

(Re) Designing Women: A Content Analysis of Female Characters on American
Sitcoms

by

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Abstract

Cultivation theory has shown that television impacts viewer's perception of reality, and research indicates that sitcoms are currently the most popular sub-genre of television. Despite these findings, no study has been done to analyze the portrayal of female characters on sitcoms and how this portrayal may be impacting women's views of their role in society. For this study a content analysis was conducted on 100 sitcoms and 149 female characters, over the last 60 years, to gain an understanding of the portrayal of female characters on the most popular sitcoms of each decade. This study looks to answer three main questions pertaining to the accuracy of the portrayal of women's workforce participation, the accuracy of the portrayal of working mothers, and how this portrayal has changed in the past sixty years. These three questions are addressed through the use of a logit regression analysis and by comparing the data collected on the female characters to the United States actual labor participation rates.

Introduction

The ABC sitcom *Modern Family* premiered in September of 2009. Through its title, the show promised viewers a sitcom about a 21st century “modern family.” The show introduces three main couples: Jay and Gloria, the May-December newlywed interracial couple; Mitchell and Cameron, the gay couple that just adopted a baby from Vietnam; and Phil and Claire who, as the promotional commercial for the show states, “have the traditional family” (Modern Family, 2009). Despite the modern aspects that are a part of this family, neither of the women on the show work. At the time of the show’s premier, 69% of married mothers were participating in the labor force (Women in the Labor Force, 2009), but neither Claire a mom of three children ranging between the ages of 11 and 16 or Gloria with a 10 year-old son have a job. How can a sitcom claim to be depicting a “modern family” in the late 2000’s without showing a working mother? While anecdotal, is this example reflective of sitcoms misrepresentation of working mothers? If so, is the misrepresentation of working mothers on situational comedies an issue that should be of concern?

The most prominent topic when discussing women in the workforce is the wage gap. In 1979, women made 63 cents for every dollar that men earned. Since then the gap has narrowed. This is in part due to women’s progress in education and increased participation in the labor force. As of 2015 girls were outperforming boys in grade school and graduating from college at a higher rate (Voyer & Voyer, 2014; Bauman & Ryan, 2015; Institute for Women’s Policy Research, 2016; Council of Economic Advisors, 2014). Currently, 57% of women participate in the United States Labor Force (Bureau of Labor statistics, 2016), making up nearly half (46.8%)

of the workforce (“Women's Labor Force Participation” 2015). As of 2012, never married women were earning 96 cents to the dollar (Budig, 2014). By 2015, the wage ratio as a whole had shrunk to 80 cents.

However, not all of women’s problems in the workforce have been solved. One of the current problems becomes clear when married working mothers are considered. In 2012, married working mothers made 76% of a married father’s weekly earnings (Budig, 2014). Women who are between 25 and 34 years old earn 90 cents on a man’s dollar, but the ratio widens to 78 cents when women reach prime child-rearing age (Budig, 2014). While men’s wages increase when they have children, women face a motherhood penalty.

The motherhood penalty impacts the majority of families in the United States. In nearly half of two-parent households both parents work (Livingston, 2016). As of 2014, women’s earnings accounted for more than 40 percent of married parents’ income (Council of Economic Advisors, 2014). Women are also the sole or primary breadwinners for 40 percent of all families with children (Livingston, 2016), and in married couples where both spouses work, the percentage of women earning more than their spouse has nearly doubled since 1981 (Council of Economic Advisors, 2014). One way to reduce the motherhood penalty is to put a bigger emphasis on family work balance. There needs to be accommodations that make it easier for a family to have two work-committed parents.

Unfortunately, the media is telling a different story. Studies of newspapers, magazines, movies, and television shows conclude that women are not being accurately depicted in the media (Faludi, 2006, Slaughter, 2012; Graff, 2007; Arkass,

2013; Dickerson, 2005; Williams, Manvell & Bornstein, 2006). Just as with *Modern Family*, working mothers are left out of the equation. The media leads women to believe that the reason they still struggle to “have it all” is due to their own failures. The gains that women are making and the structural issues that are continuing to make it difficult for women to be equal in the workforce are being ignored, and instead are being shown as personal issues; “If journalism repeatedly frames the wrong problem, then the folks who make the public policy may very well deliver the wrong solution” (Graff, 2007).

Many studies look at the misrepresentation of women in the workforce in the news and primetime television, but no study has examined situational comedies for this trend. This study focuses on sitcoms, because researchers such as Gerbener, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli (1981) have established that television does impact viewer’s perception of the world and it has been suggested that family centered programming, such as that often found in situational comedies, does impact viewer’s ideas of motherhood (Ex, 2002). It has also been concluded that as of 2016 sitcoms are the most popular sub-genre on television (Hegedus, 2016). So therefore, it would be assumed that the most popular genre of television would have the biggest impact on viewers since the content is being watch by the most people. However, it is unknown what messages situational comedies are sending to viewers. If sitcoms are following the trend of misrepresenting women’s workforce participation seen in other forms of media, they could be having negative impacts on female viewer’s ideas of being able to have a family and a career or male viewer’s ideas of their partner’s abilities.

No study has used analytical data from the most popular sitcoms of each decade to understand how women are being depicted on sitcoms. An analysis of this data allows for a better understanding of how many working mothers are portrayed in sitcoms, how this number has changed over the decades, and how the data aligns with actual labor force statistics. This study will allow for a better understanding of whether situational comedies are more reflective or directive of society and of the messages being portrayed on situational comedies. This understanding will help further grasp how situational comedies are impacting female viewer's decisions when it comes to their workforce participation.

Literature Review

The Economist suggests that the reason why women get paid less on average than men “is not that they are paid less for the same job but that they tend not to climb so far up the career ladder, or they choose lower-paid occupations . . .” (“A Guide,” 2006). This can be attributed to women taking time off from work to raise children, or taking “mommy-track” jobs, which allow women more flexibility to raise children. Recently 62 percent of women in the United States “perceived family obligations and reduced mobility as an obstacle to their promotion” and 45 percent of respondents to another survey stated that spending more time with family was one of their main reasons for opting out of the workforce (Borisova & Sterkhova, 2012). The motherhood penalty can be as high as 7 percent per child (Budig & England, 2001) and 13.2% for two or more children (Nizalova, 2016). Furthermore, one-third of the motherhood penalty arises because motherhood interrupts women’s employment (Budig & England, 2001). The McKinsey report, “Women as a Valuable Asset” states, “out of 93% of women who have taken career breaks and intended to go back to work, only 74% have managed to do so, and only 40% have found full-time work” (Borisova & Sterkhova, 2012). Joan Williams states that currently women are left with only two options, “They can preform as ideal workers without the flow of family work and other privileges male ideal workers enjoy . . . Or they can take dead-end mommy track jobs or ‘women’s work’ . . . A system that allows only these two alternatives is one that discriminates against women” (Arkass, 2013).

Currently in the United States it is difficult for a family to have two work-committed parents. When women have children they are often forced to opt-out of the

workforce, or when they cannot afford to opt-out of the workforce they take mommy-track jobs that allow them the flexibility required to raise a family. This leads to fewer women in upper management jobs, and for working mothers to make less than working fathers. Until policies are put in place that make it easier for families to have two work committed parents, the motherhood penalty will continue to effect the majority of families in the United States; “Herein lies the dilemma: women are a permanent part of the workforce, society had endorsed this historic change, but the public opinion hasn’t yet fully come to terms with the tradeoffs inherent in working and rising young children” (“The Harried Life,” 2009). It will take the help of society, organizations, and the media to change the public opinion of working mothers, which will ultimately help ensure equality in the workforce. This study explores the important question of how media, specifically situational comedies, influence these public opinions.

