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Dress, dialogue, and gender in The Mary Tyler Moore Show from 1970-1977

Ashley Hayes
Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, ahaye11@tigers.lsu.edu

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DRESS, DIALOGUE, AND GENDER IN THE MARY TYLER MOORE SHOW
FROM 1970-1977

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
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by
Ashley Hayes
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ABSTRACT

*The Mary Tyler Moore Show* has been recognized as the first television program to feature a single career oriented female, the lead character Mary Richards. Many aspects of the show have been researched, including whether Mary Richards could be considered a true feminist role model. The show, which aired from 1970-1977, is important as it reflects both a change in television culture as well as a change in American culture.

This purpose of this study is to examine how comments regarding Mary Richard’s dress depicted her gender role throughout the seven years the series aired. In addition, the study examines if gender roles on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* reflected by changes in perceived gender roles in America at that time.

A sample of 91 episodes, out of the 168 total episodes (54 percent of the total population), was used and data collection included questions on the type of comments made regarding Mary’s dress. Thirty-seven comments were recorded, the most frequent being made by Mary Richards herself. None of the comments made rejected traditional gender roles, although comments were less likely to support these roles in the later years of the show. An important example of Mary’s dress and gender role is when she first wore pants to the workplace in 1972. However, Mary wearing pants to work occurred years later than many women wearing pants in the corporate workplace in America.

Based on this qualitative research, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was behind the changing cultural norms in society from 1970-1977. The biggest issues, as well as the biggest change in gender roles took place in the third and fourth season of the show (1972-1974). Mary’s gender role was identified as traditional at the beginning of the series but slowly evolved into less traditional, although it was never ahead of the curve.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since making their way into American homes in the 1950s, televisions have influenced and transformed nearly every level of society and culture. With the right mix of an interesting storyline, magnetic characters, and a certain je ne sais quoi, a television show can transcend its entertainment value and establish itself as a cultural icon, a feat that only a handful of shows have accomplished. One such program was The Mary Tyler Moore Show, which debuted in 1970 and aired for seven seasons until 1977. The show was met with critical and audience acclaims and introduced new issues in television storylines (Dow, 1996). The first of its kind, the show had a contemporary attitude that featured main character Mary Richards as a single, career-oriented woman. Mary Richards stands apart from other female lead characters of the time because her character was subjected to issues involving gender roles in the workplace.

Although The Mary Tyler Moore Show brought a new perspective to television programming, the producers were careful not to overwhelm the audience with a radical and progressive way of thinking (Crozier, 2008).

This study focuses on the dress of the main character, Mary Richards, in The Mary Tyler Moore Show. As defined by Roach-Higgins and Eicher, (1992) “dress of an individual is an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body” (pg. 1). Dress is a term that envelopes more than just what someone is wearing; it includes adornment from makeup and hairstyles, as well as body modifications such as tattoos and piercings. Dress is comprised of several elements working together. Although the word “dress” is often interchanged with words like “costume” and “apparel”, dress is an all encompassing term that infers meaning and
symbols from the way we look (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992), and therefore it is the appropriate word used for this study.

The show left not only an impression on television but also on scholars. A plethora of research has been completed on nearly every aspect of the show (e.g. Bathrick, 2003; Douglas, 1994; Dow, 1996; and Lentz, 2000). Bathrick (2003) studied and critiqued Mary’s role both at work and in her personal life. Other researchers, including Lentz (2000), have studied *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* in relation to a society whose social norms were changing at the time of the show. Although the show did seem to be a frontrunner for women’s equality in television at the time, Dow (1996) studied the aspects of the show and its characters that represented traditional gender roles, whether blatantly or subtly.

Taking a fresh approach to a subject that seems to have been thoroughly researched is challenging. Many of Mary’s actions and words have been analyzed and reanalyzed. However, there is lack of published information about her dress in the show. Dress and television are both indicators of a cultural climate (Lennon, 1990). This study aims at combining the dress and dialogue from *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* to better understand the cultural climate of this time. The research questions in this study are:

How do comments regarding Mary’s dress reflect her gender role throughout *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* from 1970-1977? Is this gender role consistent with changes in gender roles in society?

By looking at a television show produced and set in the 1970’s, a retrospective analysis of how culture has evolved can be achieved (Dow, 1996). Character development is one way of looking at the influence of a changing culture on television. Changes in dress are directly related to changes in social roles. Evolving gender roles can be directly observed through dress because
dress serves as a symbol of those socially accepted roles (Lennon, 1990). *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* is significant because it was the first television show to have a single, career oriented female lead character. It is important to evaluate this television show because of its cultural significance and its influences on many other television shows concerning female lead characters (Dow, 1996).

All seven seasons of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* were evaluated for changes in the way gender roles were perceived. This was accomplished by investigating the comments made both by Mary Richards and other supporting characters in regards to Mary’s dress. These comments and Mary’s dress for the entirety of the show were analyzed to understand changes in Mary’s perceived gender role. A societal change of perceived gender roles was occurring at this time, but was *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* reflective of those changes?

There are limitations to this research, as this study is based on only one television show. The results cannot be generalized to any other television show at the time. Also, the dress of only one character has been evaluated, which means the results cannot be generalized to the dress of all of the characters on the show. The influence of social norms and gender roles was not interpreted for any character in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* other than Mary Richards. An expansion of this research would include analysis of all female characters on the show or a comparison between *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and another show with a female lead character of either the same or a different time period.

An additional limitation is the timing and purpose of the show. *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was created in 1970, which is after changes began taking place involving social norms and gender roles. A television show that began prior to many of the changes and continued throughout the women’s movement could more accurately reflect the affect these changes had on
the dress in that given show. Because *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was created to explore gender issues in a changing social climate, it can be expected to see these issues relating to many aspects of the show, including dress. A show that was not designated to explore gender issues could reflect society differently.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A wealth of previous research has been done on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* because of its significance as an original American television show. Extant research foci include the media (e.g. Crozier, 2008 and Douglas, 1994) and feminism (e.g. Dow, 1996 and Lentz, 2000), but there is little research based on the dress of Mary Richards throughout the show. Because of the complexity of issues surrounding *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, including feminist undertones, media influences, and changing societal perceptions, research about the show also involves these issues. Although there is a lack of research evaluating Mary Richards’ dress, research on dress reform (e.g. Lennon, 1990 and Hollows, 2000) will be considered to better understand the influence of feminism on her dress. This review of literature will be divided into the following sections: women in television, feminism and theory, and feminism in dress.

**Women in Television**

The “Golden Age of Television” (from the 1950s to the 1970s) was notably influential in the evolution of American culture, particularly through the depiction of women’s roles (Press, 2009). During the first part of the Golden Age, female characters were most likely to be characterized as wives and mothers. Golden Age television shows promoted an ideal lifestyle that was socially acceptable to the audience. This often included women characters being depicted as one dimensional and unimportant. The end of this era in television was marked by more complex female characters and innovative programming that had more depth than ever before (Press, 2009).

The term “The Golden Age of Television” was coined as televisions began to appear all across the country in people’s homes. Although the term “The Golden Age” refers to the
emerging popularity of this type of media, television in the 1960s had far less than a golden image. Television programming lacked intelligence and deeper meaning. The media depicted television as having very little culture (unlike movies and the theatre) and the audiences were seen as lower class (Lentz, 2000). In 1970, the television industry attempted to revamp its image. According to Lentz (2000), the major television networks embarked on a mission to improve the image of television through changing their programming. Researchers such as Lentz (2000) and Press (2009) have acknowledged the highly successful CBS Network for hiring MTM Enterprises and Tandem/TAT Productions to produce new and fresh situational comedies in 1970. MTM Enterprises aligned their new programming with gender politics, and the most popular of these shows was the flagship comedy *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Tandem/TAT Productions subtly focused on the issue of racism as a subject of their programming. Their flagship comedy was *All in the Family*, which debuted in 1971.

