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Introduction

Gender – the fluid, contested and historically specific cultural understandings of masculinity and femininity in any given society (Scott 1986) – provides one of the central structuring categories of the modern media environment. Since the eighteenth century, media producers have used gender to construct their markets, aiming content either simply at women or men, or at carefully defined subcategories, such as the "housewife," "mother," or "businessman." This gendering process was most obvious in the magazine and periodical market. Distinct genres of "women's" and "men's" magazines developed initially in Britain and France in the eighteenth century, and soon spread throughout Europe, remaining recognizable to the present day. Newspapers were aimed predominantly at male audiences, but from the late nineteenth century they started to address female readers directly by incorporating "women's sections" and by increasing the visibility of female journalists. The new media of the twentieth century – cinema, radio, and television broadcasting – also developed or adapted genres that were implicitly or explicitly gendered, such as romance films, soap operas and chat shows for women, and action thrillers and sports programs for men. Whether seeking to educate, moralize, entertain, or investigate, media brought into focus ideas and assumptions about the behavior of, and relationships between, men and women. In so doing they reinforced, and sometimes reshaped, notions of masculinity and femininity. As the media sector was dominated by men, moreover, these notions were heavily informed by male preoccupations and perspectives.

The profound political, social, economic, and technological changes of the late nineteenth and twentieth century significantly challenged traditional models of gender based on the belief that men were suited to the public sphere, and women to the private. Media recorded and interpreted these transformations, thereby acting as a source of imagery for, and a forum of debate about, gender roles and identities. Newspaper and periodical journalism, and later radio and television broadcasting, scrutinized, discussed and judged shifts in the expression of gender (particularly femininity), for example, the "new

woman" of the 1890s, the "flapper" or "modern woman" of the 1920s, the "working woman" of the post-1945 period, and the "new man" of the 1980s. The gradual processes of equalizing political and civil rights, and of admitting women into political institutions and professional occupations, were recorded, championed, or contested in a variety of ways. New medical, psychological, and cultural understandings of sexuality were addressed and debated. Gender and sexuality were often the prisms through which media sought to understand the wider political, social, and cultural shifts of modernity: the figure of the "modern woman," in particular, was a way of simplifying and personalizing a range of complex social developments for a mass audience.

Across Europe, media markets were regulated by watchful states and shaped by powerful interests. In some countries, stringent censorship prevented the expression of radical views, in others, the workings of capitalist economies led to markets being dominated by a handful of wealthy proprietors or successful corporations. With the exception of the most authoritarian societies, however, it was difficult to prevent oppositional groups from using print, and later other media, to communicate resistance. From the mid-nineteenth century, the women's movement and a range of socialist, anarchist, and free-thinking organizations used specialist, minority, or alternative media to challenge and reform dominant ideas about gender and to campaign for an expansion of political opportunity, legal rights or social provision. In the final decades of the twentieth century, there were similar attempts to draw attention to the demands of lesbian, gay, and transgender groups. These alternative media usually had small audiences and struggled to achieve financial viability. Over time, however, their content often influenced and informed mainstream media, and many ideas and experiments were later taken up elsewhere.

This chapter explores the gendering of media markets, media debates about changing gender roles brought about by modernity, and the attempts to challenge and resist traditional gender ideologies from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. It focuses on six European countries – Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and Russia – in order to identify the variations created by different levels of economic development, contrasting political frameworks (democracy, fascism, communism and dictatorship) and alternative religious systems (Protestantism, Catholicism, and atheism), as well as a multitude of social and cultural permutations. The chapter is structured around three chronological sections – the mid-nineteenth century to the outbreak of World War I, 1914 to the 1960s, and the 1970s to the present – which, while not neatly fitting every national case study, do capture some of the most important shifts across the period. Despite notable changes over the decades and variations across Europe, the resilience of many assumptions about gender and sexuality remains striking.

Mid-nineteenth Century to 1914

In the mid-nineteenth century, European media environments were still tightly constrained by state censorship, economic inequalities, low levels of literacy, and poor transport networks. The press and periodical markets flourished mainly in areas where industrialization, urbanization, and political liberalism were furthest advanced, particularly in Britain and France. Media production and consumption was dominated by men. Women had less political, social, and cultural power than men, lower rates of literacy and less spending power, and were therefore generally marginal in the considerations of proprietors, editors, and journalists.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of political, economic, and technological developments transformed national media environments. In a number of countries, the state adopted a more liberal attitude toward the press. In Britain, for example, taxes on publications, paper, and advertisements – the so-called "taxes on knowledge" – were removed between 1853 and 1861, leading to lower prices and rapid growth in the number of newspapers. Between 1856 and 1914, the number of newspapers published in Britain and Ireland rocketed from 274 to over 2,200 (Williams 2010). In Russia, Alexander II's reformist legislative program of the 1860s encouraged the emergence of a thriving press culture. By the eve of World War I, there were more than 700 Russian-language newspapers published across the empire, and more than 1,700 different newspapers published each week, including non-Russian language publications (Brooks 1985, p. 112; McReynolds 1991). There was a similar liberalization in Spain with the Ley Sagasta de Prensa e Imprenta of 1883, while the unification of Italy and Germany created larger national markets with constitutions that enabled a flourishing press debate. Wilke (2000, p. 276) calculates that there were around 4,000 newspaper titles in Germany in 1914, with a combined circulation of some 18–25 million copies (Stöber 2000, p. 147).