Portrayal of Women in Media

One of the reasons why the societal issues preventing women from continuing to climb the career ladder after having children is being ignored is that the media is framing the wrong issue. Several researchers have argued that until the media stops focusing on the “Mommy Wars” and “Moms-go-home storylines” the true societal issues cannot be addressed (Slaughter, 2012; Graff, 2007; Arkass, 2013; Dickerson, 2005; Williams, Manvell & Bornstein, 2006). Stories that focus on the mommy wars frame the issue as a controversy among working mothers and stay-at-home mothers, and the moms-go-home storylines suggest that more women are dropping out of the workforce than actually are.

If women are portrayed more accurately in the media perhaps society would be more likely to address the real issues facing women in the work force. Research suggests that by providing more work flexibility and accommodations employers can help increase the retention rate of mothers. In order “to make full use of their national pools of female talent, governments need to remove obstacles that make it hard for women to combine work with having children” (“A Guide,” 2006). If women who enter the labor force are supported by the right policies, then they are more likely to stay in the workforce after having children (Galinsky, Sakai & Wigton, 2011; Borisova & Sterkhova, 2012). Not only does more work flexibility help ensure women can remain in the workforce after having children (Galinsky, Sakai & Wigton; 2011), but all employees benefit from such policies. Job satisfaction, job engagement, retention rates, and employee health are all positively related to flexibility at work (Galinsky, Sakai & Wigton; 2011). Rather than focusing on the true social issues, the “moms-go-home storyline presents all those issues as personal rather than public” (Graff, 2007).

Susan Faludi (2006), an award winning journalist and author argues that the media today is telling women two contradicting messages. One, at this point in time women have “made it,” and two, American women are more depressed and confused than ever before. These news stories ultimately tell women that “the women’s movement . . . has proved women’s own worst enemy”(Faludi, 2006). Faludi refers to this as feminist backlash and it is a trend that can be seen in the media dating back to the 50s.

Recently many researchers have analyzed feminist backlash stories (Graff, 2007; Faludi, 2006; Arkass, 2013). To start, 1950's magazines are known for showing women being happy housewives and caring mothers, when in reality by "1955, there were more women with jobs than at any point in the nation's previous history, and an increasing number of these were women with young children" (Arkass, 2013). These articles include a *New York Times* piece titled, "Case History of an Ex-Working Mother" in 1953 (Graff, 2007). In fact, "*The New York Times*, alone has highlighted this 'trend' repeatedly over the last fifty years" by publishing articles in the 1960s, 1980s, 1990s, and mid-2000s all suggesting women were opting out of the workforce (Graff, 2007).

In 1980, *The New York Times* published a story titled, "Many Young Women Now Say They'd Pick Family Over Career." This story, again, was not-reflective of the labor statistics at the time, and was based on only one college student who said personally she would stop working for a period of time after having a child (Arkass, 2013). In 1986, *Newsweek* published a story claiming that more women were working from home and giving up on "having it all." Again, however this could not be supported and a poll later conducted by the same magazine found that 71% of stay-at-home mothers wanted to work, and 75% of working mothers said that they would continue to work even if they did not have to (Faludi, 2006).

In the mid-1980s, the media published stories about mothers fearing dangerous daycare centers (Faludi, 2006). A similar story would appear again in the early 2000s when a UK professor reported that childcare was detrimental to children's development. This study along with the fears generated by the 9/11 attacks,

led to the “Mommy Wars” to fully break out; or at least the media wanted women to believe they had (Arkass, 2013). In “‘Your Wife Should Handle It’: The Implicit Messages of the Family and Medical Leave Act” Lindsay Dickerson argues that these stories created the “Mommy Myth” that tells mothers to be afraid to ever take their attention off their children, “let alone surrender their child to day care.” Women in the 2000s, were left feeling the pressure to choose between staying home with their children and continuing their careers (Arkass, 2013; Dickerson, 2005).

Several researchers argue that these stories written by *The New York Times* and other major newspapers and magazines are not based off of reliable data but rather trend journalism. Trend journalism attains authority through repetition (Arkass, 2013; Faludi, 2006). These articles are all centered on selective pieces of data, mainly based on well-off white women with white-collar jobs, and the information is skewed to tell the wrong story (Graff, 2007; Arkass, 2013; Faludi, 2006; Williams, Manvell & Bornstein, 2006). If the wrong story is repeatedly being told, readers are going to have an altered perspective on women’s participation in the labor force.

Media’s Impact on Women

None of these feminist backlash articles have been reflective of what women were actually doing; however, they have been powerful enough to influence the statistics in their direction. In *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* Faludi gives several examples to support this claim. First, throughout the 1980s the media insisted women were opting out of the work force to be “better” mothers, but it was not until the 1990s that this “trend” of women between 24 and 44 years old dropping out of the workforce would show up in labor statistics (Faludi,

2006). And when it did start to be seen it was by .5 percent, and the first decrease since the 1960s (Faludi, 2006). Second, in 1986, *Fortune* published a story entitled, “Why Women are Bailing Out.” This article led to a series of “bailing out stories” to be published by other major media outlets. The articles suggested that businesswomen from elite schools were leaving the corporate world (Faludi, 2006). A year later, the number of women applying to business school decreased for the first time in a decade (Faludi, 2006).

It has been proven that hiring women is good for business and the economy (“A Guide,” 2006), however, a study that looked at 199 articles about women leaving the workforce between 1980 and 2006 found that only 12% of the articles discussed the negative impacts of their departure on the economy (Williams, Manvell & Bornstein, 2006). Researchers argue that the media is ignoring the bigger issue and is pitting women against each other in a “mommy war” (Arkass, 2013; Kutulas, 1998).

This message can also be found in Hollywood films, television shows, books, radio broadcasts, advertisements and politics (Faludi, 2006; Dickerson, 2005). Researches have argued that no matter the medium, historically women’s workforce participation has been misrepresented. This false representation is not encouraging women to enter the workforce, but rather it is doing the opposite; “these so-called female crises have had their origins . . .in a closed system that starts and ends in the media, popular culture and advertising . . .” (Faludi, 2006).

The Impact of Television

Television is also guilty of framing the issues women face in the workforce as a personal problem. Television “may well be the single most common and pervasive

source of certain sex-related conceptions and actions for large segments of the population” (Gerbener, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1981). Therefore it is important to consider the effects television has on viewers.

Through the decades television shows have portrayed women as stay at home moms, strong career women, and even sometimes successfully handling both, but no matter how these female characters are portrayed, rarely are the actual societal issues addressed; “Yet, the television image has remained limited, demeaning, narrow, and unfavorable” (Gerbener, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1981). Kutulas (1998) argues “Television shows reinforce ubiquitous social messages about having it all, simultaneously validating that goal while failing to suggest adequate institutional means to reach it because doing so would disturb the status quo in frightening ways.” All of this obscures the “real issues effecting women in the 21st century, such as the lack of maternity leave, inadequate childcare provision, and equal pay” (Arkass, 2013) and leads the focus to be on the “mommy wars.” While real women struggle to find a way to have it all, television plot lines suggest that “women’s problems in the workplace have all been solved” (Kutulas, 1998) and now the problem falls to women who must find a way to manage.

The reason it is important that the media stop reflecting these issues as personal problems and start reflecting the actual societal issues is because television impacts the way people think. Cultivation theory states, “Real- world attitudes about society are shaped by the message and depictions portrayed on television” (Miller, 2013). The theory also states that the more television a person watches the more influential it becomes on an individual (Miller, 2013). George Gerbner originally

introduced this theory in 1970, and since then over 80 studies confirmed his theory that television watching does impact viewer's perception of the world (Hetsroni & Tukachinsky, 2006; Potter, 2014).

