects of physical perfection,

to be adorned with beautiful garments, jewellery, perfume and cosmetics. This 'image' is a 'given' of patriarchy and the 'ideal beauty', as a standard towards which all women should strive, is part of the cultural myth of femininity.

But if we look at the more current connotations attached to fashion and beauty we can see that these purely aesthetic dimensions have been somewhat eroded by their cultural connotations as commodities. Like furnishings, cars and other consumer goods, they are socially useful and carry cultural meanings. (Marx called commodities "social hieroglyphs".)

Fashion and beauty are not then concerned with the material fact of clothing and servicing the body. As commodities they are cultural signs and as Hall et al have pointed out, one of the qualities of these signs lies in their ability to look fixed and 'natural'. This is clearly illustrated in the culture of 'beauty'. The beauty industry is predicated upon women's inability to measure up to male-defined beauty standards without the use of artificial aids. Cosmetics are then designed to compensate for 'natural' deficiencies and as such carry particular, social meanings. Together with clothing they create particular and recognisable images of women.

"In fact, in cultural systems, there is no 'natural' meaning as such. ... the bowler hat, pin stripe shirt and rolled umbrella do not, in themselves, mean 'sobriety', 'respectability', bourgeois-man-at-work". (41)

The woman wearing her hair in rollers secured to her head with a chiffon scarf embodies different social meanings from the woman wearing a 'Gucci' silk scarf carefully tied under her chin; and the 14 year old pop fan dressed in "Bay City Roller" outfit similarly connotes different meanings from the public schoolgirl, resplendent in uniform. But to decode these meanings the reader must have prior social knowledge, 'routinised knowledge of the social formation'. Fashion has its own specific language, what Barthes calls the language of the "garment system". The fashion industry requires that new clothes are constantly being bought, regardless of 'need'. This is guaranteed at least partly by seasonal innovations and 'style'. Fashion depends on its consumers wanting to be 'up-to-date'; so, for example, the sweater is advertised for autumnal walks; but the language of fashion indicates that it is not for all autumnal walks but for this season's rambles in the country. Likewise the same sweater is not designed for all Sundays but for these present Sundays.

Fashion is, then, predicated upon change and modernity ('off with the old

and on with the new') and the job of the fashion writer is to continually create a new language to circumscribe what is new in his or her field. This language necessarily negates, and renders redundant what has gone before it, consigning last year's 'look' to oblivion.

But, returning to Jackie, we can see that it occupies an anomalous position here. It is not principally a fashion magazine and its fashion pages indicate no uncompromising commitment to the 'latest'. Instead the emphasis is on 'budget buys', good value, economy, and 'ideas'. Similarly its beauty features tend to deal with down-market 'classic' images rather than high fashion beauty styles. In fact the emphasis here is on underplaying the use of make-up to the extent that it is hardly visible. Jackie is propagating, as far as make-up is concerned, but this in fact, a puritanism is not incompatible with the continual development and expansion of the beauty market. In fact the beauty pages are quite clearly disguised advertising features, where the image to be achieved ultimately depends on the consumption of certain kinds of goods.

Beauty is, then, announced as a 'fun' feature. The page is set out in highly colourful combinations of photographs, drawings, headlines, captions and texts. Its entertainment value is compounded by the use of puns, proverbs or witticisms which characterise the headlines.

"How Yule Look Tonight", "Moody Hues", "Hair Goes",  
"Back to the Drawing Board".

Typically a photograph is at the centre of the page flanked on three sides by text and commanding the immediate attention of the reader. Although the expressions on the models' faces do vary, a distinct pattern can be detected. First there is the 'just-woken-up' look, where the model is at her most 'natural'. This is achieved by the use of an out-of-focus lens and a shot angled so as to be looking down on her face, thus giving the impression of tranquility, serenity and 'dewiness' (like TV shampoo adverts).

The complex structuring of this kind of image stems from the fact that it holds together a set of contradictions. It provokes the envy and admiration of the reader and offers her the possibility of achieving such beauty by following the instructions. But this involves making-up and the model's beauty here is predicated upon her 'natural' good-looks. At the same time the reader recognises that this 'naturalness' is in itself a 'lie'. It is rather the result of applying make-up in a certain subtle way. Make-up is, then, a necessary evil even first thing in the morning. It is ~~an~~ necessary to the woman as her handbag, designed both to make her more desirable and to hide her 'natural' flaws.