If changing state attitudes to the public sphere created such new opportunities, economic improvement, driven by industrialization, urbanization, and the growth of global commerce, ensured that there was a growing market for news and entertainment. The middle classes expanded with the growth of professional, administrative and commercial opportunities, and literacy rates improved among the urban working classes as states invested in their education systems. In the final decades of the century, a recognizably modern consumer culture emerged, based on branded advertising and new retailing developments, such the department store, and often aimed largely at women. Technological developments, including the introduction of the telegraph, photography, the telephone, rotary printing, and the railway, enabled news and information to be collected, printed, and circulated more rapidly and efficiently than ever before. By the end of the nineteenth century, the pre-conditions for the modern media environment had been put in place across much of Europe.

These developments encouraged media producers to develop new business models and try different ways of reaching mass audiences. Rethinking the gender dynamics of certain publication forms would play a central role in this process of experimentation. The mid-nineteenth century media sector had long been defined by gender. Traditional dualistic notions of gender, reinforced by religious and scientific patterns of thought, led publishers to target different types of content at men and women. The *Ladies Mercury*, launched in London in 1693, was perhaps the earliest identification of women as a separate, and coherent, market for periodicals. In the eighteenth century, several women's magazines were established across Europe that focused predominantly on the domestic world, fashion, beauty, health, and cookery, and catered for elite or middle-class readers. The first German women's magazines – *Die Patriotinn* (The Female Patriot, 1724) and *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (The Reasonable Female Criticizers, 1725–1726) – were launched in the 1720s to support the moral and aesthetic education of their female readership. Over the century, more than 100 different German-speaking women's magazines were founded, addressing somewhat small and regional audiences (Brandes 1988; Mix 1999; Schuhmann 1980; Weckel 1998, pp. 599–605). The possibility of including engraved fashion plates, displayed in the influential British publication *Lady's Magazine* (1770), led to the emergence of an important and long-lasting genre of fashion and style magazines. This included *Modne ezhemesiachnoe izdanie, ili Biblioteka dlia damskogo*

tualeto (Fashion monthly, *or* Reading for Ladies Couture, 1779) in Russia, *Cabinet des Modes* (1785), *La Belle Assemblée* (1806), and *Petit Courrier des Dames* (1821) in France, *Allgemeine Moden-Zeitung* (1799) in Leipzig, the *Corriere delle Dame* (1804) in Italy, *Wiener Modenzeitung* (1816) in Vienna, and *El Correo de las Damas* (1833) in Spain. These publications served a small urban audience of elite women with the money and leisure to follow the latest fashions coming from Paris.

From the mid-nineteenth century, the women's magazine market diversified and commercialized as the market for periodicals grew and an expansion of consumer advertising provided new sources of revenue. Improved printing techniques enabled illustrations to be reproduced more cheaply and efficiently, and pictures of fashions, interior spaces, and domestic goods reinforced the consumerist ethos of the magazines, as did the increasingly elaborate advertisements from the new department stores and high street retailers. Serialized fiction and advice columns became important features. Most women's magazines worked within conventional expectations of femininity, while tailoring their content to the class and status positions of their imagined readers. In some publications, the moral and instructional dimension was particularly strong. The Catholic periodicals of Spain and Italy, such as *La Madre Católica* and *La Figlia dell'Inmaculata*, sought to encourage religious devotion and social stability, and offered fashion advice that conformed to Christian teaching and the conventions of modesty. Yet, if the general tendency of commercial women's magazines in this period was to consolidate notions of gender difference, they could, at times, broaden the horizons of their readers and offer educational content. As the historian Christine Ruane (2001) has observed, the Russian women's fashion periodical *Moda: Zhurnal dlia svetskikh liudei* (Fashion: A Journal for Society People), published in St Petersburg between 1851 and 1861, framed its discussion of fashion within the wider political and philosophical debates of the day, such as the links between Russia and "the West," and the place of women within modern society. Likewise, Carolyn Marks (2001) has noted that Russian women's magazines of the 1880s offered their readership a plurality of images of the modern Russian woman, such as the female doctor or student. They thus helped "to legitimise a pro-education and pro-equality agenda" (Marks 2001, p. 113). "Family magazines," which addressed women as part of a wider domestic audience, also provided women with information that exceeded their narrow, conventional sphere. The influential German publication *Die Gartenlaube* (*The Arbor*, 1853–1944), whose circulation reached almost 400,000 copies in the 1870s, provided coverage of foreign countries, technological developments, and social problems, and thereby helped partly to compensate for the poor education received by women at that time (Wischermann 1983). *Die Gartenlaube* also put a variety of gender issues on its agenda, often with a progressive tendency, for example, in supporting gainful employment for women (Kinnebrock 1996; Wischermann 1983). The flourishing magazine market also opened up new job opportunities. Since only women were expected to be familiar with the female sphere and able to give proper advice to female audiences, women's magazines were increasingly edited by female writers.