During this era in television, the terms “quality television” and “relevance programming” were used by production companies to describe the new shows. MTM Enterprises focused on quality programming, in which the goal was to improve the content of new shows by creating “civilized and intellectual” programming. Tandem/TAT Productions focused on relevance programming by incorporating political and civil rights issues into the shows. Because *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was associated with gender issues, television producers thought it should not also reference racial issues because it would be considered too “intense” for viewers. Quality and relevance programming each had their own agenda. Television networks felt that audiences would not respond well if several controversial issues were incorporated into a single show (Lentz, 2000).
The significant appearance of feminist ideas in television first began with The Mary Tyler Moore Show in 1970 (Dow, 1996). Although it was not the first television show that featured working single women, it was the first series to have a lead character whose main focus was her career rather than finding a husband. The show was highly successful and set the standard for future character comedies featuring single women. The Mary Tyler Moore Show first appeared weeks after the successful “Women Strike for Equality” demonstration protesting gender oppression. The demonstration was held fifty years to the day after women gained the right to vote through the Nineteenth Amendment (Dow, 1996). In the early 1970’s, television focused on raising awareness about changing social issues without causing audiences to feel uncomfortable. The Mary Tyler Moore Show raised the issue of unfair treatment of women in the workplace. The lead character, Mary, stood up for herself in a way that emphasized a calm understanding of the issue and not an irrational uproar, and this was considered a way to demonstrate gender oppression in the workplace while still creating sympathy and admiration for the main character. Television producers thought viewers would have been turned off by a loud, liberal female character that lacked class and femininity when dealing with these issues (Spangler, 2003).

The primary reason for the emergence of gender issues in television programming was not to influence audiences politically, but rather to improve television’s image by making it more modern and intellectual. This also meant targeting a new demographic market. The Mary Tyler Moore Show was considered professional, ethical, and more intellectual than other programming of the time (Lentz, 2000). The Mary Tyler Moore Show used relationships as the main focus rather than the situational comedy that was common at the time. Over the course of the seven year sitcom, Mary Richards’ image evolved according to what television producers though that audiences deemed acceptable. When the series started, Mary had ended a serious relationship,
and was single. Television producers did not want to make Mary a divorcee because they thought audiences were not yet ready to see a divorced woman as a lead character. The series felt pressure from television executives to write a marriage into the show in the first couple of seasons. However, that pressure subsided as social values changed and Mary remained single throughout the show (Spangler, 2003).

The conscience of the television industry was not awakened by the concurrent women’s movement, but an increase in demand for high ratings of shows featuring women in primary roles motivated television executives to follow the trend of women as more independent characters. Target demographics changed to focus on women between the ages of 18 and 35 who lived in urban settings and found women’s issues important (Spangler, 2003). Research has shown that this target demographic market for The Mary Tyler Moore Show responded positively to Mary Richards’ character and felt encouraged by Mary’s ability to be a well rounded, attractive career woman (Dow, 1996). Women were considered a significant demographic to advertising prior to 1970 because of the influence women had over household buying. However, women became the focus in the seventies as they increasingly began to work outside of the home. Upper middle class women were ideal viewers due to their amount of discretionary income that could be spent on advertised products. This also meant that the target audience was likely to have higher education and more liberal political views than in previous years (Lotz, 2001).

Criticism of television has become increasingly popular as well as more complex; many aspects of shows other than the dialogue determine how shows are analyzed. The increase in such criticism highlights the impact television has on its audience rather than a basic criticism of the dialogue and plot. The influence television has on social issues should not be
underestimated. Although the audience understands that the show is fiction, thoughts about social issues including gender roles and women’s rights still resonate with viewers (Dow, 1996).

There has been critical analysis of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* from researchers such as Dow (1996) and Lotz (2001), who state that while innovative, the main character Mary Richards lacks the potential to be a true feminist role model of the time. This lack of true feminism, however, was acceptable to viewers because of the modern nature of the show. Television producers thought the audience was more likely to tolerate a new type of character if it had some resemblance to previous popular television female characters. According to Crozier (2008), if Mary were a more ideal feminist role model, the success of the show would have been far less likely. Although Mary did stand up for her rights and remained focused on her career throughout the series, she still retained characteristics of the girl next door who relied on her feminine, sweet ways to resolve conflict (Dow, 1996). Considered a well balanced modern female character, “she is a woman sophisticated enough to recognize sexism when she sees it, but she is not necessarily assertive enough to do anything about it” (Dow, 1996, p. 31).

**Feminism and Theory**

Feminism does not have one standard definition, and it has proven difficult at times for feminists themselves to agree on the concepts. Hollows notes that “it is generally accepted that feminism is a form of politics which aims to intervene in, and transform, the unequal power relations between men and women (Hollows, 2000, p. 3).” Another definition states “a theory and/or movement concerned with advancing the position of women through such means as achievement of political, legal, or economic rights equal to those granted men” (Offen, 1988, p. 123).
Society dictates the gender roles of males and females; therefore this role differs in different cultures. The traditional American view on the role of females in society is one of inferiority. This inferiority is based on physical, intellectual, and emotional differences between men and women. Females are only considered superior in terms of morality and spirituality. Gender differences begin at birth and are present as guidelines to follow throughout life (Eicher & Roach-Higgins, 1992). In regards to the origins of psychological differences in each sex, Freud suggested that women are passive and incomplete compared to men because women lack a penis. Since Freud, there have been researchers who both agree and disagree with his theories of sexual superiority (Deckard, 1979). This literature review is not focused on debating gender related theories, but rather to explore the effect of traditional gender roles in society.

Understanding what it means to be a woman is a principal aspect of feminism. Women experience oppression, expectations, and learned behaviors involving gender. In order to define a woman’s identity, we must examine the society in which that woman lives. Time and place have an important influence on this identity. Women’s identities are ever-changing and evolving, which makes them hard to characterize. In addition to problems with identity, conceptualizing gender is an issue feminist face. Gender encompasses much more than distinctions between the sexes; social constructs define gender better than biology. This means that the concept of gender is also changing as society changes. Concepts of gender and women have been critiqued and altered since the beginning of feminism. Feminists’ goals include not only understanding gender in the world but also changing how gender roles and women’s identities are perceived in society (Cacoullos, 2001). There is a distinct difference between biological and learned behaviors, sex and gender. Sex is a biological distinction given to males
and females, defined at birth. Gender, on the other hand, is a learned behavior that is a direct result of expected gender roles in a culture (Hollows, 2000).

The birth of the American women’s movement occurred in 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York, where women fought for the right to vote, a privilege reserved only for white men. Political equality, including land ownership and suffrage, was the primary focus of the first American women’s movement, as opposed to the birth of the European movement which focused on celebrating the sexual and emotional differences between males and females. The term feminism postdates the movement towards gender equality in America; “feminism” was first heard in the 1890s in France as a term to juxtapose masculinity in a political sense. The term made its way to America around 1910 (Offen, 1988).

Although the American women’s movement began in 1848, many scholars refer to the early twentieth century as the ‘first wave’ of feminism. Women’s suffrage was considered the main focus of the feminist movement in America until the Nineteenth Amendment was passed in 1920, granting women the right to vote (Offen, 1988). Second wave feminism, which began around the late 1950s, desired a change of existing power in a cultural context. The National Organization for Women (NOW), created in 1966 by Betty Freidan (author of the second wave feminist text The Feminine Mystique), was focused on the specific cultural biases present in the 1960s and 1970s. Although the challenge was political in nature, a sisterhood of women developed as they began to relate to the struggles women in America were facing and brought unity to the cause of second wave feminism. This sisterhood was beneficial; however, it was a unity of white women who faced similar issues and failed to be inclusive of other races, ethnicities, and socioeconomic statuses (Hollows, 2000).
A sign of the women’s movement that was taking place was the well-publicized protest of the Miss America contest in September 1968. During the next two years, many feminist groups were organized throughout the country focusing on several different issues associated with increasing the equality of women in the United States. By 1970, cover stories of the women’s movement were seen on almost every major magazine in the country, and 80 percent of American adults knew about the movement. Although it was a topic of conversation, the movement was met with strong opposition from both men and women at the time (Deckard, 1979).