The second recurring image on the beauty page is the 'glow', which emanates from the model's face. Dressed, made-up and ready to go out, she glances nervously at the camera as though it were a mirror. Gratified by what she sees she radiates a glow of happiness, satisfaction and pleasure.

The glow, technically achieved through the use of warm, smudgy colours (reds/pinks/rusts and browns) signifies a kind of calm anticipation. The expression is almost coy, timid, yet happy and excited. The girl is shining with a confidence which allows her to sit back, passively, awaiting praise and admiration.

The message stemming from these images are clear. First if you look good, you feel good and are guaranteed to have a good time. Second, looking as good as this you can expect to be treated as something special, even precious. And third, beauty like this is the girls' passport to happiness and success.

There are of course variations, not all beauty pages are organised around a central, dominant image. Sometimes the page includes several smaller photographs of different parts of the body, and when the subject is 'weight', the location is frequently out-of-doors and the atmosphere is sporty.

In general, however, the emphasis is on two things, the end product (the 'look') and the means of achieving it. The fact that this depends on the consumption of special commodities, is kept well in the background, so that the concept of beauty soars high above the mundanity of consumption.

The themes around which these features are focussed are as predictable as they are also repetitious, including the care and improvement of each part of the body. Often social customs, rituals and events are drawn upon to provide the framework within which the beauty feature of the week operates. Thus we have New Year beauty resolutions, or be-witching looks for Halloween.

Again there is an emphasis on seasonality, a handy euphemism both for change, for the necessity of continually restocking the "toilet bag". (Warm colours in the winter, lighter shades in the summer.) The reader is told, exactly, what to do and what not to do, and much time and effort is spent spelling out what is unattractive and unfeminine. Often a step-by-step procedure, like a do-it-yourself manual, is adopted. Thus one feature on nail-care starts off by showing how to remove stains and old varnish and how to protect the nails. Next it moves on to nail-health and encourages the girl against biting her nails. She is then, finally, shown how to polish them. Only at this point are the latest shades and fashions in nail varnish introduced. The tone adopted by the writer is chatty, friendly yet didactic and imperative. But the assumption upon which all of this work is based is that these tricks,

routines and rituals are absolutely necessary. Not only romance but even getting a good job, depends on them. It is openly acknowledged that such practices are dishonest, and that they are secret rituals carried out in the privacy of the bedroom. Underpinning this is a sense of shame and humiliation that they (women) have to resort to artificial aids. But in the beauty page this is 'handled' by adopting a tone of resilience, after all "all-of-us-girls-are-in-the-same-boat". The shame and guilt of such an enterprise, which stems from an open acknowledgement that the subject does not 'naturally' measure up to these beauty standards, is disguised by the 'fun' elements of the beauty routine.

Yet even here there is a tone of hesitancy and apologetics "Unless you're blessed with", "If you're lucky enough to have large, bright eyes ..."

The existence and use of make-up is at once a form of female entertainment (staying in at night to experiment with hair dye) and something to be ashamed of. This latter hinges on a recognition that 'men' find the whole idea of make-up distasteful.

The language of the beauty page of course doesn't question why women feel ashamed or embarrassed by this 'failing' instead it offers practical solutions.

"Let's face it, no one's going to wink at you if your nose is red with cold and your cheeks are white and pinched".  
 "Don't rely on nature - cheat a little with a foundation".

and indicates how girls can get the best of both worlds by deceiving men into believing they are naturally lovely, whilst subtly hiding their own flaws.

First the authors adopt a tone of sisterly resignation evoking comfort and reassurance from the fact that these are shared problems. "Most of us have some things we don't like about ourselves." The next step is action, doing something about it. "no-one, but no-one should ever feel they are ugly", and finally transforming this action into 'fun', a 'hobby'. "Take care of yourself and pamper yourself".

To put it briefly, the girl is caught in a web of conflicting directives. First she doesn't and can't measure up to the ideal standard expected of her by men. Recognising this, she must set about doing something about it as best she can through the use of cosmetics available to her as commodities on the open market. Nevertheless she must avoid, at all costs, making this obvious since to do this would be to defeat the whole point.

Now, whilst other magazines especially those for older, working girls, handle this dilemma by elevating make-up into the realm of 'style' and bestowing on it an importance equal to that of fashion, Jackie comes down unequivocally

on the side of compromise and moderation, constantly using phrases like - "a hint of" - "the merest touch of" - "a trace of", and expressing its own position on make-up clearly.