More far-reaching, in terms of wider cultural prominence, was the gradual incorporation of women, and "women's issues," into previously male-dominated newspapers. As financial investment in the newspaper business increased, in response to the growth of markets and the integration of new technologies, competition intensified. Neglected female readers offered an obvious means of boosting circulation, especially as they were, or were perceived to be, the major spenders of the domestic budget. They became the prime targets for advertisers. The first daily newspaper proprietors to commercialize the female market were the Frenchmen Alphonse and Moïse Millaud, who launched *Le Petit*

Journal in 1863. As Jane Chapman (2013) has shown, *Le Petit Journal's* "pioneering popularism" was characterized by the introduction of "feature style content that had previously been the reserve of women's magazines and other weekly periodicals," and was written in an accessible, conversational, and intimate style (p. 31). The paper included human interest stories, gossip columns and serialized fiction as part of the drive to appeal to a female audience. By 1886, the paper had reached the unprecedented circulation of 1 million copies a day (Schwarz 1998, p. 29) and inspired a range of imitators, such as *Le Matin* (1884). A similarly successful example of what the noted English critic Matthew Arnold described as the "new journalism" was Alfred Harmsworth's *Daily Mail*. It was launched in Britain on 4 May 1896, and Harmsworth was determined to broaden the traditional remit of the British newspaper, for instance by including a page of features. This was heralded as the "Daily Magazine, An Entirely New Idea in Morning Journalism," which would provide every week "matter equivalent to a sixpenny monthly." Harmsworth ensured that space was explicitly marked out for women's interests. "A Note from the Editor" in the first issue made a firm commitment to female readers: "Movements in a woman's world – that is to say, changes in dress, toilet matters, cookery, and home matters generally – are as much entitled to receive attention as nine out of ten of the matters which are treated of in the ordinary daily paper. Therefore, two columns are set aside exclusively for ladies." All over Europe, proprietors, and editors tried new formats and approaches to tap the potential of an expanded reading public, and to incorporate women into the audience. In Germany, this process of popularization was led by the so-called "general advertiser" (General-Anzeiger) a mass-based newspaper format that broadened its range of topics, avoided controversial political issues, and offered extremely low subscription rates (Koszyk 1966). These and other papers launched supplements covering women's interests. In Russia, the magazine *Ogonek*, launched in 1908 with a diet of fiction, photographs, illustrations, and news, particularly of a sensational or unusual nature, soon reached a circulation of 700,000 copies. This was higher than even the most popular daily newspaper (Brooks 1985, pp. 115–116). In Spain, *El Imparcial* reached impressive sales by providing varied, useful, and easy to understand information that was partly focused on leisure and entertainment. Middle-class women were able to read about education, daily life, marriage, and new fashions coming from Paris and London. There was, in short, a widespread blurring of the boundaries between the magazine and the newspaper, with an associated mixing of audiences.

These attempts at creating a female market for newspapers culminated in the establishment of newspapers targeted exclusively at women. *La Fronde*, established by the feminist journalist Marguerite Durand in Paris in 1897, was written, edited, and typeset entirely by women and for a female audience. It reported broadly on politics, society, and culture, with a special interest in "women's issues" and "women's perspectives." Supported by a seven-million-franc donation by the prominent Jewish financier Gustave de Rothschild, the paper could afford to experiment, and, thus, offered challenging and varied content, written by a range of talented female journalists (Chapman 2013, pp. 80–81). While encouraging a reconsideration of the standard representation of women's issues in French journalism, the paper ultimately struggled and closed in 1905 (it was briefly revived in 1914 and 1926.) *La Fronde's* example inspired Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) to establish a similar but more commercial venture in Britain. *The Daily Mirror* launched on 2 November 1903 with an all-female staff under the original editor of the *Mail's* women's columns, Mary Howarth. The first issue declared that the paper would not be "a mere bulletin of fashion, but a reflection of women's interests, women's thought, women's work," covering "the daily news of the world" and "literature and art," as well

as the "sane and healthy occupations of domestic life." The mainstream market, however, was not yet ready for a women's daily newspaper, at least not in this form. *The Mirror* struggled to find a consistent tone and identity, and seemed caught between being a magazine and a newspaper. As its circulation plummeted, the *Mirror* was rescued only when Northcliffe removed the female staff, handed over the editorship to the experienced journalist Hamilton Fyfe, and turned it into an illustrated paper. It became a major success and was the first daily to rival the readership levels of the *Mail.* Although no longer written by women, or marketed exclusively to them, the *Mirror* maintained a distinctly "feminine" identity and continued to attract a much higher percentage of female readers than any other British paper until well into the 1930s (Bingham 2004). If newspapers written by and for women proved difficult to sustain in the commercial mainstream, the principle of explicitly appealing to female readers had become well established by the early decades of the twentieth century.