The height of this wave of feminism was the 1970s. The second wave addressed issues of politics and contested gender roles and pressures society placed upon women. The first and second waves both encountered vocal opposition; however, the dynamics of the second wave were changed based on technological advances of the time, including those affecting media, such as television (Tyner, 2008).

The media influences culturally accepted gender roles through images depicting specific gendered traits. Second wave feminists like Gaye Tuchman argue that the roles of women on television helped in the socialization of traditional gender roles in childhood. In addition, Tuchman suggests that the media in the 1970s was not current to the culture of its time. Rather, the media focused on traditional ‘housewife’ images of women (Tuchman, 1978). The media does represent cultural change, although the change usually appears much later in the media than in society. When examining television representation of gender, it is important not only to count situations involving both men and women but also to interpret the meaning behind the gender being represented. This interpretation of images is often subject to who is doing the interpretation (Hollows, 2000).
The identification of traditional gender roles in American society is focused on the division of labor in a family. Males are considered the ‘bread-winners’ in a family and are required to be the central financial support. Women, on the other hand, are considered the ‘home-makers’ who are better suited to rear children and are central in keeping the home life stable (Oppenheim Mason, Czajka, & Arber, 1976). The degree to which a woman is represented economically in a society directly reflects a woman’s status in that society (Deckard, 1979). Since World War II, an increasing number of women have entered the work force and female wages have dramatically increased. The economic advantages of traditional ‘home-makers’ holding jobs has increased women’s power in the family (Oppenheim Mason, Czajka, & Arber, 1976).

Since this second wave, there has been a dramatic increase in diversity among oppressed women in America. This increase in diversity has increased the complexity of feminism in today’s society. Feminist issues can no longer be defined by issues of only Caucasian women. Women of different backgrounds receive different types of unfair treatment. It is important that a distinction be made between the issues white middle-class women face and those that women of other races, ethnicities, economic statuses, and ages face (Cacoullos, 2001).

Because the ideology of feminism is about a century old, there is not as much previous research on feminist thought compared to other theoretical paradigms. As little as thirty years ago, the term “feminist theory” did not exist. Instead, established theories were approached by feminist thought. There has been a dramatic increase in the development and analysis of feminism, which has resulted in a range of valuable information since 1980. This time period is referred to as the “academization” of the American feminist theory. The vast majority of social sciences have included feminist theory in research in recent years (Cacoullos, 2001).
The status of this theory has become an important topic of conversation. Because a central theory cannot always fully explain a changing concept, narrower theories, such as postmodern feminist theory, are often used to fill in puzzle pieces that the broader feminist theory does not take into account. In addition to theories referring to a moment in time, feminist theories of race and ethnicity are equally important because of the differences in oppression non-white women face. A main issue feminists face is the disagreement on whether or not there should even be a feminist theory and what exactly that theory should encompass. Concerns with who should author this theory and the number of theories that could be considered feminist are issues that make feminist theory hard to define (Cacoullos, 2001).

The development of an academic feminist theory often conflicts with a theory based in the implementation and ideals of feminism. The desire for academics and activists to be on the same page when it comes to feminist theory has increased since feminism became an important topic in academia (Cacoullos, 2001). The difference between feminist theory and other academic theories is that feminist theory is constantly changing as society and gender roles evolve. Feminist thought promotes this shifting environment; however, it does not complement the concept of theory. The formation of theory is traditionally meant “to observe, read, analyze, generalize-predict” (Cacoullos, 2001, p. 73). This is difficult with feminist theory, mostly due to the fact that analyzing and generalizing concepts such as gender roles has proven to be difficult. Because of the evolving nature of key terms such as “gender roles” and “women’s identity”, the concept of a theory attempts to define a changing society, which proves problematic (Cacoullos, 2001).

Although there is much debate about it, one of the greatest benefits of feminist theory in academia is the insight into various disciplines using this theory, as well as an increasing
knowledge base of how feminist issues are reflected in these varied disciplines. Theories of psychological development originally intended for males have been positively affected by feminist theory by defining the differences males and females face in psychological development (Cacoullos, 2001).

**Feminism and Dress**

Eicher and Roach-Higgins (1992) suggest that social anthropologist Crawley was the first to study dress as it relates to human behavior in the early 20th century. His main focus was on “sexual” dress (gendered dress), and he states that the most important role dress communicates is that of a learned gender role (the term gender was introduced in research in the 1960s as a way to differentiate the socially defined term gender and the biological term sex). Dress has meaning; this meaning is something that is understood by both the wearer and the viewer. The term dress is an inclusive term involving changes directly made to the body and items that are added to the body and is gender neutral in meaning (Eicher & Roach-Higgins, 1992).

Bush and London (1960) hypothesized that social roles are directly reflected in dress. Sex roles are related to dress, the effect of which is often seen in a pattern. When expected gender roles become similar between men and women, dress follows suit by becoming similar (Bush & London, 1960). Although the genders do not attempt to look like the opposite gender, often times females adopt masculine styles and males will adopt understated feminine styles (Lennon, 1990).

Fashion can be seen as a way to both liberate and oppress women (Tortora, 2005). Gender roles in the early 19th century were very specific, which resulted in women’s lives revolving around being wives and mothers. Fashions that were restrictive and uncomfortable were the standard for women of the era, which can be seen as being gender oppressive. Women
were also feeling discrimination when it came to politics, in particular the denial of women’s rights to vote. The women who fought for suffrage rights also began to fight for less restrictive clothing in 1851. Lucy Stone, one of the feminist leaders, emphasized the ties between dress and the oppression of women when she said “women are in bondage; their clothes are a great hindrance to their engaging in any business which will make them peculiarly independent” (Tortora, 2005, p. 358). In order to best understand a culture, multiple disciplines must come together to form a more accurate picture of what was going on at the time. Dress is an important part of the interdisciplinary way of looking at women’s issues. Feminist researcher Joanne Hollows (2000) suggests that “it is crucial to explore how clothing is used to construct and negotiate the meaning of femininity in specific historical context” (p. 159).

Included in the push for dress reform was the “Bloomer Costume” which was preferred by many notable American feminists of the time, including Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Amelia Bloomer (for whom the costume was named). The costume included a knee length, full bodied skirt over Turkish trousers (Tortora, 2005). This style was ridiculed by those not involved in the feminist movement and failed to gain popularity as daily wear. However, the style was used in athletic and swimming costumes of the time. The term “bloomer” was not used by the masses because of its ties with the feminist movement. From this point in time onward, those who fought for the equality of women often included efforts in dress reform (Cunningham, 1993).

When it comes to fashion, there have been fewer research studies by academic feminists compared to other disciplines. Femininity and body image are topics that are observed in feminist theory, whereas they are a small sector of research in clothing and textiles. Feminist theory does not endorse one style of dress as being superior to advancing feminism than another.
Rather than defining a feminist look, a feminist perspective strives to eliminate dress that is negatively tied to perpetuating traditional gender roles. There is a lack of literature when it comes to the cultural significance of fashion in relation to feminist issues prior to 1980 (Parkins, 2008). In 2000, The Clothing and Textiles Research Journal filled an issue (Volume 18, Number 3) with articles relating to feminist dress and appearance. For the past thirty years, feminist theory and fashion have been identified as having a significant relationship. Researchers Kaiser and Michaelman (2000) were the first scholarly researchers to advocate the use of feminist perspectives in textiles and clothing research (Tyner, 2008).