"Most boyfriends (there are few exceptions) hate loads of make-up, they think it goes with a loud, brassy personality and are usually frightened off by a painted face. Ask the majority and they'll say they prefer natural looks and subtle make-up - so that's the way it has to be."

Beauty routines in Jackie are then of the greatest importance. Being inextricably linked to the general care and maintenance of the body, and thus with good health (no smoking and plenty of sleep ...) the girls are encouraged to consider beauty as a full-time job demanding skill, patience and learning. Consequently beauty box is a manual and hand-book comprising a feminine education. Here the girls learn how to apply mascara correctly, pluck their eyebrows or shave their legs. Each of these tasks involve labour but become fun and leisure when carried out in the company of friends. Besides which when the subject is the self, and when 'self-beautification' is the object, narcissism transforms work into leisure. Nonetheless, this labour, carried out in the confines of the home (bedroom, or bathroom) does contribute, both directly and indirectly to domestic production, itself the lynchpin upon which the maintenance and reproduction of the family depends.

By doing her own washing, mending, by washing her own hair and keeping herself clean, tidy and well-groomed the girl is, in effect, shifting some of the burden of housework from her mother onto herself. By taking responsibility at one level for her own 'reproduction' she in effect lessens the amount of domestic labour the mother would otherwise have to carry out.

It could of course be argued that ~~the~~ girl plucking her eyebrows and manicuring her nails, is not performing necessary labour. But such labour is not absolutely separate or different from the mother knitting or sewing whilst watching TV. Neatness, smartness and good grooming are absolutely necessary when the girl tries to get a job, and this does not simply mean tidy hair, clean face and laundered clothes. It means being well-made-up, having manicured nails, wearing smart clothes and so on.

The girls' invisible work in the home, quite apart from the housework she shares directly with her mother, displays the same ambiguities as her mother's work in this sphere. In each case the sharp distinction between work and leisure is blurred. And, to return to Jackie, the insistence on the importance of such labours is relentless. The girl must always have glossy hair, shining skin, clean tights, pressed skirts, laundered shirts and so on. Like housework,

it is never 'done', but comprises a set of endless chores, to be repeated daily, weekly or monthly. Jackie makes it palatable by describing the romantic prospects it promises and by announcing beauty routines in the language of action 'fun'.

- (a) "If you do have a problem with yours, find out what it is and do something about it right away."
- (b) "When you're all alone you can have a great time making yourself up ... trying out different hair-styles and see what suits you best."

Far from advocating passivity here, the girl is encouraged to spend her free time working on herself, immersed in self-improvement! Moreover, the same information is given out year in year out so that it, like the advice on the Cathy and Claire page, becomes part of the general currency of female knowledge. Every girl knows how to cope with greasy hair, dandruff and rough elbows. Beauty 'know-how' seeps into the larger body of domestic knowledge to be amassed alongside tips on childcare, cookery and 'love'.

Beautification is then, the ideal 'hobby' for girls. Simon Frith has already pointed to the amount of time girls spent engaged in these activities. The important point is that beauty-work assumes that its subjects are house-bound and hence foreshadows yet again the future isolated image of the housewife. And the nature of the work, servicing and caring, directly pre-figures the kind of work the girl will later be expected to do for others in the home; from changing her child's nappies to washing her husband's socks.

And so, every moment of the girls' time, not taken up with romance, is devoted to the maintenance and reupholstery of the self, at least that is how Jackie sees it. This 'work' is necessary because on it depends the girls' future success.

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As countless articles and features testify, fashion has been a problematic subject for feminists. Wilson acknowledges the hugely exploitative side to the fashion business and the ways styles express aspects of women's oppression; yet she concludes by referring to the ambiguous relation she still has with clothes.

"So in me at least there survives a secret cultivator of the self, an aesthetic who really did think that style was the most desirable thing in the world. In serious moments I feel I should show her the door - boot her out. Usually I just hope she'll slip away without my noticing." (42)

Jackie fashion fortunately is easier to deal with. The fashion page has little text, its linguistic message merely sets the tone and indicates prices and stockists.

Otherwise the whole page, or double page, is covered by the visual images which erupt across it in a mass of colour. The clothes on display are drawn rather than photographed (from this sample only eight issues used photographic models) and as Barthes points out this does have important implications.