Research on television's contribution to sex-role socialization has mainly focused on children (Gerbener, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1981; Barner, 1999; Frueh & McGhee, 1975). These studies found that "high amounts of television watching are clearly associated with stronger traditional sex role development" (Frueh & McGhee, 1975) and "for girls, the amount of viewing in early adolescence predicts level of sexism in later adolescence" (Gerbener, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1981). Research has also focused on the effects of television viewing on adults. The basic social roles assigned to female and male characters on prime-time television contribute to the "construction and maintenance of gender stereotypes" (Lauzen, Dozier & Horan, 2008).

The majority of this research tends to center on prime-time television, not specifically on situational comedies. However, it is important to consider sitcoms because they often focus on family. It has been proven that "viewing specific family – centered programs is related to the participants' self-image and ideal image or motherhood (Ex, 2002). Similarly, sitcoms and soap operas can cause viewers to follow more traditional ideologies of motherhood, including their own approaches to motherhood; "this relationship also holds after controlling for education level . . . and age" (Ex, 2002).

The History of Women in Sitcoms

Several studies look at the portrayal of women on television and how it has changed over the decades (O'Brien, 2011; Brancato, 2007; Lauzen, Dozier & Horan, 2008; Signorielli & Kahlenberg, 2001; Tropp, 2006; Mock, 2011; Kutlas, 1998). However, few focus specifically on these changing roles in situational comedies (Mock, 2011; Kutlas, 1998; Tropp, 2006).

The sitcom emerged at the end of the 1940's. After World War II, people wanted simplicity and comfort and sitcoms offered that through the use of nuclear families (Austerlitz, 2014). In the early 1950s, sitcoms "would mirror America, not necessarily as it was, but as it should be: peaceable, middle class, eternally unchanging" (Austerlitz, 2014). Scholars suggest that there were two important phases to the 1950s sitcom. The first phase is referred to as the marital sitcom, this includes shows like *I Married Joan* (1952-55), *Life with Elizabeth* (1953-55), and the famous *I Love Lucy* (1951-1957) (Mock, 2011).

I Love Lucy, one of the first sitcoms, does not confine Lucy to the home, nor does she "fall in line with the brownie-bearing sitcom wives" (Mock, 2011). In the 1950's, Lucy is shown appearing in commercials, at television auditions, and even working in a candy factory for an episode. *I Love Lucy* has drawn the attention of many scholars because the portrayal of Lucy was so different from other female characters (Dalton & Linder, 2005; Kutulas, 1998; Mock, 2011). The progressive attitudes and behaviors shown in Lucy would not continue into the sitcoms to follow (Kutulas, 1998). Even *I Love Lucy* eventually added a child, which changed the feel of the show and Lucy's character (Dalton & Linder, 2005). It was during this time

that sitcoms transitioned to the second phase of the 1950s; “as the decade wore on, the ‘zany women’ receded; in fact, the wife’s role was, in most episodes, subordinated to those of the husband and children” (Mock, 2011).

The sitcoms of the mid 1950’s showed strong images of motherhood, women such as Donna Stone (*The Donna Reed Show*, 1958-66), June Cleaver (*Leave it to Beaver*, 1957-63), and Margaret Anderson (*Father Knows Best*, 1954-63) who were all committed to their families, feminine mystique and happily embraced domestic life (Kutulas, 1998). These women were shown to be the counterparts to their husbands; their role was to be nurturing and understanding (Dalton & Linder, 2005). These sitcoms are said to “reflect the postwar emphasis on men’s family roles” (Larossa, 2004).

Ralph Larossa in, “The Culture of Fatherhood in the Fifties: a Closer Look” examines the roles of fathers in the 1950’s and found “the breadwinner-father married to the homemaker-mother was a powerful symbol at the time;” however, “it was not the only family scenario found on the small screen.” Many situational comedies of the 1950s focused on single father/ father figures, including shows like *My Three Sons* (1960-72) and *The Andy Griffith Show* (1960-68). This era focused on the valuation of the father and disparagement of the mother (Kutulas, 1998). For mother characters during the 1950s and 1960s “having it all” meant “managing a household and family while making it look effortless” (Tropp, 2006). Judy Kutulas (1998) writes in “‘Do I Look Like a Chick?’ Men, Women, and Babies on Sitcom Maternity Shows,” “If *I Love Lucy* portrayed a gender war, in shows like *Leave It To Beaver* and *Father*

Knows Best, such a war was unnecessary because mothers knew (or learned) their place.”

By the start of the 1970s women did not want to be June Cleaver; in fact, they feared being the sweet, invisible housewife (Dalton & Linder, 2005). In an attempt to appeal to Baby Boomers, television shows transitioned to “relevancy comedies” (Dalton & Linder, 2005) and “Feminist TV” (Kutulas, 1998). Kutulas (1998) argues that sitcoms at this time focused on equal workplace rights. These sitcoms distinguished between and showed women choosing between working and motherhood; “In the process, however, they implicitly categorized feminism (which was nearly synonymous on TV with women’s careers) as selfish” (Kutulas, 1998). Kutulas (1998) focuses on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970-77), *Rhoda* (1974-78), and *Maude* (1972-78) as prime examples of “Feminist TV.” Kutulas explains these shows all presented “superwomen” who were strong, independent, and competent, but who did not rock the boat or try to change men. The women were career driven, and a popular plot point focused on these women fearing pregnancy. Kutulas refers to Margaret Hoolihan (*M*A*S*H*, 1972-83), Rhoda Morgenstern (*Rhoda*, 1974-78) and Maude Findlay (*Maude*, 1972-78) as three female characters that experience the possibility of an unwanted pregnancy. These women feared pregnancy because it would affect their careers. Through several examples, researchers suggest that in 1970s situational comedies changed the portrayal of women to be either career women or mothers, but rarely both (Kutulas, 1998; Dalton & Linder, 2005). And by the end of the 1970s, “TV mothers were liberated; they donned suits, found jobs, and talk about finding themselves” (Kutulas, 1998).

By the start of the 1980s many sitcoms were about women “having it all,” which no longer meant effortlessly managing a family and home, but having a successful marriage, career, and raising a family (O’Briend, 2011; Tropp, 2006). Studies have been conducted that look at this phenomenon through television mothers like Clair Huxtable (*Cosby Show*, 1984-92), Maggie Seaver (*Growing Pains*, 1985-92), and Elyse Keaton (*Family Ties*, 1982-98) (O’Briend, 2011). The 1980s revived the family sitcom and these television mothers did not have to choose between work and family, but were shown to successfully “have it all,” while real life moms struggled to do the same (O’Briend, 2011; Dalton & Linder, 2005). Sitcoms in the 1980’s encouraged women to have a family and a career, but did so unrealistically and with “little information or resources to achieve this unattainable status” (Tropp, 2006).

Kutulas (1998) claims that by the mid-1980s sitcoms shifted to guilt ridden mothers who had missed their children’s first steps, had messy homes, and unsatisfied husbands, “they gained fulfillment; their husbands lost hot meals and matched socks and their children lost mommy.” Kutulas (1998) references Charlene on *Designing Women* (1986-93) who states, “I’m missing everything,” and then becomes a stay-at-home mom, and Murphy Brown (*Murphy Brown*, 1988-98) who cuts back on her job when she has a baby, without ever asking anything of her employer.