Speaking out against fashion and beauty was a central issue to second-wave feminists. The issue of fashion and feminism was divided by two ways of thought: anti-feminine fashion and anti-fashion. Dressing outside the constructs of what was considered feminine was the focus of the first group (Hollows, 2000). Gender ambivalence was suggested with the popularity of masculine dress intended for women. A prime example of this fashion change was women wearing pants to work (Henderson & DeLong, 2000). Although women had worn pants in manufacturing jobs in the early twentieth century out of necessity, particularly during the two World Wars, women did not begin wearing pants in the corporate workplace until the late 1960s. Pants were previously associated with masculinity, but they were both practical and rational in women’s dress. The second group was focused on anti-fashion, the rejection of both masculine and feminine ideas involved in dress. A more natural look was encouraged; however, attempting to remove oneself from fashion altogether is problematic in modern times (Hollows, 2000).

As the women’s movement began to impact society in the 1970s, fashions for women also changed. The difference between what is considered masculine and feminine can be related to career and personal goals. Masculinity is described as task oriented and driven by career
success. On the other hand, femininity focuses on relationships and emotions (Hofstede, 1980). The acceptance of change in fashion, such as women wearing pants, only occurs after gender roles have begun to change in a society. Although some feminists push for dress reform as a means to change gender roles, gender roles must change before a type of dress becomes fashion (Paoletti & Kidwell, 2007).

Fashion, like feminism, flirts with the idea of power, and this is often reflected when designers challenge stereotypes through design and advertising. Women are aware of cultural pressures and can use these to their own advantage to gain power by changing their appearance. Women gain power by resisting what society tells them is true as well as going along with cultural norms. This power play can easily be seen in dress (Tyner, 2008).

An interest in feminism and fashion in the academy developed under the premise that dress is a way of communicating identity. Feminists encourage women to take control of their own bodies as a way of embracing their identity (Kaiser & Michaelman, 2000). Although the enthusiasm feminists have for fashion has been mixed, theorists do agree that dress and appearance have an important place in gender relations. Feminists desire the suppression of the narrow minded beauty ideals that exist in every culture. The recognition of the feminist movement has drastically impacted fashion. Over the past forty years, fashion has evolved to include comfortable, practical clothing, masculine details, and a wider range of options than ever before (Kaiser & Michaelman, 2000).

During the women’s movement, gender roles changed to become more similar. Change in traditional gender roles was reflected in dress. Male and female dress was less differentiated; women began wearing pants frequently, as well as adopting other styles like suits, ties, and even carrying a briefcase. Men, who are often less willing to adopt feminine styles than women
adapting masculine ones, did show change by wearing fuller sleeves, bright colors, vivid patterns, and had overall softer, more feminine lines. Fashion will evolve to keep up with a changing society and evolving gender roles can be seen in changes in dress for both men and women (Lennon, 1990).

**Conclusion**

The women’s movement has greatly impacted fashion throughout the past 160 years. Although it is difficult to define a feminist fashion image, there have been tremendous strides made from the days of corsets and petticoats. Along with a change in fashion, cultural ideals have changed and perceived gender roles have evolved. These changes can be seen in many different facets of society, including television shows. Television, since its Golden Age, has magnified both the positive and negative aspects of society. *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* is a noteworthy example of a changing culture that is reflected on television. Taking place concurrently with the second wave of feminism in the 1970’s, the show raised the bar in the area of female lead characters. *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* seems to have been a perfect storm in the television world when it came to media emulating changes in culture.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The television series *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was chosen as the subject of this investigation because it was the first television show to feature a single, career oriented woman as the main character, Mary Richards. Both critics and viewers agree on the popularity of the show. However, one reason that *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* is significant is the time frame in which the show appeared on television. The series began in 1970 and continued until 1977, which encompasses the time frame of the second wave women’s liberation movement as well as a change in gender roles in regards to women in America.

The seven year series featured 24 episodes each season for a total of 168 episodes. To accurately reflect change occurring over the seven years that the show aired, the first episode along with all additional even-numbered episodes were used as sources of data. The first episode is significant because new ideas and plots are presented. Even-numbered episodes 2-24 were chosen, which included the last episode of each season, which is equally as important as the first. Because the show was analyzed for references in dialogue to Mary Richard’s dress, it is important to examine all seven years of the show, because references regarding dress were unlikely to appear in every single episode. Additionally, this provided a large enough sample to better answer the research question involving the effect of changing social norms throughout the time the show was originally on the air. Episodes were obtained through the online television website www.hulu.com as well as purchasing season dvds from Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation.

Qualitative content analysis was used, and the overall plot, sub stories, dialogue, monologue, and visual images were all considered units for measurement of episodic television.
Qualitative analysis involving characterization was observed in many ways including speech, actions, and character descriptions, which include their physical appearance, facial expressions, and manner of dress (Lennon, 1990).

A data collection form (seen in Table 1) was used to record data in various categories. The form was completed for each comment made regarding Mary’s dress throughout the sample episodes. A verbal description accounts for Mary’s dress at the time of the reference as well as a category of her dress. The character giving the comment and the gender of that character was also recorded. Comments were defined as being negative, neutral, or positive in attitude, and were determined to either support or reject traditional gender roles. Whether or not the comment related to Mary’s career or personal life was also recorded.

Table 1

Episode Data Collection Form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Episode Number:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Mary's Dress:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pants    dress    skirt    pajamas    special occasion    workout    robe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of Mary's Dress:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of the comment regarding Mary's Dress:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character giving the comment:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character's gender:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male    female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was the comment negative, neutral, or positive in attitude?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative    neutral    positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the comment support or reject traditional gender roles?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>support    reject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was the comment regarding her career or personal life?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>career    personal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dialogue and monologue references were evaluated to determine if there was a change in the attitude of Mary and the other characters in regards to gender roles over the seven seasons. In addition, the frequency of comments made by a specific character and the type of comments were analyzed to see if character attitudes about Mary’s appearance and role stayed the same or changed. Comments made by men and by women were analyzed to determine if gender played a role in positive or negative comments regarding Mary’s dress. Mary’s own comments were analyzed to determine if her attitude about herself and her role as a single career woman changed throughout the show. The frequency of comments was recorded (including positive, negative, or neutral comments) to determine any change over time.

Because the data is a scripted television show limited in length, the frequency and type of comments made indicate whether there was a change in Mary’s perceived gender role over time. These changes occurred as a whole and in individual characters. This data was entered into a database and subsequently sorted into different categories for evaluation. Descriptive statistics were used with the data to provide information such as percentage of negative comments made by men, the likelihood that men or women supported traditional gender roles, and percentage of comments in general that were made by men and women.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

By Season

Season 1

From the opening theme song, it is easy to see that Mary Richards is a beautiful young woman who is venturing out on her own. From the lyrics, the audience begins to understand Mary’s situation.

How will you make it on your own? This world is awfully big, and girl this time you are all alone. But its time you started living, its time you let someone else do some giving.

Love is all around, no need to waste it. You can have the town, why don’t you take it?

You might just make it after all. You might just make it after all.

In an instant, Mary seems adventurous and energetic. The final frame of the theme song shows Mary on a crowded street throwing her beret in the air with a smile on her face. This initial episode paints a picture of a thirty year old woman who is moving to Minneapolis after ending a relationship when it failed to turn into an engagement. In the opening scene, Mary finds an apartment to rent and is soon on her way to a job interview at WJM News. She is offered the job as Associate Producer of the six o’clock news. She is paid less than that of a secretary, but she is thrilled with the prestigious position.