Other publications targeted female readers for ideological rather than commercial reasons. From the mid-nineteenth century, the emergence in many countries of a women's movement demanding greater political and civil rights, led to the establishment of numerous periodicals challenging conventional gender ideas. Some of the earliest publications emerged in Britain. Between the 1850s and 1930s female proprietors published over 150 political periodicals aimed at women readers in Britain, including publications such as the *English Woman's Journal, Women's Suffrage Journal, Votes for Women* and *Common Cause.* As Michelle Tusan (2005) has shown, this press played an important role in creating and supporting a "modern female political culture," in transmitting information and ideas to their politically active and engaged audience, and in shaping the identities of the women who read them (p. 148). The suffrage periodicals of the Edwardian period were the most successful examples of the genre, with editors adopting some of the techniques of the "new journalism" and embracing "the sensibility of the commercial marketplace" (Tusan 2005, p. 148) to obtain a wider readership and raise the profile of the movement. *Votes for Women* was the most widely read with a peak circulation of around 50,000 copies a week in the first decade of the twentieth century.

By the final quarter of the nineteenth century, there was a similar proliferation of advocacy writing across much of Europe. In Germany, the women's movement was organized in many associations ranging from feminist suffrage organizations and small labor unions to Catholic and Protestant charity clubs. Many of these associations created their own advocacy journals: between the foundation of the German Empire in 1871 and the beginning of the Nazi dictatorship in 1933 at least 366 different advocacy journals existed, and 85 of them (25%) were feminist magazines (Kinnebrock 2008, p. 141). However, the thematic focus of these journals was bound to the aims of the association publishing them. In consequence, most of the advocacy journals covered only a single issue and circulated mainly among interested association members. Significant circulation and public impact were reserved only to those advocacy journals that covered a wide range of female issues and obtained some financial support. A notable example is the journal *Die Gleichheit* (The Equality, 1892–1923) that was financed by the Socialist party and reached a circulation of more than 100 000 copies at the beginning of the twentieth century (Gerhard and Wischermann 1988, Kinnebrock 1999). In Italy, *La Donna* was another significant forum for the women's movement, providing particularly valuable space to school teachers and educationalists in their fight for equality. As the movement spread across Europe, advocacy journals were one of the main channels for the dissemination of ideas and activism. In Italy, for example, publications such as *Vita Femminile* and *Tribuna Ilustrada* often reported on struggles over voting rights, equal

pay, and education in other countries. By 1905, a twofold movement had emerged also in Russia, with one focus on women's suffrage and the other connected to socialism. The suffrage movement took to writing collective letters to the mainstream press, such as the one sent in the aftermath of "Bloody Sunday" – when imperial forces killed people who were demonstrating against Tsar Nicholas II – to *Russkiia vedomosti* (Russian News) in February 1905. It also launched its own journals, such as *Zhenskii vestnik* (The Women's Messenger), the first journal dedicated to the discussion of the "woman question," and *Soiuz zhenshchin* (Union of Women), the publication of the Russian Union for Women's Equality that ran for only two years between 1907 and 1909, and the weekly *Zhenskoe delo* (The Women's Cause) that replaced the defunct union publication (Stites 1990). If the women's movement had only limited legislative success before 1914, the vibrant periodical culture did much to define, disseminate, and make acceptable, ideas of gender equality. The political and social turbulence created by World War I would shift these ideas into often radically new political and social environments.

1914 to the 1960s

World War I and its aftermath unleashed a range of ideological forces – ethnic nationalism, communism, fascism, anti-imperialism – that would both redraw the map of Europe and alter the political and social dynamics of all European nations. The war itself destabilized gender hierarchies, if only temporarily, as many women undertook new roles while men moved to the front-lines. More lasting was the introduction of new constitutions and the establishment of a range of new political regimes. In many places women were enfranchised for the first time and obtained long-sought political and civic rights. The "flapper," meanwhile, personified the social and sexual opportunities that were opening up for some women. The spread of fascist systems, by contrast, saw a fresh veneration of women's domestic and maternal roles. If fascism was largely destroyed by the Allied victory during World War II, ideological conflict remained during the Cold War when competing notions of gender, family, and sexuality were interwoven with political debate.

This period also witnessed the emergence of the modern mass media environment. In many places, daily newspapers reached their peak circulations as the habit of press readership spread throughout the working classes. The primacy of print was finally challenged with the emergence of new media forms: cinema, radio and, later, television. Media producers sought to adapt traditionally gendered genres to these new media. At the same time, media encouraged, and provided a forum for, the rethinking of gender identities. Political parties, civic associations and social movements all used these new media opportunities to defend and disseminate their visions of modernity, and in the process, extend the debate about gender.