Kutulas (1998) suggests that the guilt plot points transitioned into baby-yearning plots in the 1990’s that warned women to pursue their career at their own risk. On *Mad About You* (1992-99), Jamie states “I am the Mommy . . . I can do this,” referencing becoming a working mother (Kutulas, 1998). Kutulas (1998) writes, “In a

few short lines, thus, *Mad About You* characterizes babies as women's work that women can- and should – manage on their own.” In “Faking a Sonogram: Representation of Motherhood on *Sex and the City*,” Laura Tropp (2006) examines how guilt and baby-yearning plots continued into the 1990s by looking specifically at the sitcom *Sex and the City* (1998-2004). Tropp (2006) discusses Miranda's pregnancy on the show and how she is never shown to negotiate maternity leave. Tropp (2006) states that although *Sex and the City* is a progressive show that explores women's issues, “Miranda does not dwell on the larger institutional structures in place that prevent her from easily balancing work and family.”

Statistical analysis of the number of working female characters on television in the 1990s and early 2000s (Lauzen, Dozier & Horan, 2008; Signorielli & Kahlenberg, 2001; Signorielli, 2009), do not look specifically at situational comedies. Signorielli and Kahlenberg (2001) found that on prime-time television in the 1990s fewer females than males were shown to be working and more single women were portrayed as working compared to married women. Based on prime-time shows airing during the 2005-2006 season, female characters are more likely to partake in interpersonal roles involving romance, family, and friends, while male characters are more likely to enact work-related roles (Lauzen, Dozier & Horan, 2008). This data suggests that in the 1990's and 2000's television showed women who were not married were able to enter the working world and break through gender norms, but those with husbands held more traditional female roles. (Signorielli & Kahlenberg, 2001). Signorielli and Kahlenbeg (2001) argue that these shows are suggesting that women must choose between a successful marriage and a career, “if you do not want

to be part of the world of traditional women's work, you can not be married.”

In the article “Not so Modern Family: Top Sitcoms make for Sexist, Inaccurate Television” Michelle Haimoff (2012) argues that when it comes to the portrayal of female characters the most popular recent sitcoms, including *The Big Bang Theory* (2007-), *Modern Family* (2009-), *Two Broke Girls* (2011-), *Two and a Half Men* (2003-15), and *How I Met Your Mother* (2005-14), they seem to be misrepresenting women's workforce participation worse now than in the past. Haimoff examines the jobs each of the characters is portrayed to have on these shows and concludes, “the male characters are professionally accomplished, while the female characters are almost all unemployed or financially struggling.”

Haimoff, like others who have researched the portrayal of women on situational comedies, based their finding off of their personal perception and then backed it by citing specific shows. I could find no statistical analysis on how female characters on the most popular sitcoms of each decade have actually been portrayed and if that portrayal has changed in the past 60 years. The statistical analysis that has been done has been focused on a single decade, and never just on situational comedies.

Research Questions and Methodology

This study addresses three main research hypotheses:

- I. Women's participation rate in the workforce has been accurately portrayed on sitcoms
- II. There has been an increase in the portrayal of working mothers on sitcoms over the last five decades
- III. Although it is suspected that sitcoms portray women's participation rate accurately, they do not accurately reflect the workforce participation rates of mothers.

These hypotheses are based off conclusions from previous studies that have analyzed television, and my own personal perception of what television has been portraying.

To answer these three questions, a content analysis was conducted on 100 shows between 1950 and 2010. A content analysis is the examination of any form of communication to determine the presence of certain concepts in a specific form of communication. In this study the form of communication is sitcoms, and they are being examined for their portrayal of female characters. The purpose of a content analysis is to turn qualitative data into quantitative data.

In order to qualify for a decade a show had to make the Top 25 Most Watched Shows list published in "The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network and Cable TV Shows" (Brooks, 2000) at least twice in the decade, except for the 1950s when only four sitcoms made the top 25 list for the decade twice. To include more shows for that decade any sitcom that made the list at least once was considered. This

resulted in 100 shows between 1950 and 2010 to be examined. Due to the changing popularity of situational comedies this method meant a different number of shows were analyzed for each decade. The 1950s had the fewest with six sitcoms making the top 25 list, whereas the 1970 and 1990 had the most with 21 shows each. There were 18 shows analyzed for the 1960, 20 shows for the 1980s, and 14 shows for the 2000s. Despite these differences, using the top 25 list was the most reliable method to ensure the most popular sitcoms were being analyzed, since the more popular the sitcom the more people it was potentially impacting. It can also be assumed that the most popular shows of a decade are a good representation of the type of shows viewers were interested in at the time. If a show made the top 25 list in more than one decade than it was considered to be part of the decade that it made the list more times. After choosing which situational comedies to include in the study the female characters that were seen as main characters on the show were included in the study. The number of characters analyzed for each decade also varied. In the 1950s nine female characters were considered to be main characters, for the 1960s 21 characters made the list, 1970s 31 characters, 1980s 28 characters, 1990 31 characters and for the 2000s 28 female characters were analyzed. This resulted in a list of 100 shows and 149 women to be examined.

Of the 100 shows eight of them were considered to not have any female leads that were appropriate for the analysis; either because the female characters were not considered main characters, or the female characters were not old enough to be considered in the study. These shows include *My Three Sons* (1960-65), *Family Affair* (1966-71), *Gomer Pyle* (1964-69), *Hogan's Heroes* (1965-71), *Barney Miller* (1975-

82), *Chico and the Man* (1974-78), *A Different World* (1987-93), and *Spin City* (1996-2002). A complete list of the 92 shows and 149 female characters used in the analysis can be found in Appendix A.

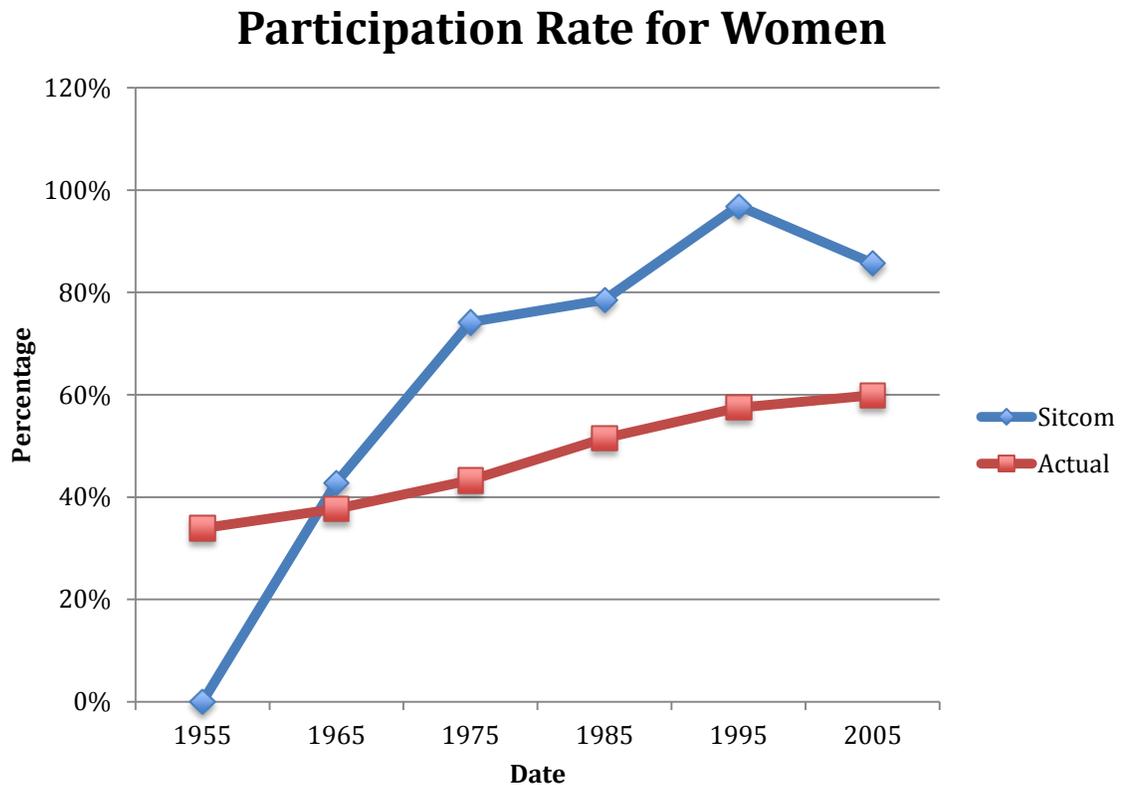
For the content analysis, the 149 major female characters were placed into categories based on their workforce portrayal. These categories include employment status, marital status, and number of children. To account for the changing portrayal of characters, a character had to fall into the category for more than a season. For example, at the end of some series, such as *Friends* (1994-2004), a child will be added to the show. However, for this study this would not make the character a mother. The same would be true if a character were to get married for a few episodes and then divorced or if a character was shown to get a job for a single episode. For example in *The Honeymooners* (1955-1956) season 1 episode 9, Ralph gets laid off from his job as a bus driver so his wife decides to get a job. Since Alice is shown to be working for this episode only, she is not considered employed. It was also decided that for a character that was not said to be married for plot purposes, but was otherwise portrayed as married was said to be married for the purpose of the study. This only happened once for Abby O'Neil in *Dharma and Greg* (1997-2002). These stipulations helped with the consistency of the data.