Mary’s feisty new neighbor, Rhoda, barges in on her before her first morning of work and notices how good Mary looks in the morning. Rhoda is a tough character from New York who seems intimidated by Mary’s appearance. She asks, “Who did you get that nightie from, Tricia Nixon?” and Mary is embarrassed by the comment. Mary is perfectly coiffed and very ladylike, characteristics of which the other characters seem to be aware.
Although it seems that Mary has gotten off to a great start in Minneapolis, her friend and neighbor Phyllis has invited Mary’s former boyfriend over to talk. Mary is frustrated with this news and is nervous about seeing him for the first time since the move. Mary stands in front of her mirror wearing black pants, black open vest, and white button up shirt, and she unbuttons the top button of her shirt revealing her décolleté. When the doorbell rings, Mary immediately re-buttons her shirt and says to herself “coward”. This comment makes it evident that Mary is not quite the self-confident, independent career woman that she initially appears to be; she is timid and proper and very aware of what others think of her and the way she dresses.

In Episodes 4 and 8, Mary comments on her desire to find the perfect outfit. She struggles with trying on many different looks and asks Rhoda’s opinion on what outfit would be best to wear. Mary rarely takes Rhoda’s suggestion though, reverting to her own conservative ways. The issue of “what to wear” is often connected with meeting a man. Like the first episode, Mary is fulfilling a stereotypical role of a woman very concerned about the clothing she wears to attract a man.

Most comments about dress in Season 1 are either from Mary herself or from a conversation between Mary and Rhoda regarding what Mary should wear. In Episode 10 Mary agrees to hire her older, married neighbor Phyllis to work as her assistant in the WJM Newsroom. From the beginning, Mary struggles in working with Phyllis, who has an elitist attitude about the position. At one point, as tensions build, Mary confronts Phyllis to let her know she can no longer stand to have her as an assistant. Phyllis responds:

I knew it. I kept telling myself, Phyllis, dress dowdy. Sure, Mary is a pleasant looking single girl, even a nice looking single girl, but you know how touchy career gals get when you are married and they are not.
Mary, who is already frustrated with Phyllis’s behavior, is even more put off by this comment. Phyllis, who often comments on her flourishing marriage, distances herself from Mary because she is a single girl who is sensitive to finding a man. Phyllis suggests that by dressing dowdy she will be receiving less attention from the men at the office; something that should appease Mary. With this comment, Phyllis reaffirms her beliefs in traditional gender roles and that Mary must be very concerned with receiving favorable attention from males so that she can ultimately get married.

Overall, Season One paints the picture of Mary Richards as a single career woman who is not fully comfortable with her role, and neither are her cohorts. Mary is naïve and relies heavily on the opinions of others, sometimes being too timid to make decisions for herself. Mary feels a need to please others and leaves the audience to wonder “how will she make it on her own?”

**Season 2**

A noticeable difference in Season 2 is the change of the opening theme song. The lyrics questioning if Mary can make it on her own are replaced with encouraging words that paint Mary in a much different light:

Who can turn the world on with her smile? Who can take a nothing day and suddenly make it all seem worth while? Well, it’s you girl and you should know it. With each glance and every little movement you show it. Love is all around, no need to waste it. You can have the town, why don’t you take it? You’re gonna make it after all. You’re gonna make it after all.

This new, upbeat theme song sets a different tone for the show; the producers are no longer questioning if Mary can make it on her own. Rather, there is confidence in Mary’s ability to be a proud, independent woman. Some of the visual images during the theme song have also been
changed. Mary is depicted with other characters on the show. One new visual addition is a clip of her with Phyllis where she is wearing pants at her apartment.

In Episode 2, Mary is being fixed up by her boss, Mr. Grant, on a blind date with one of his friends. Mr. Grant is a tough boss who often treats Mary more like a daughter than a co-worker. Mary is the only one in the WJM Newsroom to call him Mr. Grant; everyone else refers to him by his first name, Lou. As Mr. Grant sets up the details for the upcoming date, he says, “Mary, tomorrow wear your purple dress”. When Mary asks why, he just smiles and replies, “You know.” The next day, Mary arrives to work dressed for her lunch date, and Mr. Grant seems upset. “Mary, you are not wearing my purple dress”. Mary tries to appease him by telling him it is at the cleaners and asks if the red dress she picked out was okay. Lou disappointingly tells her “Yeah, but it isn’t the purple one”.

Mr. Grant accompanies Mary on the date he has set up, and he is eager for the two to like each other. Mr. Grant asks his friend, Mike, what he thinks about the way Mary looks, asking, “Is she even nicer than you pictured her on the phone?” Mike disappoints Mr. Grant by answering no, but that is because he pictured her so well. As if to reaffirm his future thoughts, Mr. Grant pleads to Mike, “Well, you should see her in her purple dress”. The date continues to be awkward as Mr. Grant makes every attempt to make sure the two are hitting it off.

Mary agrees to see Mike again and gets all dressed up for their evening. At the end of the evening, Mary is trying to figure out a way to tell Mike there is no romantic chemistry between them, and she does not think it is going to work out. As she begins to explain this to Mike, he stops her by telling her she is simply not his type anyway. Mary is shocked and wants to know exactly what his ‘type’ is. Mike suggests that Mary is a little too bubbly and superficial than the normal woman he likes. He tells Mary that he is looking for someone a little more mature who
likes to talk about current events. He tells Mary she is simply too “fluffy”. Mary quickly denies that comment but Mike follows it with “You are in your purple dress.” This comment surprisingly does not upset Mary, but rather the two laugh it off because they both understand a relationship would not have worked.

Although the audience can see that this failed romance has nothing to do with the purple dress, an interesting aspect of Mary and Mr. Grant’s relationship is revealed. Mr. Grant feels like he knows what is best for Mary both professionally and personally. Unlike a typical boss/subordinate relationship, Mr. Grant does not hesitate to tell Mary what exactly she should do in her life to attract what he considers to be the right men. The idea that Mary in her purple dress is any different than Mary in another dress seems ridiculous. However, Mr. Grant does believe that things could have been different if Mary had done as Mr. Grant suggested and worn the purple dress. This shows that Mr. Grant has a very specific view on gender roles and the parts that women must play to get a man. Rather than talk about what they had in common, Mr. Grant was more interested in her wearing something pretty that he picked out, as if to suggest that women should be seen and not heard.

After the purple dress incident, comments about Mary’s dress are reduced for a large part of the season. However, in Episode 22, a small problem causes Mary to divulge a big fear. While Mary is changing one day, she is relieved to hear Rhoda knock on the door. Mary is thankful for Rhoda to be there to help her with her stuck zipper. As Rhoda is helping her, Mary fills Rhoda in about her frustration by telling her, “you know I have this terrible fear that someday my zipper is going to be stuck and there will be nobody here to unzip me and I will have to call the fire department.”

Mary is using a stuck zipper to share with Rhoda her disappointment with not being
married. She knows that calling the fire department for a stuck zipper is an over exaggeration, yet Mary knows the only way to prevent this from ever happening is to be married. Single girls do not have the luxury of living with someone who can come to your rescue by doing things like unzipping the back of a dress. With this comment, Mary is supporting traditional gender roles that women of a certain age should be married, even for reasons as frivolous as a tricky zipper.

Season 2 has comments much more tied to gender roles than previous comments. It is evident that even though Mary has a good job that she seems to enjoy, her ultimate goal is to dress attractively and find a man to marry. Also in this season, the relationship between Mary and Mr. Grant appears much different from the relationship Mr. Grant has with others in the workplace. Mary seeks his approval, and Mr. Grant very much wants Mary to listen to all of his suggestions that will make her life better.

**Season 3**

The lyrics to the theme song remain unchanged in Season 3. Most of the images in the previous season are also unchanged. There are three season specific images of Mary that have been added, which are noticeable because of her shorter haircut. She is also now depicted wearing pants in two of these shots.