Nowhere was the relationship between political change and the establishment of new gender practices more distinct than in the former Russian Empire. After seizing power in October 1917, the new Bolshevik government faced the enormous task of creating the world's first socialist state from the remnants of what had previously been a rather underdeveloped capitalist country. This was a project that was not simply about the reorganization of government, economics, and social relations, but it was the reforging of humanity to create the ideal "new Soviet person." Women were of particular concern for, and therefore a target of, the Bolshevik regime because they were seen to be the bastions of superstition, folk lore and "irrational" religious belief. They were also regarded

slaves of the domestic sphere, constrained by traditional gender roles, and the victims of capitalism that had forced them into loveless marriages for the sake of financial stability. The poster was a key medium for re-educating women, and it had an ubiquitous presence in factories, schools, and clubs across the Soviet Union, for instance, in specific anti-religious campaigns, and the organized efforts to encourage hospital births and breast feeding. As the 1920s progressed and literacy rates increased, a number of magazines were produced that were aimed specifically at a female readership, most notably *Rabotnitsa* (The Woman Worker) and *Krest'ianka* (The Peasant Woman). Both magazines were full of articles, stories, photographs, and features designed to help the average woman to turn from a formerly tsarist subject to fully-fledged Soviet citizen (Attwood 1999, p. 26). Unlike contemporary publications in Western societies that often focused on the home and treated the domestic space as a specifically female sphere, Soviet magazines aimed to break down the distinction between public and private. If women were to be engaged in the task of building socialism, they would have to participate fully in the world of work and political activism, and, in turn, be released from the "slavery" of domestic chores. These chores would, according to the rhetoric, become shared responsibilities, as childcare, laundry, and dining were transformed into communal activities rather than being the burden of individual women. Cinema was another tool used by the state in its effort to create its perfect female citizen (Attwood and Kelly 1998). A typical example from this era was Ioganson's and Ermler's 1926 film *Kat'ka the Reinette* (Apple Seller). It told the story of a young woman who, recently arrived in Leningrad, falls pregnant by a cad, only to reach a stage by the end of the movie in which she has secured her dream job in a factory, and has become an independent woman, not needing men to support herself or her child. Yet, by the mid-1930s, media were advocating a very different model of femininity as greater attention was paid to the woman's role as a mother, as on the private space more generally. Behavior that had previously been discounted as bourgeois, such as an interest in fashion and cosmetics, became wrapped up with new ideas of idealized femininity. In line with Stalin's declaration in 1935 that life had become better, publications became increasingly concerned with advocating the joys of living in the Soviet Union. They advocated representations of women workers who lived in well-appointed, new apartments with their families, or smiling and well-fed rural women who had seized the opportunities offered by the state to become tractor drivers on the collective farm. In such cases, these ideal women seamlessly negotiated the dual roles of being an exemplary Soviet worker and the perfect Soviet mother, both of which were now cast as integral parts of a woman's social duty.

In Germany, too, gender was intimately bound up with political debates and discourses of modernity. Many advocacy journals closed after 1919 when the new Weimar Republic granted women the vote; the post-war economic crisis and the hyperinflation of 1923 led to a further wave of closures. At the same time, having been enfranchised, women were increasingly targeted as voters. The political parties put considerable investment into new women's magazines which covered a wide range of (popular) topics, using modern journalistic formats and photography. The feminist discourse, however, which had originally evolved through debates within associations, no longer developed from the grassroots; instead, the party line was communicated "top down" in these magazines (Kinnebrock 2009, p. 293). In the period of relative economic and social stability between 1924 and 1929, moreover, a number of popular women's magazines embraced the principles of modernity concerning layout (Rössler 2009) and gender representations (Wilhelms 1994). They advocated new role models like "the new women" or "the flapper," young, economically independent women with a lot of leisure

time and who challenged gender norms by drinking, smoking, and being sexually active – even though, in reality, with the severe gender pay gap, the majority of lower- and middle-class women could not afford the lifestyle of a flapper and conformed, often with some reluctance, to traditional gender conceptions. (Frevert 1986, pp. 176–177). A few special interest magazines moved into more daring territory, such as *Die Freundin* (The Girlfriend, 1924–1932), aimed at lesbians in Berlin. Such periodicals addressed issues of homosexuality and emancipation, although the majority of their space was devoted to fiction and event notes (Kokula 1994, p. 131).