"It is therefore necessary to oppose the photograph, a message without a code, to the drawing, which, even when it is denoted, is a coded message. The coded nature of the drawing appears on three levels; firstly to reproduce an object or a scene by means of a drawing necessarily implies a set of rule-governed transpositions; secondly - the denotation of the drawing is less pure than photographic denotation, for there cannot be drawing without style. Finally, like all codes the drawing demands learning". (43)

Each of these points holds true for Jackie fashion. In keeping with the rest of the magazine, there is a strong 60s flavour to the drawings. Their style is firmly rooted in the commercial art 'boom' of the mid-60s and resembles the kinds of art-work which covered the walls of boutiques, discos and coffee shops during this period.

The emphasis is on design rather than on realism and consequently the models can look as bizarre and as exotic as 'Vogue' models for a fraction of the cost. This means that cheap, badly-cut and shoddy clothing can be transferred into 'haute couture' through art-work. In 'real-life' there is nothing very exciting about 'Tesco' clothes, Jackie manages to make them look great!

The models are without exception long-legged, boyishly flat chested and huge-eyed; exactly like the Twiggy look of the 60s. They are then, 'safely' asexual, displaying a kind of childlike innocence. Their poses are highly narcissistic, the models are aware of themselves being watched and admired, and are exploiting this position of power. This behaviour is, as feminist writers have pointed out, the essence of femininity.

"A woman is never so happy as when she is being wooed. Then the mistress of all she surveys, the cynosure of all eyes, until that day of days when she sails down the aisle." (44)

And

"She has to develop her threatened narcissism in order to make herself loved and adored. Vanity they name is woman." (45)

What the clothes and general style of Jackie tell us about the code of fashion for young girls is quite straightforward. First; fashion changes with the seasons, second; it changes also with different social events, with the time of day and with its wearer's 'moods'. Third; the girls' wardrobe must be continually be replenished, she must make a real attempt to have

the latest style. Fourthly; fashion also means neatness, matching colours, 'ideas' and occasionally experiment. It is never 'way-out' or outlandish, instead the desired effect is a kind of stylish conservatism where much emphasis is placed on having matching accessories, well cut hair, carefully applied make-up and freshly laundered tights, shirts etc.

Quite clearly such an expensive wardrobe is well beyond the girls' reach at this moment in their careers. Nonetheless they are here being introduced to and educated into, the sphere of feminine consumption. The message is clear. Appearance is of paramount importance to the girl, it should be designed to please both boyfriend and boss alike and threaten the authority of neither.

SECTION V: POP MUSIC IN JACKIE: STARS AND FAIS.

Finally I want to look briefly at the fourth code, that of pop music. In fact this is possibly the most difficult to deal with, not least because its very existence in Jackie is problematic. This is because the musical side of pop is pushed into the background and is replaced instead with the 'persona' of the 'pop idol'.

But first it is worth making some general points about pop and 'teen' magazines. Writing in 1964 Hall and Whannel point out that

"It would be difficult to guess, for example, whether an aspiring singer like Jess Conrad pays Mirabelle to interview him, or Mirabelle pays Jess Conrad, or they both thrive on mutual admiration and goodwill." (46)

Since then various people have commented on the importance of these magazines in 'selling' an act,

"Papers like Jackie have got an awfully big coverage", says Leslie. "Imagine how many fans actually see the magazine. We are going for kids and that's what the kids buy." (47)

Jackie's policy here is quite straightforward. It allots one single and one double page to pop pin-ups each week. Constantly flooded with publicity material, photographs and personal profiles, the Jackie team chooses from between these. With its huge weekly sales figures, it is obviously highly sought after by record promoters and hence is able to choose from a vast range of stars. This is evident in the spectrum of stars who appear each week. In this sample they include such diverse figures as 'Queen', 'Sparks' and 'Brotherhood of Man', all of whom are given an opportunity to develop their image or gimmick in these pop features.

The shift here, away from music to the 'star', is a crucial one. It happens basically because it is well-known 'stars' who guarantee high record sales rather than a large range of 'hopefuls'. That is it is always much easier to 'sell' established acts than to promote newcomers. And, as is the case with Jackie aspiring teenybopper stars are primarily interested in selling their images. Music itself in fact is credited with little or no importance in the pages of Jackie. This is an important point because it marks the one arena where readers could be drawn into a real 'hobby'. Instead of being encouraged to develop an interest in this area, or to create their own music, the readers are presented, yet again, with another opportunity to indulge their emotions, but this time on the pop star figure rather than the boyfriend.