From Episode 1 it is evident that Mary has taken her position as a woman in the workplace much more seriously than before. In the opening scene, Mary talks with her friend Rhoda at home about the amount of pressure placed upon her because she feels like she is “representing women everywhere”. Mary understands that females are not often given the opportunities she has, especially in television news. She feels this pressure because of the comments people make about her being the one woman executive the company has hired, so essentially she is right in feeling pressure to represent women everywhere.
Once Mary gets to the WJM Newsroom, the pressure she feels only increases. Mary is astonished to find out that she makes considerably less money than the man who previously held her job. This is a change from Season 1, when Mary was so excited to be offered a job with a title that she was willing to accept it even when Mr. Grant told her she would be making less money than a secretary. Now Mary feels it is necessary to have a discussion about why she makes less money. Mr. Grant’s answer is simple: she makes less money because she is a woman and not a man who is in charge of taking care of a family. Mary stands her ground and argues with Mr. Grant in hopes that he will understand that it is unfair to pay someone less money based on their gender.

Their meeting is interrupted when Ted Baxter, anchorman for the six o’clock news barges in. Ted is concerned about an upcoming meeting and seeks approval on the outfit he has chosen to wear. He feels the need to be complemented on his outfit as a way of calming his nerves before the important meeting. During the meeting, Ted and the other workers are surprised to hear that the show is simply not hip enough to attract many viewers. The television higher-ups have decided that they must make changes to the WJM six o’clock news so they can stay current with their audience. Mr. Grant vocally opposes this change; he is a traditional newsman who does not feel the need to make the news more entertaining. When Mary is asked what her thoughts are, she surprisingly goes against her boss and declares that she thinks giving the news a more contemporary format will be beneficial to their ratings. Ultimately the decision is made to incorporate an additional anchorman who can bring comedy and a different personality to the existing show.

Ted Baxter is very upset about this new change and mopes around the studio all day. When Mary is back home talking about the events that have occurred with Rhoda, Mary tells her
how Ted is having a hard time adjusting to this new change. Mary says that in order to make Ted feel better, they have “been complementing him on his new jacket all week.” In order to make the show more current, Ted’s old wardrobe of a light blue blazer and white button up has been changed to a pair of plaid pants, turtleneck, and bright orange corduroy blazer. Mary suggests that Ted is so vain that the compliments he receives on his clothes are what is getting him through this hard time.

The importance of this episode is that a change occurs in the perceived gender roles in the WJM workroom. Mary Richards, once too timid to argue salary with her male boss, has discovered the desire to fight for what she believes is fair - to make the same salary her male predecessor made. As she is arguing this with Mr. Grant, Ted interrupts because he is worried about his outfit choice. Mary is no longer the woman in the office who can only be concerned with petty things, but she is taking on a more masculine role. This continues as she goes against her boss at a big meeting. She has decided that the pressure she feels from being the only woman in the workplace isn’t going to hold her back any longer. As Mary becomes more comfortable with this role, Ted Baxter seems to be questioning his. By placing much more importance on his wardrobe and what other people think of his looks, he is taking on a role closer to that of a woman in the workplace. In addition, Ted’s onscreen wardrobe has changed from a traditional masculine suit to a brightly colored jacket, plaid pants, and a turtleneck. According to Bush & London (1960), when gender roles become more similar, dress reflects this by also becoming more similar. The dress and attitude of Ted Baxter in this episode show feminine qualities unlike ever before in the show.

These changes in gender roles can also be seen in Episode 2 of this season. In the opening scene, Mary and Rhoda are contemplating what she should wear to work; she is being
interviewed by a known journalist for being a woman in the newsroom. Mary is worried that the outfit she has chosen is too sexy and that she appears to be flaunting her femininity. Rhoda completely disagrees, reminding Mary that if a man is doing the interview, there is “no such thing as too sexy.” She jokingly suggests that Mary wear a blouse as a dress, but Mary insists that she wants to be taken seriously and that her dress should reflect that.

When Mary arrives at the office she looks much different than ever before. Mary is wearing a men’s style plaid jacket, brown pants, and a wide tie. As she walks into the office she exclaims to her co-worker Murray, “I did the dumbest thing this morning. You want to know what I did?” As Murray looks up and sees Mary’s outfit he blurts, “You dressed like a guy?” Mary explains that she has an important interview today with a journalist and spent a considerable amount of time deciding what she should wear to give off the desired image. In the midst of her explanation to Murray she comes to the conclusion that the interview is “because I work in a newsroom and am a woman…dressed like a man. Mistake!” Murray explains to Mary that she must ask Mr. Grant’s permission before she goes on the interview.

When Mary approaches Mr. Grant about the interview, she is shocked by his initial reaction to what she is wearing. Before Mary can finish asking her question, Mr. Grant says “Mary, don’t wear pants in the office anymore”. As the audience laughs, Mary looks to Mr. Grant to say that he has made a mistake. He replies, “You’re right. You’re right, listen to me. Did you just hear what I just said? I said that I don’t want you to wear something. What difference does it make what you wear as long as you do your job? It’s a purely an arbitrary, pig headed demand. And yet…” The audience laughs, and Mary seems to be dumbfounded by Mr. Grant’s comments. Mary’s desire to dress like a man suggests that she also desires her perceived gender role to be changed at the workplace. She has a greater desire to stand up for herself in
Season 3, and similar to Ted’s dress in Episode 1, Mary is now choosing to dress more like a man in order to be thought of in a different light. On the other hand, Mr. Grant is a very conservative man who has had no problems in the past letting Mary know her role as a woman in the newsroom. He knows that he cannot explicitly tell Mary she can’t wear pants, but hopes that she listens to his opinion because she respects him.

As Mary goes in for her interview, the journalist realizes that the batteries in his tape recorder are dead. He begins to ask Mary questions and records the answers, but it is simply taking too long. Mary suggests that he write the interview in short hand, and when he says he doesn’t know how, Mary begins writing her own interview down for him. Once the interview is finished, he asks her on a date. She agrees, and then he asks her to type up the short hand interview and send it to him by three o’clock for his deadline. Essentially, Mary is being interviewed for her position as a female associate producer, but ends up getting treated like a secretary. When he asks her on a date, it seems like he has no interest in her career at all; rather, he would like to know her on a personal level.

When returning home from her date, the man asks Mary point blank if he can spend the night. Mary tells him no, and he abruptly leaves without saying goodbye. Mary confides in Rhoda that she thinks she is undersexed and is having difficulty finding a balance between being sexy and being taken seriously. This episode is filled with Mary trying to come to terms with who she is and who she wants to be. Unlike the previous seasons, Mary is taking control of her image and wants to receive the respect she believes she deserves from her job in the newsroom.

Season 4

For the fourth Season in a row, the visual images during the theme song changed. Mary is seen in many frames as a member of the community: grocery shopping, washing her car, and
hugging her co-workers. Another change is her dress in these images. Mary is wearing pants in many of the shots. The images in the theme song show the viewer that she really is “making it after all”. Although this is different than in the previous seasons, the theme song still ends with a thirty year old Mary energetically throwing her beret into the air on a crowded street in Minneapolis.

Although Mary Richards’ position in the male dominated WJM Newsroom has been established in the past three Seasons, both new and old issues are brought up in Season 4. In Episode 4, a 34 year-old Mary finds herself enjoying the company of a man almost a decade younger. Although they have fun hanging out together, Mary feels the pressure of being older in this relationship. Mary confides in Rhoda, who loves to give Mary a hard time about his age. When he asks Mary to come to a party he is throwing, the two ladies venture out to find something for her to wear.