There was a similar preoccupation with female equality and modernity during the Spanish Second Republic (1931–1939). The republican constitution recognized numerous women's rights, such as suffrage, the right to work, and divorce, and this was reflected in extensive debates about "modern women" in the Spanish mass media. Women's inclusion in newspapers, magazines, radio, cinema, and advertising was an expression of their unprecedented participation in public life. Women, such as María Luz Morales and Josefina Carabias, became important voices on the radio, and commercial producers updated traditional genres to the format of romance films and broadcast soap operas. The "modern woman" was subject to considerable criticism too, not only in conservative and Catholic media but also in some anarchist publications such as *La Revista Blanca*. The latter considered the "new woman" to be bourgeois in her interests and inclinations rather than a worker or a revolutionary seeking radical social change. Radical positions were also endorsed by a proliferation of feminist and advocacy journals, such as *Pensamiento Femenino, Mundo Femenino* and *Cultura Integral y Femenina*. The anarchist publication *Mujeres Libres* was produced completely by women who felt marginalized even within a movement that vindicated civil rights and greater social justice. Such publications opposed the consumerist focus of commercial media aimed at "modern women," and debated revolution, emancipation, and worker control.

In Italy, Germany, and Spain, fascist or dictatorial regimes eventually closed down debates about gender equality, and marginalized positive portrayals of the "modern woman." In Italy, Catholic publications, such as *La Donna Italiana*, celebrated submissive and family-centered femininity, while regime-approved magazines such as *Eva* or *Lei* focused on uncontroversial aspects of leisure and entertainment, rather than politics; *Grazia*, introduced in 1938, concentrated on fashion and style. In Germany, the National Socialist Party's (NSDAP) very traditional role conceptions excluding women from party positions and, theoretically, also from professional work and gainful employment, set the tone for the media environment after 1933 (Frevert 1986, pp. 200–211). Franco's victory over the forces of the Spanish Second Republic in 1939 ended the pluralistic media culture and led to the introduction of very strict forms of censorship in Spain. The ultra-conservative ideology of the new regime promoted the return of women to the home and the private sphere. The women's organization of the far-right, Falange Española, the Sección Femenina produced publications such as *Medina* or *Teresa*, dedicated to the exaltation of traditional values and the idea of being "el ángel del hogar." Spanish radio, cinema, and advertising likewise foregrounded messages of subordination, both to the church and to masculine authority. The magazine *¡Hola!*, established in 1944, encouraged a mass readership to admire the lifestyles of those with power and status. These conservative gender representations were designed to counter not only the ideals of political and social equality espoused by feminist and leftist organizations, but also the alluring notions of feminine glamor, sexuality, and independence portrayed in Hollywood cinema, embodied by global stars such as Jean Harlow, Greta Garbo, and Mae West.

While censorship and media control could contain such ideas in the short term, it became increasingly difficult to deny their power once political circumstances altered.

The defeat of the fascist regimes in Italy and Germany during World War II enabled the return of a more pluralistic and commercialized media culture in those territories, although the emergence of the Cold War and the division of Europe into "East" and "West" brought new political and ideological divisions, again with gendered dimensions. In the West, modernity was increasingly envisioned in terms of unprecedented material affluence and individual ownership. While in many nations a greater number of women moved into the labor market, they were still routinely addressed either in their private roles as housewives, mothers, and consumers, or as fans of the growing celebrity and gossip cultures that surrounded cinema, and later television. In Britain, the women's magazine sector reached its circulation peak in the late 1950s: five out of every six women read at least one woman's magazine a week, and many were reading several (Pugh 1992, pp. 209–210). Advertising, which helped underpin the spectacular post-war economic revival, found new channels in particular with the rise of commercial television, and remained a powerful source for conservative representations of the family. In East Germany (the German Democratic Republic) and the Soviet Union, media worked to mobilize their audiences for the socialist system and were critical of the consumerism and individualism of the capitalist West (Tonscheidt 1996, pp. 168–170). Yet, for all their ideological differences, both, East, and West, witnessed an idealization of the family after the almost incomprehensible violence and turmoil of World War II. In the Soviet Union there was a fundamental shift in notions of masculinity in the late 1940s and 1950s, away from the veneration of military values to an increasing focus on the Soviet man's role as a father. The relationship between a man and his children came to be cast as both a way of demonstrating the resilience of the Soviet people (after all, here were men who were unbrutalized by their experiences at the front), and a shorthand for indicating just how effectively society had returned to its pre-war standing. The visual culture of the popular magazines of this period documented this change. Photographs of men interacting with their children, playing games, teaching them sports, or doing gardening together, became commonplace, as did reproductions of fine art that also focused on the place of the man in the home in the aftermath of demobilization.

During the 1960s, this post-war conservatism gradually receded and media environments in different states were transformed by the emergence of a flourishing youth culture that was, based around popular music, more overtly sexualized and critical of authority. British bands such as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones generated a global following and embodied new models of masculinity based on irreverence and creativity. New youth subcultures emerged, such as the "mods," that involved smart, modern Italian fashion, scooters, and the use of amphetamines. Even in Franco's Spain, the repercussions of the 1960s cultural change were felt, and calls for social liberalization and modernization became louder. A sign of this gradual shift was the launch of the magazine *Telva*. While still adhering to traditional values (religion, marriage etc.), the magazine suggested in its first editorial that it also had a duty to inform women of their rights. In spite of these shifts in Spain and elsewhere, gender equality remained very distant. Women often remained marginalized, both in leading popular music groups and in the high-profile subcultures. Invited to wear modern fashion, such as the "mini-skirt," they were all often judged by their appearance and sexuality. Despite the progress made over the previous century, the rethinking of gender and sexual identities was painfully slow.