The magazine offers its readers little information on pop apart from occasional mentions of 'new releases' or 'forthcoming films'. There is

neither critical attention shown to the music itself nor to its techniques and production. The girls are, by implication, merely listeners. Moreover with 'pop', the girls' passivity, as far as Jackie is concerned, takes on even larger dimensions. Pop stars are by definition 'dreamy', 'successful' and to be adored in the quiet of the bedroom. The social meaning of the pin-ups hinges then on the unequal relationship between adoring fan and star looking down on her.

Turning to look at the pin-up of the pop star unaccompanied by band or group, several points can be made. First it is accompanied by a minimum linguistic message, i.e. simply his name. This starkness points to the overriding importance of the visual element. The star is how he looks. The only additional information needed by the reader is his name. Second, this visual image contains a whole repertoire of signs, one of which can be dealt with under the code of expression. These,

"depend on our competence to resolve a set of gestural, non-linguistic features (signifiers) into a specific expressive configuration (signified)." (48)

The purpose of the facial expression here is to effect a 'personalising transformation'; a necessary element in the construction of the star who is more than a mere performer of songs. This is done by introducing glimpses of or hints as to the nature of, the star's personality through his expression, so that this personality corresponds to what have already been set up as familiar male character stereotypes in the picture stories.

Thus we have the 'pert cheekiness' of David Essex, the sweet 'babyish' qualities of David Cassidy and the 'pretty poutiness' of Marc Bolan. Not surprisingly, there is a marked absence of aggressive, sexual, 'mean and nasty' rock stars in these pages.

The star's face, the sole male presence in the magazine, looks out of the page, directly into the eyes of the reader, a symbol of male mastery if not outright supremacy. No other character occupies such space in the magazine, even the 'cover girl' has to compete with title, caption, headline and summary of contents, for the reader's attention.

Third, the social meaning of the background and context within which the pop star is often posed is clearly important. David Essex, relaxed and crouching in a garden and with a dog, connotes more meanings than simply his handsomeness and star-like qualities. There is something comforting and reassuring about such an image. It says that rock or pop stars, out of the limelight, are much the same as anybody else. Their lifestyles are not all 'sex'n' drugs' at least certainly not those who appear in Jackie pin-ups.

Essex's relaxed pose also suggests that this is his garden, his dog, otherwise, constantly being in the public eye, he would find it difficult to be at such ease. He is thus informing the reader that he is rich, as well as being happy, handsome, famous and so on.

But familiar settings and objects are not the only contexts which crystallise the star's image. They can be even more firmly looked through the use of another set of non-verbal signs, that is through the gimmick. The tartan armbands and scarves of the Bay City Rollers connote 'Scottishness', a reassuring recognisable image shot through with such noble feelings as patriotism, love of one's country, etc. This 'tartanry' combined with their distinct style of clothing, borrowed from the street style of working-class Scottish boys, compounds their comfortable 'homely' image by reminding their fans that they too are ordinary working-class lads. Both Essex and the 'Rollers' are saying in their own ways, "Look at me: I am like you". (49)

Gimmicks, then, eliminate the need for more extended linguistic messages. Through them, the girl is introduced to the 'star', it is his hallmark, the sign through which he is remembered. When he is fully established as a 'superstar', these gimmicks become symbols of allegiance to him, something to be taken up by the fans and worn as a sign of their admiration. Thus we have the typical scene at 'Roller' concerts where the entire audience is decked out in tartan!

These carefully constructed 'images' find fuller expression in the other pop features which appear each week in Jackie. These are:

- (1) 'Pop Gossip', comprising tit-bits of pop information, each item being accompanied by a small photograph of the star or group in question.
- (2) 'Jackie Pop Specials', usually interviews with the members of a group about forthcoming tours, or films.
- (3) 'Jackie Pop Exclusives' - typically 'in-depth' and personal interviews usually with a 'teenybopper' superstar - 'Donny', David Cassidy or Garry Glitter, for example.

The kind of information which the reader is furnished with here can be categorised under three headings, (1) consumption, (2) family life and (3) personal biography.

First consumption. Dyer has pointed to the ways in which stars are presented to the world and 'rooted' in terms of the objects which their fame allows them to accumulate.

"The Rolls Royce is of course almost of itself suggestive of a different world of being - luxuriant, smoothness, wealth. Anyone who is at home in a Rolls Royce seems almost a different order of person". (50)

The commodity is the most visible sign of the star's success and consequently figures highly in his general presentation.