Mary and Rhoda walk into a boutique with flamboyant clothing and bright colors all over the walls. Immediately they look out of place, and Rhoda wants to know why it is exactly that they came there. Mary justifies the new place by saying she is all out of clothing stores to shop, and she needs something new to wear. Rhoda finds it odd that Mary is willing to change her style because of the new man in her life and says, “But I like the stuff in your regular places. Usually you like the stuff in your regular places.” Rhoda tries to convince Mary she is stepping too far from her comfort zone. As the two women shop, they see a variety of interesting clothing, but Mary has trouble finding her size. Rhoda explains, “Oh Mary, this store doesn’t use anything as mundane as sizes. These clothes are divided into astrological signs. You, my dear take a bull”.

Although Mary seems uncomfortable with most of the clothes in the store, she still
pushes to find something young to wear to the party. She confronts a store clerk about finding the tops she likes in her size; the clerk seems disconnected and uninterested in helping Mary. Mary decides to try on a pair of denim gauchos with patches all over them. When she comes out, she tries to convince herself and Rhoda that they might work. The ditzy store clerk walks by only to say “They’re a lot cuter off.” Finally Rhoda pleads with Mary that it is simply not the right store for her to be shopping in:

Mary take a look in the mirror there, see Mary, these clothes are too young for you.

Mary, I know you’re upset and uptight because you are going to meet Stephen’s friends for the first time at the party, and you are trying to fit in. Suddenly, you are not Mary Richards, you are Mary Richards: teen queen.

Even though Mary knows that the clothes are too young for her, she still tries to justify her actions to her friend:

Rhoda, I just want to find something cute to wear to the party, okay? Okay, you might be right about the clothes thing, but the age thing is no big deal you know. Except for the clothes thing, the age thing would never occur to me.

Mary uses clothes as a way to make her appear younger and more likely to fit in with her new date. She seemed to be fine with their relationship until Rhoda made a big deal about Stephen’s young age. With all of the uncomfortable feelings surfacing about Stephen’s age, Mary knows she cannot change her age or the maturity of her job, but she can change one thing to appear younger: her dress. Before she even knows if things will work out between the two of them, she is so consumed with appearing younger that she is willing to completely change her style. Up to this point of the show, Mary has been the youngest female who always had a youthful attitude. After she has made strides to be taken seriously at work, she now has to deal
with issues of feeling too old. The placement of this Episode at the beginning of Season 4, directly following a season where she is finding herself in her career, highlights the struggles of Mary’s desire for both youth and success.

Mary does not receive the same level of criticism of her dress in the workplace that she faced in Season 3; however, in Episode 20, Mary and anchorman Ted Baxter relive a similar situation as in the previous Season. Mary is inside Mr. Grant’s office talking with him when Ted is eager to interrupt. Finally, when the door opens, Ted tells Mr. Grant he is unhappy because he has been waiting to speak with him about getting a new blazer to wear during the newscast. Mr. Grant explains that he does not have time to talk to him; it is not rare for Mr. Grant to brush off Ted’s desire for attention. Looking at Mary, Ted then replies:

Mary, you have time for sure. Every time Mary says something it’s a big deal. What is it, what is it? Mary find a new bow? Mary buy a new little outfit? I need a new blazer!

Ted assumes that Mary is likely always talking with Mr. Grant about something superficial, even though she is the associate producer of the newscast. His jealousy of Mary in the workplace is obvious because of his speech and actions. Ted believes that needing a new blazer is more important than anything Mary needs to talk about with Mr. Grant. Similar to the incident in Season 3, Ted and Mary seem to switch places in this moment in time; Mary is talking business with the boss and Ted feels the need to interrupt to talk about something as superficial as a new blazer.

Throughout Season 4, the male characters’ dress changes; more vibrant colors and bold patterns become more fashionable. Light pink dress shirts and paisley printed ties are often seen on many of the male characters, which is quite a change from the traditional menswear shown in the first three seasons. At the same time, Mary’s dress in the workplace becomes more
masculine. Out of the 13 Episodes sampled in the Season, Mary wears pants to work in 5 of the Episodes. Although Mary does retain a feminine look on occasion, she is comfortable dressing in menswear inspired pant suits. Dress is a direct reflection of changing gender roles; this is often more obvious when women adopt masculine styles such as pants or ties; however, this can also be seen when men begin to wear bright colors and vivid patterns (Lennon, 1990).

**Season 5**

For the first time the theme song in Season 5 is nearly identical to that of Season 4. The only change is an image of Mary and Rhoda shopping, which was replaced after Rhoda’s departure from the show. The opening theme would also be used in Seasons 6 and 7; after three seasons of change, the minute long theme to *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* would remain consistent.

When the Season begins, Mary finds herself in a compromising situation when she refuses to give up the name of one of her sources. After going to court about the issue, the judge decides that she has to go to jail. Everyone at WJM is upset about this, but Mary stands her ground about not revealing her source, leading to her spending a night in jail. Upon arriving, Mary tries her best to be friendly to the other inmates. She proceeds to introduce herself to two women and asks them why they are in jail. After they both give round about answers which suggest prostitution, one of them says to Mary, “Why are you in here? Impersonating a Barbie Doll?” Mary knew that she was going to jail but still made every effort to wear something appropriate for the workplace. Although Mary would never fit in with these women, she tries to be friendly, and they respond by being friendly back. They tease her because she refuses to eat anything because she isn’t able to brush her teeth. Although Mary is still seen as prim and proper, she does her best to get through the tough situation with a smile on her face.
The idea of women’s changing roles in society is a topic that has not previously been taken with much sincerity. In Episode 8, Mary and Mr. Grant are trying to come up with an idea for a documentary to air on WJM. Mary suggests exploring the topic of how women’s roles have changed. Mr. Grant is quick to tell Mary that is a terrible idea and that he would rather see something on the increasing fascination of the supernatural. Mr. Grant and the show are not quite ready to talk about the women’s movement as a real issue - although it is briefly brought up from time to time. At this point, Mary is the producer of the six o’clock news and has solely produced several documentaries for WJM. Mary’s character has evolved from a glorified secretary who spent most of her time making coffee and excuses at the work place to a woman whose intelligence and authority are appreciated.

In Episode 14, Mr. Grant wants to hire a woman to add to the WJM News. As everyone sits around talking about who would be ideal, Mr. Grant gives his advice about who would be best, “She should be attractive like you, Mary. Mary’s age, bright, and well dressed like you, Mary.” When Mary’s co-worker Murray asks why he doesn’t just ask Mary to do it, he quickly responds, “No, she’s wrong for it.” Mr. Grant, who had previously instructed her not to wear pants to the office and refused to pay her anything more than a secretary would earn, has grown to appreciate what Mary has to offer. Although he doesn’t often admit to it, he recognizes that Mary has done a great job at work, and he believes that someone who looks like Mary might also have a shot.

The ideal image of Mary Richards portrayed in Episode 14 changes in Episode 24 when Mary finds herself in a precarious situation. The office is excited to finally meet her boyfriend, Ken, after four months of serious dating. When Mary introduces him, they find out that he has been divorced and has a son. Mary is nervous about meeting his son for the first time at her
house. From the moment Ken’s son Stevie arrives, he has no interest in being friendly to Mary. After Mary prepares a pizza for him, Stevie tells her that he hates it and won’t eat it. All the while, Ken is trying his hardest to convince Mary that everything is going just fine. The next day at work, Murray is concerned by Mary’s behavior. Mr. Grant doesn’t seem too concerned until Murray explains that during lunch she said “life isn’t a bowl of cherries,” and then they are both worried that she would say something so out of character.

*Murray:* “I haven’t told you the worst. All during lunch her blouse wasn’t tucked in”.

*Mr. Grant:* “Mary, un-tucked?”