1970s to the Present

It was only in the 1970s that a reinvigorated women's movement made strong and lasting challenges to traditional notions of gender and sexuality, and fostered a thriving alternative media sector. In this period there also emerged a greater freedom in the discussion of sexuality, and high-profile campaigns against the repression of "alternative" sexualities. This greater pluralism was reflected in, and encouraged by, the proliferation of media channels, notably radio and television broadcasting with the rise of cable and satellite transmission, followed by the emergence of the internet. More women entered mainstream media, although middle-class men continued to dominate positions of power.

The resurgence of feminism in the 1970s was based on a widespread dissatisfaction with the slow progress toward gender equality after the legislative victories achieved in the early decades of the century. One of the defining features of this phase of the women's movement was a preoccupation with generating cultural and attitudinal change, rather than just securing legal and civil equality. This brought to the fore the role of the media in entrenching stereotyped views of masculinity and femininity. Betty Friedan's hugely influential *The Feminine Mystique*, published in the United States in 1963, soon obtained considerable publicity across Western countries. It identified a dangerous disparity between the idealization of domesticity and motherhood found in women's magazines and advertising, and the tedious and unfulfilling reality experienced by many women: this yawning gap left many women deeply frustrated and unhappy. A journalist herself, Friedan portrayed women's magazines as a potential danger rather than a source of entertainment and support. Other feminists focused on media's objectification of the female body, protesting against the pin-up and beauty contest culture that had become entrenched in mainstream culture during the post-war decades. The disruption of the televised "Miss World contest" in London in November 1970, when feminists flour-bombed the host Bob Hope, was an early example of activists trying to create "media events" to communicate their messages. Mainstream media often responded with hostility and suspicion, mobilizing the image of the "bra-burner" to ridicule female campaigners.

Throughout the 1970s, a wide range of feminist groups across Europe developed searching critiques of mainstream media, campaigned for media organizations to change their policy on the coverage of women and women's issues, and demanded that journalists give a higher profile to issues such as rape and sexual violence. Deeply entrenched sexist practices, such as the "male gaze" mainstream cinema, and the unthinking use of male pronouns, were exposed (Mulvey 1975). As in the late nineteenth century, there also emerged a proliferation of activist, advocacy, and alternative publications to provide a space for radical thought and fresh perspectives. In Germany, for example, *Courage* (1976–1984) and *Emma* (since 1977) reached impressive circulations of around 70,000 readers (Geiger and Weigel 1981, p. 231). Although competitors, the thematic foci of the two advocacy journals were similar: they addressed different forms of discrimination (in the public as well as the private sphere), domestic violence, the legalization of abortion, self-determined sexuality and female health, and the development of a "truly female" culture and way of life. Alongside these feminist issues, topics raised by other social movements were also debated, including environmental damage, peace, human rights and exploitation under capitalist rule. The editorial approaches of the two journals differed, however: whereas *Courage* tried to be an open forum for women (and therefore articles were often written by laywomen), *Emma* was produced by professional female journalists and used strategies of campaign journalism like sensationalism (Geiger and Weigel 1981, pp. 231–232). Similar magazines emerged across Europe. In Britain, *Spare*

Rib (1972–1993) was the most influential and reached a peak circulation of 20 000 copies. It combined news reporting with features on a broad range of topics, from feminist history to hair care to putting up shelves. In Spain, Franco's death in 1975 heralded the emergence of new, more progressive publishing ventures. *Vindicación feminista*, published in Barcelona between 1976 and 1979, explored feminism in all its aspects. *Dunia* magazine, established the year before, aimed at a mainstream audience but nevertheless covered many feminist topics and insisted that intelligence and femininity were two concepts that must never be separated.

Unlike previous generations, feminist media activity was not restricted to print anymore. Numerous feminist films and documentaries were produced. Notable early examples were the Italian film *L'aggettivo donna* (1971) that explored women's "double burden" as workers and housewives, and *Für Frauen. 1 Kapitel* (1971), directed by Christina Perincioli, examined a women's strike in Berlin. In the Soviet Union, where feminist activity remained restricted, cinema provided a forum for an influential examination of conflicting pressures faced by Soviet women. *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*, which became the country's first Oscar-winning picture in 1980, told the tale of three women who moved to the capital in 1957 – during the heyday of Soviet optimism – and who proceed to gain an education, fall in love, and start their careers. Let down by the men in their lives, it soon becomes clear that for all their success at work, education, and having a career, it was not a path to self-fulfillment. As James von Geldern (2015) noted, Katya, the lead character, "had to carry the load at work and at home, cooking, cleaning, coping with inadequate day care and inadequate food and consumer supplies ... she had the right to succeed, but not the support to do so." Despite differences of their political systems, Western and Eastern European women still shared many frustrations.