Results

Research Question 1:

As expected, a comparison of means did not result in a statistically significant difference in the depiction of working women on sitcoms and women in the labor market. Figure 1 compares the U.S participation rate for women to the percentage of women portrayed to be working on sitcoms for each of the six decades. Other than in the 1950s, where zero were shown to have a job, sitcoms depicted more women working than the number of women actually participating in the labor force. The numbers were the most similarly related in the 1960s, when the women's participation rate was 37.7% and 43% of female characters were shown to be working. Over the next four decades the U.S women's participation rate steadily increased from 43.3% in the 1970s, to 59.9% in the 2000s. The portrayal of working women also increased in the 1970s (74%), 1980s (79%) and peaked in the 1990s at 97%. It then decreased to 86% in the 2000s, but the portrayal of working women on sitcoms was still higher than the actual participation rate (59.9%). A t-test rejected the null hypothesis meaning the difference between women's labor force participation and sitcoms portrayal of women working is insignificant. This supports the first hypothesis, that sitcoms have been accurately portraying women's workforce participation rate.

Figure 1: Participation rate of female characters on sitcoms compared to actual U.S. labor statistics (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2007).



Research Question 2:

A regression analysis confirmed a statistically significant increase in mother's workforce participation over the last five decades. Figure 2 shows the results of the regression analysis. One dependent variable was used in the study: the likelihood of a female character being portrayed as working. A dummy variable was used to indicate if a female character was portrayed as married, working, and a mother. The relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variables were

examined using logit regression analysis in Stata. All three of the variables were statistically significant.

Figure 2: Regression Analysis of collected show data

	(1)
	Working
HaveKids	392.7*
	(2.27)
Decade	0.260**
	(3.01)
HaveKids # Decade	-0.200*
	(-2.27)
Married	-2.077***
	(-3.77)
Constant	-509.3**
	(-3.01)
Observations	149

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 3 and 4 show the marginal effects, demonstrating changes in the likelihood of a female character being portrayed as a working mother with the change of each decade. All of the results are significant at the 99% confidence level. The marginal effects show that with each decade a female characters likelihood of being shown as a working mother increases. A mother in the 1960s has a 43.2% chance of working. The likelihood of working increases over the decades. In the 1970s the likelihood increases by 54.84%, in the 80s it increases by 66.37%, in the 1990s it increases by 76.74%, and In the 2000s it increases to 85%. These results agree with

the hypothesis that there has been an increase in the portrayal of working mothers on sitcoms in the past five decades.

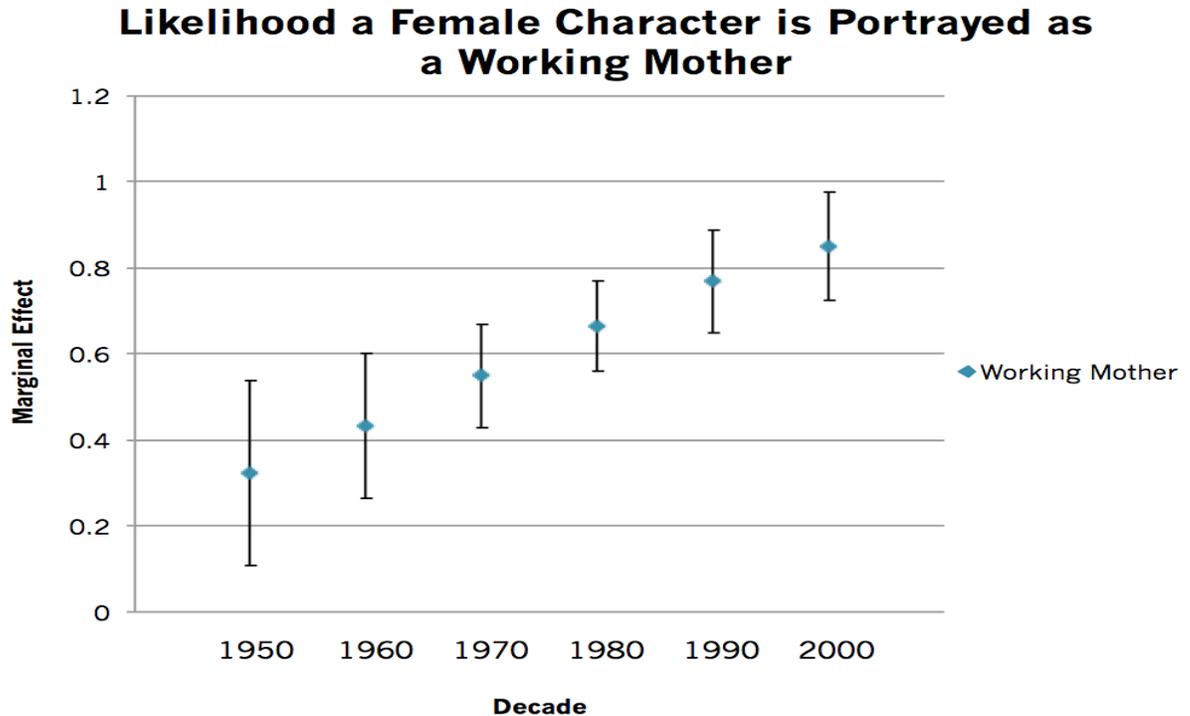
Figure 3: Marginal effects for likelihood for female character to be shown as a working mother

1950	0.3222725*** (2.95)
1960	0.432074*** (5.04)
1970	0.5483982*** (8.91)
1980	0.6636669*** (12.47)
1990	0.7674391*** (12.62)
2000	0.850234*** (13.18)

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 4: Graph of marginal effects for likelihood for female character to be shown as a working mother



Research Question 3:

A comparison of means did not result in a statistically significant difference in workforce participation between working mothers on sitcoms and women in society.