In one edition of Jackie, we, the readers, are invited on a trip round Rod Stewart's mansion. We see him alternately lounging in its luxuriant surroundings and posing formally as 'lord of the manor' by his mantelpiece in what is clearly the main drawing room. Simultaneously, however, the 'seriousness' of this image is fragmented by Rod's own personal appearance. Bizarre and exotic, to the point of being clownish, Rod combines extravagant flowing clothes with a working-class, ex-mod hairstyle and 'tough' facial expression. Several connotations flow from this set of images. First there is the idea of the 'working class boy made good'; second there is the element of exposition. Jackie is momentarily revealing to its readers how the pop star lives. The feature is then voyeuristic allowing the readers a special privilege, a glimpse into the private life of 'Rod'. Third, in Rod's own self-presentation, there is clearly an element of self-parody, and self-mocking. Despite the splendour of his surroundings 'Rod' is, it seems, unchanged and his loyalties remain with his class origins, (expressed in other contexts through his accent, appearance and devotion to football).

Other shorter features produce similar kinds of connotations, 'Pop Gossip' in particular pays special attention to the consumer power of pop stars.

"One of the Bay City Rollers has just bought his own cottage"

"Jim Lea of Slade has recently bought a flat in London"

"Les McKeown of the Bay City Rollers says he's mad about cars ...

'The car I'd like to have is an RO.80 ... its cruising speed is 140 m.p.h."

The second set of 'personalising' conventions focus around the family, and since the image of so many stars depends on their being unmarried, such references are usually made to their parents. Several idols talk about the pleasures of "family occasions and those who no longer need to depend on a 'single and available' image talk animatedly about their wives and children, (included here are Paul McCartney, Jim Lea of Slade and Alvin Stardust). In each case the family serves to normalise the image of the star. It is presented as a protective and comforting environment, the place where the star loves to return after exhausting tours.

The effect of these pieces is, again, to assert a sense of sameness, normality, of sharing certain unshakeable beliefs and ideas about life. Human nature, 'natural' interests, and commitments to certain values mean that less important differences are transcended. We are all the same in

our love of children, comfort, the family, homeland - and so on. More than this we all enjoy the simple things of life, going to a football match on a Saturday afternoon, eating steak and chips, going on holiday ...

Thirdly, and finally, there is the emphasis on the star's personal biography. Often these comprise anecdotes or witty stories about life 'on the road with the band', at the same time they are both chauvenistic and xenophobic. Again the intention here is to reassure the reader that the star is not so alienated from his roots, that he does not feel utterly at ease amongst the 'jet set'. One singer, Don Powell of Slade, tells how nobody could understand his accent in America, and Paul McCartney, discussing the early days of the Beatles, describes how horrified he was to find that German people ate fish for Christmas dinner!

The point is that the star is, at heart, an ordinary lad unused to 'foreign ways'. Frequent references are made to the class origins of certain idols particularly to David Essex's career as barrow boy in East London. On the one hand it is simply a re-iteration of the rags-to-riches story, on the other it clearly represents an attempt to close the ties between stars and fan by evoking a sense of shared experiences and of 'normality'. What I am suggesting is that the pop fan/idol relationship is predicated upon distance through hero worship and adulation, but is countered by what they allegedly have in common.

This whole ideological discourse, as it takes shape through the pages of Jackie, is immensely powerful. Judging by sales figures alone, Jackie is a force to be reckoned with by feminists. Of course this does not mean that its readers swallow its extreme unquestioningly. And indeed until we have a clearer idea of just what girls 'read' Jackie and encounter its ideological force, our analysis remains one-sided. (31)

For feminists a related question must be how to go about countering Jackie and undermining its ideological power at the level of cultural intervention. One way of beginning this task would be for feminist teachers and youth leaders to involve girls in the task of 'deconstructing' this seemingly 'natural' ideology; and in breaking down the apparently timeless qualities of girls' and women's 'mags'.

Another more adventurous possibility would be the joint production of an alternative (32); a magazine where girls are depicted in situations other than the romantic, and where sexuality is discussed openly and frankly; not just contraception, masturbation and abortion, but the social relations of sexuality

## CONCLUSION.

What, then, are the central features of Jackie insofar as it presents its readers with an ideology of adolescent femininity? First it sets up, defines and focuses exclusively on 'the personal', locating it as the sphere of prime importance to the teenage girl. It presents this as a totality - and by implication all else is of secondary interest to the 'modern girl'. Romance problems, fashion, beauty and pop mark out the limits of the girl's concern - other possibilities are ignored or dismissed.