Alongside, and often in partnership with these feminist movements, emerged a gay and lesbian (and later transgender) rights movement that created a print and visual culture of its own. Often taking inspiration from the "Stonewall riots" in the United States in 1969, a range of "gay liberation" movements emerged across Europe in the early 1970s. As with feminism, periodicals and advocacy journals provided vital means for debate, for disseminating ideas, and for consolidating shared identities. In Britain, *Gay News*, established in 1972, provided a focal point for the movement. It soon had a circulation of over 20,000 copies, was filled with several pages of advertising and listings of events for the gay community, and was stocked by the nation's leading mainstream newsagent, W.H. Smith (Weeks 1990, pp. 220–222). During the 1980s, its position was taken up by the *Gay Times* that, at the time of writing, is still thriving. Despite a solid tradition of gay and lesbian magazines in the Weimar Republic and in West Germany, it was a movie that initiated public debates on gay rights in Germany. Rosa von Praunheim's taboo-breaking documentary *It Is Not the Homosexual Who Is Perverse, But the Society in Which He Lives* (1970) was a milestone in the organization of the gay liberation movement in West Germany and processes of consciousness-raising within West German society.

Slowly but surely, the ideas of feminist and LGBT movements transformed mainstream media. Commercial women's magazines such as *Cosmopolitan*, a successful US import with editions across Europe, increasingly assumed their readers wanted (and expected) to pursue careers and gain control over their sexuality. Strong, independent female characters became more prominent in television shows and films while artists such as Madonna created new opportunities for assertive and sexually provocative women in the popular music industry. Newspapers broadened the remit of their women's pages and provided more detailed and nuanced coverage of domestic violence, sexual harassment and women's health. These tendencies were reinforced by the growing number of women in the media industry and their gradual rise into positions of authority. In 1976, the Italian

screenwriter and director Lina Wertmuller became the first woman to be nominated for Best Director at the Academy Awards for the film *Pasqualino Settebellezze* (although there would be no female recipient until Kathryn Bigelow in 2009, for *The Hurt Locker*). In the late 1980s, Wendy Henry and Rosie Boycott became the first female editors of British newspapers since the all-female *Daily Mirror* in 1903. Gay characters and themes took longer to emerge, although by the end of the twentieth century, television programs such as *Queer as Folk* (Great Britain, 1999) brought explicit gay sex to mainstream audiences, while the Oscar-winning *Brokeback Mountain* (2005) knocked down further barriers.

For all the transformative impact of feminism and the gay rights campaign, however, another prominent development of the final decades of the century was the sexualization of the media environment and the spread of pornography, generally aimed at a male, heterosexual gaze. The gradual liberalization of censorship regimes, and the increasingly intense competition for popular markets led to a gradual pushing back of boundaries limiting sexual content. Nude pin-ups entered the mainstream: by the mid-1970s, the British soft-pornography magazines *Mayfair, Penthouse* and *Men Only*, all had circulations of over 400,000 copies while the topless "Page 3 girl" became the inescapable visual symbol of *The Sun*, Britain's best-selling tabloid daily paper (Bingham 2014; Collins 1999). There was a similar tendency in post-Franco Spain with *Interviú* magazine. Established in 1976, it regularly featured nudity on its front pages. At the cinema, mainstream films such as *Last Tango in Paris* (1971), *Straw Dogs* (1971), and *Emmanuelle* (1974) featured graphic sexuality while pornographic films, and later videos, circulated widely in more restricted circles. Along with such explicit sexual imagery came an increasingly insistent idealization of the slim, toned, and hairless female body in visual media, fashion, advertising, and celebrity culture. Many women felt increasing pressure to aspire to a barely sustainable body image, and women's magazines filled their pages with advice about dieting, exercise, and the management of appearance, often in the service of following the latest celebrity trend. For all the new freedoms obtained by women, and represented in media, new burdens were imposed too.

The proliferation of television channels and print media publications in the final decades of the twentieth century was taken to an entirely new level by the emergence of the internet, the first truly global media network. In the early twenty-first century, there is a dazzling diversity of media content, and almost every interest and campaign finds its niche. The impact of feminism has led mainstream media to finally embrace notions of gender equality and sexual pluralism at various levels. Women have greater visibility and authority in media industries than ever before. Yet the residual power of entrenched gender stereotypes is considerable. Genres based on dualistic notions of gender have often remained profitable for media producers, and the sexualization of the female body remains a defining characteristic of the media and advertising. Men still outnumber women in the most prestigious and influential areas of the media. For all the media's fascination with modernity and change, in the field of gender it is difficult to ignore the troubling echoes of the past.

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