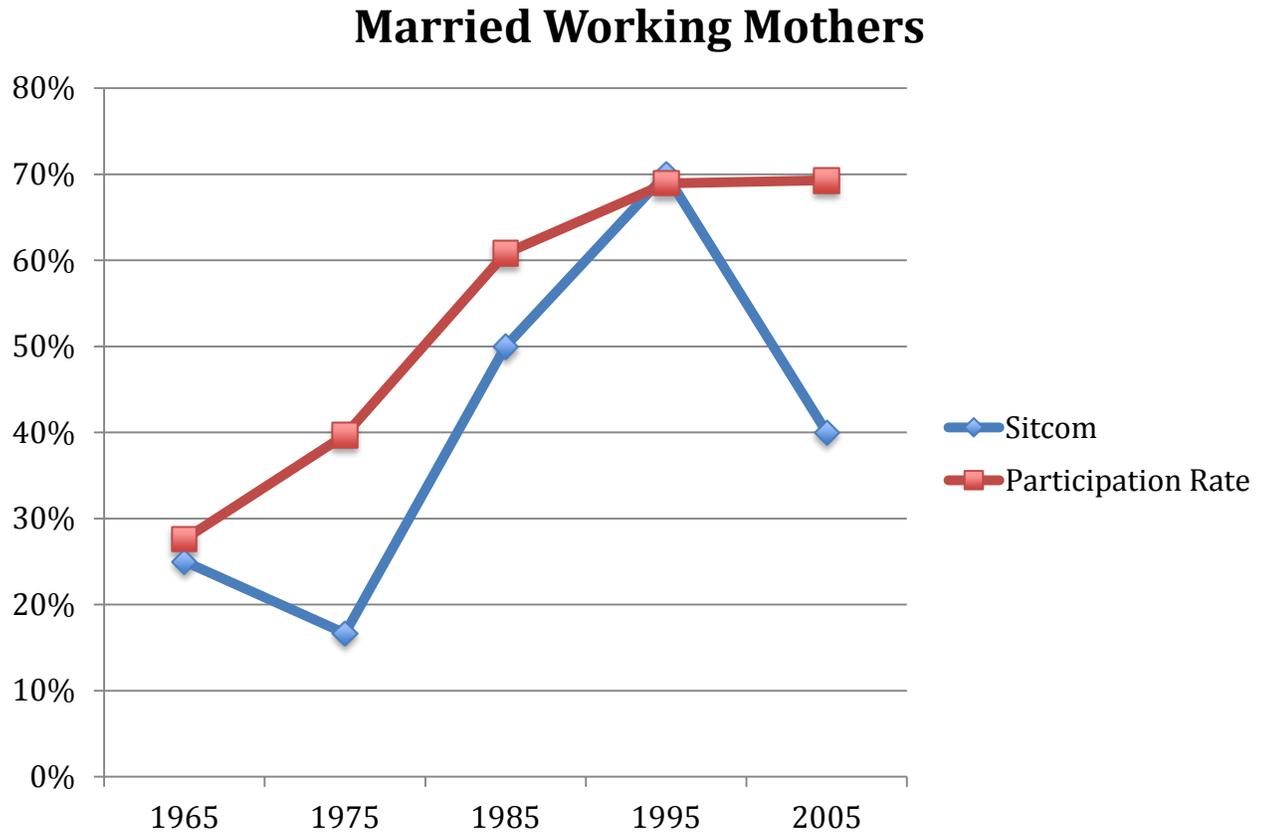
Figure 5 compares the U.S participation rate for married working mothers to the percentage of married mothers portrayed to be working on sitcoms for each of the five decades. The 1950s was not included in the comparison because the labor statistics for married working mothers was not available for the decade. Therefore only the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s were included.

The portrayal of married working mothers was the most similar in the 1960s and the 1990s. In the 1960s the portrayal on sitcoms was 25% and the U.S

participation rate for the decade was 27.6%. The percentage of married working women portrayed on sitcoms was less than the actual participation rate for every decade except for the 1990s when the participation rate for married working mothers was 68.94% compared to 70% for the sitcom portrayal. The 1990s was the peak for the sitcom portrayal of married working mothers. For the following decade there was a large decrease in number women depicted as married working mothers on sitcoms. The U.S participation rate increased slightly to 69.3% in the 2000s, but the sitcom portrayal dropped to 40%. This number is similar to the actual U.S participation rate in the 1970s (39.7%). In the 1970s the sitcom portrayal of married working mothers was at its lowest point at 16.6%.

A t-test rejected the null hypothesis meaning the difference between the sitcom portrayal of married working mothers and the actual participation rate is insignificant. This insignificance is most likely due to the small sample size. However, these findings counter the third hypothesis. Although the portrayal of married working mothers on sitcoms is below the actual U.S participation rate for every decade except for the 1990s, the difference is not statistically significant.

Figure 5: Participation rate of female characters portrayed as married working mothers on sitcoms compared to actual U.S labor statistics (U.S Census Bureau, 2015).



Discussion

Although the third research hypothesis was rejected, Figure 5 shows interesting data, especially in the 2000s, where the sitcom portrayal of working mothers decreases. The recent divergence in mother's participation rate between actual labor statistics and the portrayal on sitcoms in the most recent decade aligns with observations made by researchers such as Kutulas (1998), and Tropp (2006). These researchers, along with others, looked at the transformation of sitcoms of the past six decades. Kutulas concluded that 1980's saw a shift to guilt-ridden mothers, which shifted further to baby-yearning plots in the 90's. Furthermore, Faludi (2006), Arkass (2013), and Dickerson (2005) concluded other media sources were also heavily focusing on the "Mommy Wars" at the turn of the century. Trend journalism at this time could have helped lead to less working mothers being depicted on television in the 2000s. Based on previous studies (Arkass, 2013; Dickerson, 2005; Faludi, 2006), the trend for the 2000s was to show fewer working mothers in the media. Understanding this trend helps explain the decrease in the portrayal of married working mothers on sitcoms in the 2000s.

Arguably sitcoms are reflective of society, and mothers opting out of the workforce in the 2000 would explain the decrease in working mothers portrayed on sitcoms. The female labor force participation rate in the United States peaked in the 1990s with 60% of the females participating in the job market. Since then this number has decreased slightly and was at 56.8% in 2016. In Figure 1, it can be seen that there was a decline in the percentage of women on sitcoms working in the 2000. This decrease was from 97% in the 1990 to 86% in the 2000s. Therefore, it is possible that

sitcoms over portrayed the decline in the female labor force participation rate in the 2000s; however, the average participation rate for married working mothers did not decrease. The decrease seen in Figure 1 is rather small compared to the decrease in the portrayal of married working mothers, which decreased from 70% in the 1990s to 40% in the 2000s. This decrease cannot easily be explained by sitcoms being reflective of society because in the United States the percentage of working married mothers increased from 68.4% to 69.3%. If sitcoms were being reflective of what was happening in society then this number would have either increased or leveled out, not decreased by 30 percentage points. Therefore it would be more reasonable to conclude that television is not reflective of society, but rather is directive. Based on this reasoning and media's known impact on women's perception of their roles in society the recent divergence in mother's participation rate should be a concern.

As previously discussed, Cultivation Theory argues that viewers perception of reality is impacted by television. Researchers such as Gerbener, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1981), Barner (1999), Frueh & McGhee (1975) found that television watching could impact women's perception of gender norms and their role in society. Therefore, if the decline in mother's portrayal on sitcoms continues it could have a negative impact on women's perception of being able to successfully handle a career and family. Faludi (2006) concluded that news programming had the ability to impact women's perception enough to alter labor statistics, and since sitcoms are the most popular genre on television it seems like a good assumption that sitcoms could have a similar impact.