Second, Jackie presents 'romantic individualism' as the ethos, par excellence, for the teenage girl. The Jackie girl is alone in her quest for love; she refers back to her female peers for advice, comfort and reassurance only when she has problems in fulfilling this aim. Female solidarity, or more simply the idea of girls together - in Jackie terms - is an unambiguous sign of failure. To achieve self-respect, the girl has to escape the 'bitchy', 'catty' atmosphere of female company and find a boyfriend as fast as possible. But in doing this she has not only to be individualistic in outlook - she has to be prepared to fight ruthlessly - by plotting, intrigue and cunning, to 'trap her man'. Not surprisingly this independent-mindedness is short-lived. As soon as she finds a 'steady', she must renounce it altogether and capitulate to his demands, acknowledging his domination and resigning herself to her own subordination.

This whole ideological discourse, as it takes shape through the pages of Jackie, is immensely powerful. Judging by sales figures alone, Jackie is a force to be reckoned with by feminists. Of course this does not mean that its readers swallow its axioms unquestioningly. And indeed until we have a clearer idea of just how girls 'read' Jackie and encounter its ideological force, our analysis remains one-sided. (51)

For feminists a related question must be how to go about countering Jackie and undermining its ideological power at the level of cultural intervention. One way of beginning this task would be for feminist teachers and youth leaders to involve girls in the task of 'deconstructing' this seemingly 'natural' ideology; and in breaking down the apparently timeless qualities of girls' and women's 'mags'.

Another more adventurous possibility would be the joint production of an alternative(52); a magazine where girls are depicted in situations other than the romantic, and where sexuality is discussed openly and frankly; not just contraception, masturbation and abortion, but the social relations of sexuality

especially the sexism of their male peers. Likewise girls would be encouraged to create their own music, learn instruments and listen to music without having to drool over idols. Their clothes would not simply reflect styles created by men to transform them into junior sex-objects, products of male imaginations and fantasies. But most of all, readers would be presented with an active image of female adolescence - one which pervades every page and is not just deceptively 'frozen' into a single 'energetic/glamorous' pose as in the fashion pages and Tampax adverts in Jackie.

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Third, while ideological discourse, as it takes shape through the pages of Jackie, is immensely powerful. Looking at other figures alone, Jackie is a lesson to be reckoned with by feminists. Of course this does not mean that the editors follow the women's movement, and indeed until we have a clearer idea of just how girls 'read' Jackie and encounter its ideological forces, our analysis remains one-sided. (1)

The feminist's related question must be how to go about countering Jackie and undermining its ideological power at the level of cultural intervention. One way of beginning this task would be for feminist teachers and youth leaders to involve girls in the task of 'deconstructing' this seemingly 'natural' 'girl type' and in breaking down the apparently timeless qualities of girls' and women's 'nature'.

Another more sophisticated possibility would be the joint production of an alternative (2): a magazine where girls are depicted in situations other than the romantic, and where sexuality is discussed openly and frankly; not just counterpoised to restriction and abortion, but the social relations of sexuality

NOTES

1. Figures taken from Appendix IV, C.L. White, Women's Magazines 1693-1968 (1970) and from British Rate and Data (June 1977).
  2. G. Rosei, 'The Private Life of Lord Snooty', in the Sunday Times Magazine July 29, 1973, pp.8-16.
  3. Ibid., see also Willing's Press Guide 1977 and McCarthy Information Ltd (June 1977) where it is noted that "Among the enviably high profit margin firms are Shopfitters (Lancs); Birmingham satchett maker Ralph Martindale, and 'Dandy' and 'Beano' published D.C. Thomson - all with profit margins of 20% or more". See also Extel Card March 1977 for D.C. Thomson.
- | <u>Year</u> | <u>Turnover</u> | <u>Profit After Tax</u> |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1974        | £18,556,000     | £2,651,000              |
| 1975        | £23,024,000     | £2,089,000              |
| 1976        | £28,172,000     | £2,092,000              |
4. L. Althusser, 'Ideology and the State', in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays (1971) p.163.
  5. A. Dorfman and A. Mattelart, How to Read Donald Duck, (1971), p.30.
  6. Paul Johnson in the New Statesman, 1964
  7. C. Alderson, The Magazines Teenagers Read, (1968), p.3
  8. P. Willis, 'Symbolism and Practice. A Theory for the Social Meaning of Pop Music'. C.C.C.S. Stencilled paper, p.2
  9. S. Hall, I. Connell, L. Curti, 'The Unity of Current Affairs Television' in Cultural Studies 9, (1976), p.51
  10. George Orwell, 'Boys Weeklies' in Inside the Whale and Other Essays, (1969), pp. 187-203, first published in 1939.
  11. Paul Willis, op.cit., p.1.
  12. J. Clarke, S. Hall, T. Jefferson, B. Roberts, 'Subcultures, Cultures and Classes' in Resistance Through Rituals, (1976) p.55
  13. Hall, Connell & Curti, op.cit., p.53
  14. Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, quoted in S.Hall, B. Lumley, G. McLennan 'Politics and Ideology: Gramsci' in On Ideology. Cultural Studies 10, (1977), p.51.
  15. ibid., p.51
  16. ibid., p.67
  17. From an unpublished ms. by Simon Frith.
  18. ibid.

19. Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy, (1957), p.51
20. Simon Frith, op.cit.
21. B. Berelson defines C.A. as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication". B. Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (1952), p.18.
22. R. Barthes, Elements of Semiology, (1967), pp. 95, 96.
23. S. Hall, 'The Determination of News Photographs' in Cultural Studies 3, (1972), p.69.
24. ibid., p.64
25. ibid., p.65
26. Quoting R. Barthes, Elements of Semiology, (1967), p.91.
27. ibid., p.66
28. My analysis based round these codes is by no means exhaustive, nor does it cover every different kind of feature. Absent are advertisements, personality quiz games, on the spot interviews and short stories. However, each of these do fit into the codes outlined, some into more than one. Personality games and on the spot interviews obviously would be examined under the code of personal/domestic life, short stories under romance.
29. G. Greer, The Female Eunuch (1970), p.173
30. R. Barthes, 'The Rhetoric of the Image' in Cultural Studies 1 (1971), p.43
31. R. Barthes, op.cit., p.44
32. The language is remarkably reminiscent of the 'hip' language of commentaries on the 'teenage scene' in the 50s, e.g.  

"Hey gang - some square's giving Jules trouble" and  
 "Hey, what you at man? Like, I don't mind sharing  
 my thoughts with all mankind but I draw a line at  
 the furniture, dig?"
33. L. Althusser, 'Ideology and the State', in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, (1971), p.163.
34. These take the form of quizzes, articles and features on birth signs, all of which are designed to help 'you' know 'yourself'. e.g. The reader is asked to tick, from a selection of possible responses, what she would do, in a number of given situations. Her answers are then tallied up numerically and there is a particular personality profile which allegedly corresponds to her 'total'.
35. A. Dorfman and A. Matelart. How To Read Donald Duck, (1971), p.56.  

"The second strategy is called recuperation; the utilisation of a potentially dangerous phenomena of the social body in such a way that it serves to justify the continued need of the social system and its values, and very often justifies the violence and repression which are part of that system."

36. J. Mitchell, Psychoanalysis and Feminism, (1974), p.117.
37. R. Barthes, 'The Rhetoric of the Image', in Cultural Studies 1, (1971)p.46.
38. S. Rowbotham, 'Women's Liberation and the New Politics', in Spokesman Pamphlet No.17, p.27.
39. Taken from 'Woman's Weekly', 2.7.69 and quoted in G. Greer, The Female Eunuch. (1970) 0.171
40. G. Greer, The Female Eunuch, (1970)p.179.
41. J. Clarke, S. Hall, T. Jefferson, B. Roberts in 'Subcultures, Cultures and Classes, in Resistance Through Rituals, (1976), p.55
42. E. Wilson, 'Clothes' in Spare Rib (Sept. 1975), No.39, p.32.
43. R. Barthes, 'The Rhetoric of the Image' in Cultural Studies 1, (1971)p.43
44. G. Greer, op.cit., pp.185-6
45. J. Mitchell, Psychoanalysis and Feminism, (1974), p.116
46. S. Hall & P. Whannel, The Popular Arts, (1964), p.295
47. P. Erskin, New Musical Express (2.11.74) p.17
48. S. Hall, 'The Determinism of the News Photograph', in Cultural Studies 3, (1972), p.67
49. R. Barthes, Mythologies, (1972), p.91
50. R. Dyer, 'The Meaning of Tom Jones', in Cultural Studies 3, (1972) p.57.
51. In Working-Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity (M.A. Thesis, C.C.C.S., University of Birmingham). I look at the general culture of a group of working-class teenage girls - their experience of the home, school, leisure and sexual relations. I did not however have time to examine in detail how they 'made sense of' Jackie.
52. Without necessarily attempting to compete nationally with Jackie, it would nonetheless be interesting to produce local/community-based or school alternatives to it.