Not a single one of the sitcoms analyzed for the 2000s show that the reason a woman struggles to be a working mother is due to societal issues. Instead, the shows suggest that it is the mother's responsibility to take care of the children and that if she wants to live a career driven life she better not have children. Debra Barone (*Everybody Loves Raymond*, 1996-2005), Kim Warner, and Christine Hughes, (*Yes Dear*, 2000-2006) are all shown to be happy housewives similar to those shown in the 50s and 60s. And perhaps even more concerning is that not very many mothers are shown in sitcoms in general in the 2000s. Of the 28 main female characters evaluated for the decade, only 8 of them are shown to have children. Therefore, these shows are not necessarily showing stay at home moms, but are instead depicting career driven women who do not have time for children. Women like Amy Farrah Fowler a neurobiologist, (*Big Bang Theory*, 2007), Elliot Reid (*Scrubs*, 2001-2010) a doctor, Margaret Wyborn (*Becker*, 1998-2004), a nurse and Audrey Bingham (*Rules of Engagement*, 2007-2013) a magazine editor. Each of these characters are shown to be successful career women, but none of them are shown to have children. It is good that sitcoms are showing women being successful in their careers, but there is a growing lack of representation for successful married working mothers. Of there 28 main female characters looked at in the 2000s, only two of the women are shown to be married working mothers, Carla Espinosa (*Scrubs*, 2001-2010) and Judy Miller (*Still Standing*, 2002-2006), and only three others are shown to be single working mothers. Sitcoms of the 2000s are not showing an accurate depiction of the U.S labor force, and therefore, may be causing women to have a skewed perception of their role in society.

Ultimately, if sitcoms and other forms of media today are framing the issues women face in the workforce as personal problems, then it is no surprise that so many women give up their careers to be mothers, or when they must keep working they opt for “mommy-track” jobs. Neither one of these choices allows for a woman to continue to climb the career ladder, so there is also no surprise that there are so few women in upper management position or that women face a motherhood penalty. It is also no surprise that there is a lack of support from companies and the government. The media is not the only contributor to this issue, but it is supporting it by sending the wrong message and misrepresenting working mothers. Kutulas (1998) states, “Television both echoes and contributes to a females experience where pervasive social guilt about never being good enough turns liberation back onto women and makes its limitations their fault.” The media is telling women this is how it should be, and until the messages the media is sending changes we cannot expect society to focus on and change the real issues affecting women in the 21st century.

Based off the findings in this study it would appear sitcoms portrayal of working mothers is following other media. In previous decades sitcoms had a more accurate representation of married working mothers, but in the most recent decade it is a less accurate portrayal. The portrayal now better aligns with the stories being told by other forms of media that are suggesting women are opting out of the workforce to be moms.

Future Research and Limitations

In order to conclude that sitcoms are directive and not reflective of society, more research needs to be conducted. Future research on sitcoms in following decades could build on this study. Data on future sitcoms would help give a better understanding of the impact sitcoms can have on viewers. More data points could also help with statistical analysis. Currently there are only six decades of sitcoms to look at, which limits the amount of data that can be collected. For this study there was also a limitation on time and therefore the number of shows analyzed had to also be limited. With more time, more sitcoms could be added to the study. By looking at more than just the top sitcoms of each decade there would be an even better understanding of the portrayal of women in each decade, and how that portrayal has changed. Another limitation was there are fewer sitcoms to analyze in the 1950s than any other decade. Even with considering every sitcom that made the top 25 most watched shows list in the 1950s only six shows and nine female characters were analyzed for the decade. The small amount of data could have skewed the results for the decade.

A cross-cultural study would also be beneficial for expanding on this study. It would be interesting to see how other countries portray women in sitcoms and how it compares to the labor statistics in that country. This would also allow for an analysis of related laws in these countries, such as maternity and paternity leave and paid time off, and compare that to the portrayal of female characters on television. A study like this could help support the argument that if television and media focus on the wrong issues then the problems will not be addressed properly.

It would also be beneficial to have a study that examines exclusively the impact sitcoms have on viewer's perception of society, and more specifically the impact sitcoms have on women's perceptions. One potential study design would be to collect survey data on young women's sitcom viewing habits, and then analyze their individual perceptions of women's roles in society in relationship to their volume of sitcom viewership. Studies on television's contribution to sex-role typically focus on the impacts on children (Gerbener, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1981; Barner, 1999; Frueh & McGhee, 1975), or on prime-time television (Lauzen, Dozier & Horan, 2008). It would be beneficial to study the impact sitcoms have on young women's perception of their role in society. A study like this would allow for a better understanding of whether television is reflective or directive of society. It would also allow for a better understanding of the impacts sitcoms can have on viewers, and if the current decline in the representation of married working mothers should be a concern.

Further research on the impacts of sitcoms on viewer's perception, and a cross cultural examination of situational comedies would allow for a more definite conclusion of whether sitcoms are more reflective or directive. However, the results from this study suggest that sitcoms may be directive of society. Therefore the recent divergence in women's participation rate and the sitcom portrayal of working women should be a concern because it could be negatively impacting women's perception of their role in society. After all it's hard to be what you can't see.

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Appendix A: List of Shows and Character Traits**1950s:**

Show Title	Name	Working Mother	Married	Working	Mother	Number of Children
I Love Lucy	Lucy Ricardo	0	1	0	1	1
I Love Lucy	Ethel Mertz	0	1	0	0	0
Father Knows Best	Margaret Anderson	0	1	0	1	3
December Bride	Lily Ruskin	0	0	0	0	1
December Bride	Ruth Henshaw	0	1	0	0	0
December Bride	Hilda Crocker	0	0	0	0	0
Amos n' Andy	Sapphire Stevens	0	1	0	0	0
The Honeymooners	Alice	0	1	0	0	0
Aldrich Family	Alice Aldrich	0	1	0	1	2

1960s:

Show Title	Name	Working Mother	Married	Working	Mother	Number of Children
The Andy Grffith Show	Aunt Bee	0	0	0	0	0
Bewitched	Samantha Stephens	0	1	0	1	2
The Beverly Hillbillies	Granny	0	0	0	0	0
The Beverly Hillbillies	Elly May	0	0	0	0	0
The Beverly Hillbillies	Margaret Drysdale	0	1	0	0	0
The Lucy Show	Lucille Carmichael	1	0	1	1	2
The Dick Van Dyke Show	Laura Petrie	0	1	0	1	1
The Dick Van Dyke Show	Sally Rogers	0	0	1	0	0
Green Acres	Lisa Douglas	0	1	1	0	0
Petticoat Junction	Kate Bradley	1	0	1	1	3
The Danny Thomas Show	Margaret Williams	0	1	0	1	2

The Danny Thomas Show	Kathy O'Hara	0	1	0	1	3
Hazel	Hazel Burke	0	0	1	0	0
Hazel	Dorothy Baxter	1	1	1	1	1
Flintstones	Wilma Flintstone	0	1	0	1	1
Flintstones	Betty Rubble	0	1	0	1	1
Gilligan's Island	Eunice Howell	0	1	0	0	0
Gilligan's Island	Ginger Grant	0	0	1	0	0
The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis	Winnie Gillis	1	1	1	1	2
The Real McCoys	Kate McCoy	0	1	0	0	0
My Favorite Martian	Lorelei Brown	1	0	1	1	1

1970s:

Show Title	Name	Working Mother	Married	Working	Mother	Number of Children
The Mary Tyler Moore Show	Mary Richards	0	0	1	0	0
The Mary Tyler Moore Show	Rhoda Morgenstern	0	0	1	0	0
The Mary Tyler Moore Show	Phyllis Lindstrom	1	1	1	1	1
All in the Family	Edith Bunker	0	1	0	0	1
All in the Family	Gloria Stivic	0	1	1	1	1
M*A*S*H	Margaret Houlihan	0	0	1	0	0
Happy Days	Marion Cunningham	0	1	0	1	2
One Day at a Time	Ann Romano	1	0	1	1	2
Maude	Maude Findlay	0	1	0	0	1
Maude	Carol Traynor	1	0	1	1	1
The Jeffersons	Louise Jefferson	0	1	0	0	1
Laverne and Shirley	Laverne DeFazio	0	0	1	0	0
Laverne and Shirley	Shirley Feeney	0	0	1	0	0
Three's Company	Janet Wood	0	0	1	0	0
Three's Company	Chrissy Snow	0	0	1	0	0

Here's Lucy	Lucy Carter	1	0	1	1	2
Good Times	Florida Evans	0	1	0	1	3
Good Times	Willona Woods	1	0	1	1	1
Rhoda	Rhoda Morgenstern	0	1	1	0	0
Rhoda	Brenda	0	0	1	0	0
Alice	Alice Hyatt	1	0	1	1	1
Alice	Flo Castleberry	0	0	1	0	0
Alice	Vera Gorman	0	1	1	0	0
Soap	Jessica Tate	0	1	0	1	3
Soap	Mary Campbell	0	1	0	1	2
Bob Newhart Show	Emily Hartley	0	1	1	0	0
Bob Newhart Show	Carol Kester	0	1	1	0	0
The Doris Day Show	Doris Martin	1	0	1	1	2
The Partridge Family	Shirley Partridge	0	0	0	1	5
Welcome Back Kotter	Julie Kotter	0	1	1	0	0
Taxi	Elaine O'Connor Nardo	1	0	1	1	2

1980s:

Show Title	Name	Working Mother	Married	Working	Mother	Number of Children
Cheers	Diane Chambers	0	0	1	0	0
Cheers	Carla Tortelli	1	0	1	1	8
Cheers	Rebecca Howe	0	0	1	0	0
The Cosby Show	Clair Huxtable	1	1	1	1	5
The Golden Girls	Dorothy Zbornak	0	0	1	0	2
The Golden Girls	Rose Nylund	0	0	1	0	5
The Golden Girls	Blanche Devereaux	0	0	1	0	6
The Golden Girls	Sophia Petrillo	0	0	0	0	3
Growing Pains	Maggie Malone Seaver	1	1	1	1	4
Newhart	Joanna Loudon	0	1	1	0	0
Newhart	Stephanie Vanderkellen	0	0	1	0	0
Kate and Allie	Kate McArdle	1	0	1	1	1

Kate and Allie	Allie Lowell	0	0	0	1	2
Family Ties	Elyse Keaton	1	1	1	1	4
Who's the Boss	Angela Bower	1	0	1	1	1
Archie Bunker's Place	Ellen Canby	0	0	1	0	0
Amen	Thelma Frye	0	1	0	0	0
The Wonder Years	Norma Arnold	0	1	0	1	3
Too Close For Comfort	Muriel Rush	0	1	1	0	2
The Facts of Life	Edna Garrett	0	0	1	0	0
227	Mary Jenkins	0	1	0	1	1
227	Rose Holloway	1	0	1	1	1
Alf	Kate Tanner	0	1	0	1	2
Head of the Class	Bernadette Meara	0	0	1	0	0
Empty Nest	Carol Weston	0	0	1	0	0
Empty Nest	Barbara Weston	0	0	1	0	0
Dear John	Louise Mercer	1	0	1	1	1
Dear John	Kate McCarron	0	0	1	0	0

1990s:

Show Title	Name	Working Mother	Married	Working	Mother	Number of Children
Frasier	Roz Doyle	1	0	1	1	1
Frasier	Daphne Moon	0	1	1	0	0
Roseanne	Roseanne Conner	1	1	1	1	4
Friends	Rachel Green	1	0	1	1	1
Friends	Phoebe Buffay	0	0	1	0	0
Friends	Monica Geller	0	1	1	0	0
Seinfeld	Elaine Benes	0	0	1	0	0
Home Improvement	Jill Taylor	1	1	1	1	3
Murphy Brown	Murphy Brown	1	0	1	1	1
Murphy Brown	Corky Sherwood	0	0	1	0	0
Full House	Becky	1	1	1	1	2
Coach	Christine Armstrong	0	1	1	0	0
The Drew Carey Show	Mimi Bobeck	0	0	1	0	0
Fresh Prince of Bel Air	Vivian Banks	1	1	1	1	3

Grace Under Fire	Grace Kelly	1	0	1	1	3
Mad About You	Jamie Buchman	0	1	1	1	1
Dharma and Greg	Dharma Montgomery	0	1	1	0	0
Dharma and Greg	Abby O'Neil	0	1	0	1	2
Designing Women	Julia Sugarbaker	0	0	1	0	1
Designing Women	Mary Jo Shively	1	0	1	1	2
Designing Women	Suzanne Sugarbaker	0	0	1	0	0
Designing Women	Charlene Frazier-Stillfield	0	1	1	1	1
Major Dad	Polly Cooper	1	1	1	1	3
Evening Shade	Ava Newton	1	1	1	1	4
Wings	Helen Chappel-Hackett	0	1	1	0	0
Love and War	Dana Palladino	0	0	1	0	0
Love and War	Meg Tynan	0	0	1	0	0
Love and War	Nadine Berkus	0	1	1	0	2
Dave's World	Beth Barry	1	1	1	1	2
Dave's World	Mia	0	0	1	0	0
The Nanny	Fran Fine	0	0	1	0	0
The Nanny	C. C. Babcock	0	0	1	0	0

2000s:

Show Title	Name	Working Mother	Married	Working	Mother	Number of Children
Everybody Loves Raymond	Debra Barone	0	1	0	1	3
Everybody Loves Raymond	Marie Barone	0	1	0	0	2
King of Queens	Carrie Heffernan	0	1	1	0	0
Two and a Half Men	Evelyn Harper	0	0	1	0	2
Two and a Half Men	Berta	0	0	1	0	3
Will and Grace	Grace Adler	0	0	1	0	0
Will and Grace	Karen Walker	0	0	1	0	0
Becker	Margaret Wyborn	0	1	1	0	0

Becker	Linda	0	0	1	0	0
Yes Dear	Kim Warner	0	1	0	1	2
Yes Dear	Christine Hughes	0	1	0	1	2
Rules of Engagement	Audrey Bingham	0	1	1	0	0
Rules of Engagement	Jennifer Rhodes	0	0	1	0	0
Just Shoot Me!	Maya Gallo	0	0	1	0	0
Just Shoot Me!	Nina Van Horn	0	0	1	0	0
Scrubs	Elliot Reid	0	0	1	0	0
Scrubs	Carla Espinosa	1	1	1	1	2
Still Standing	Judy Miller	1	1	1	1	3
The New Adventures of Old Christine	Christine Campbell	1	0	1	1	1
The New Adventures of Old Christine	Barb Baran	0	0	1	0	0
Ugly Betty	Betty Suarez	0	0	1	0	0
Ugly Betty	Wilhelmina Slater	1	0	1	1	1
Ugly Betty	Hilda Suarez	1	0	1	1	1
Ugly Betty	Amanda Tanen	0	0	1	0	0
Samantha Who	Sam Newly	0	0	1	0	0
Big Bang Theory	Penny	0	1	1	0	0
Big Bang Theory	Amy Farrah Fowler	0	0	1	0	0
Big Bang Theory	Bernadette	0	1	1	0	0

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