*Murray:* “Yeah, and when I mentioned it to her she left it un-tucked”

*Mr. Grant seems more concerned:* “She’s really upset”

*Ted:* “Upset? She’s going to hell in a handcart”

When Mary returns to the office, blouse still un-tucked, no one quite knows what to say, so Mr. Grant compliments her hair. Although the other characters are not talking primarily about her dress, the topic began when Murray was concerned because Mary’s shirt was un-tucked. Mary’s co-workers are concerned with this sloppiness; however, that would have not likely been the case if she were a man. If Mr. Grant’s shirt was un-tucked it is unlikely that other characters would have commented. Up until this point, Mary has always been put together in her appearance.

After the awkward exchange with Mr. Grant, Ted tries to console Mary by telling her that she should let go of her emotions and cry over whatever it is that is making her so upset. When Mary brushes him off, he reassures her, “if you are worried about tears falling on my $150 jacket, forget it.” He thinks that Mary is unable to open up to him because he is a man and lacks the compassion of another woman. Ted tries to console Mary the only way he knows how to
console a woman, by encouraging her to be emotional and cry. Mary defies Ted’s attempts and remains straight-faced at work.

Mary’s co-worker and resident WJM homemaker, Sue Ann, returns with Mary to her apartment after work to cheer her up. As she is cleaning rust stains from Mary’s sink she suggests:

*Sue Ann:* “If you are going to snare him, you have to prove you are a good homemaker for little Stevie”

*Mary:* “Now Sue Ann, why would I be interested in snaring him? I mean, aren’t we past that point? I mean that whole idea that women are out to snare men? I mean, Sue Ann, aren’t we finally past that notion?”

*Sue Ann (laughing):* “No”

Although Sue Ann’s comments are not related to Mary’s dress, these issues were brought up simply because Mary failed to tuck in her blouse at work. Sue Ann is an excellent homemaker, yet she remains unmarried on the show. Her lack of marital experience does not hold her back, as she explains to Mary the steps that she needs to take in order to secure her relationship with Ken. She believes something as simple as wearing the right outfit or cooking the perfect meal is key when one is in a relationship with a man.

There was a change in the overall plot content in Season 5. Sexually charged comments appeared in this season unlike previous Seasons. In Episode 10, Mary and Sue Ann attend a conference for work. When Mr. Grant calls her hotel room he can hardly hear Mary’s voice over the background noise. After they return from their trip, Mr. Grant asks what in the world all that noise in her hotel room could be. Mary smiles and replies that it was an orgy. After four seasons of conservative jokes, this seems to be much more provocative than anything
Mary Richards usually jokes about. Even comments regarding traditional gender roles are more provocative. Sue Ann isn’t afraid to tell Mary exactly how to snare a man. In addition, Mary wears pants to work in 11 out of the 13 Episodes in the sample. Pantsuits and jumpsuits have replaced many of Mary’s skirts and dresses.

**Season 6**

Five years after moving to Minneapolis, Mary is beginning to feel like her life isn’t exciting anymore. In Episode 2, after close friends Phyllis and Rhoda move away and begin new adventures, Mary is feeling down about her routine life. Georgette, Mary’s friend and Ted Baxter’s girlfriend, casually brings up that Mary might be in a rut. Although she is not willing to admit it, Mary definitely seems to be affected by Georgette’s comments. Still unnerved, Mary does what Murray says is predictable - she goes and talks about her problems with Mr. Grant. Mary often looks up to her boss to solve her personal problems.

Ted turns to Murray when his girlfriend Georgette wants to travel to Rome on vacation. Ted is worried about what his sweet, naïve girlfriend might be exposed to in Italy. He explains to Murray that suspicious things happen there, like ‘orgies’. His rationale is that “this is what comes of women’s lib. They’re all going crazy these days. You don’t know what they are going to do next”. Just as Ted finishes, Mary walks through the door with shiny blonde hair. Flabbergasted, Ted and Murray don’t know what to say to Mary so they just stare. When Mr. Grant walks in the door, Mary finally asks what they think of her new look. Mr. Grant replies, “Mary, I’ll tell you what I think, I think it looks absolutely fantastic. Mary, you’ve never looked better in your whole life.” Murray chimes in, reaffirming Mr. Grant’s story, “and you know something else? It proves something very important. It proves that you are not in a rut, because nobody in a rut would ever have the guts to dye their hair like you did.” Mary immediately
removes the blonde wig from her hair and her co-workers are relieved. Mr. Grants says, “Thank God!”

When Mary returns home, Sue Ann is there to cheer her up. She suggests that they decorate her apartment to get her out of her rut. Although Mary is offended because she has already decorated the apartment, Sue Ann insists that she needs to make a change in her life in order to be appeased. Both Sue Ann and Mary try to solve the problem of Mary’s rut by an aesthetic change; Mary’s solution is the blonde hair and Sue Ann’s is decorating her apartment. Mr. Grant even buys Mary flowers the next morning on his way to work, something pretty she can look at to make her feel better. After Sue Ann sees the flowers, she decides to share with the men that Mary needs a man in her life to make it better. She suggests that a very masculine man would help Mary get out of her rut. The men do not agree with Sue Ann and insist that she does not need a man in her life.

Mary does not bring up the idea of having a man in her life. However, she does decide to move to a new apartment as a way of starting over. While at her new apartment, a male neighbor stops by and asks her to dinner. Mary declines and tells him she specifically didn’t want to live in a singles community. Mary practically pushes him out the door; she is focused on hanging her gold letter ‘M’ that was in her old apartment on her new wall. By the end of the episode, Mary seems like she is content with being single and living alone, choosing to focus on hanging her letter ‘M’ instead of having small talk with her new male neighbor. Just when Mary’s decision seems to be made, she blurts out “I don’t like it.” Even after all of the changes, Mary is not content with her decision to change apartments to get out of her rut. Rather, living alone might not be enough to get this 36 year old out of her rut.
In Episode 6, Mary’s prestigious journalist Aunt Lou comes to visit. The much older Aunt Lou is feisty and full of adventure. When she arrives at Mary’s apartment, Mary answers the door in pajama pants and a button up t-shirt, and Aunt Lou is quick to make a comment. “Oh, look at you, you’re all grown up. Oh my gosh, pajamas. I haven’t seen anyone wear pajamas since Hubert Humphrey.” Mary already had an issue with being in a rut in Episode 2, and now her aunt is pointing out how grown she has become and is and poking fun at her choice of night clothes. Mary is pictured in nightclothes several times throughout the seven years of the show, but this is the only time that she is seen in pajama pants instead of a nightgown. One reason Mary favors pajama pants could be that she feels they are more age appropriate for someone her age; she is not seen in night clothes in Season 7. Mary’s style of pajamas is also very masculine, which greatly differs from her frilly nightgowns. This style change can be seen as reflective of gender roles changing to become more similar (Lennon, 1990). This masculine style has been previously shown in her pantsuits to work but is now seen in her pajamas.

Mary struggles with age related issues throughout Season 6. In Episode 8, Sue Ann, who is over twenty years older than Mary, informs Mary that she is no longer hip to what is going on. Sue Ann explains to Mary that she understands the hip culture and current trends, telling Mary “If I liked those threads, I would say they were bad.” Although Sue Ann’s style is conservative and mature, she is implying that Mary is simply getting too old and is not adapting to a hip lifestyle.

The reoccurring theme in Season 6 is the struggle Mary faces with getting older. This is evident in her career and personal life as well as the comments made about her dress. Although Mary has an established career and identity, she grows bored with the identity she has worked hard to create. Mary continues to make changes in her life throughout the season to create
excitement, but none of them seem to work. After her relationship with Ken ends when she fails to connect with his child, Mary looks for ways other than a romantic relationship to spice up her life.

Season 7

The overall tone of Season 7 is much different than its preceding Seasons. All of the characters have been established long before, and the plots are less exciting. Mary seems complacent with the idea of being older; she is no longer eager to get out of her rut. Out of the 13 episodes evaluated in Season 7, there were only two comments about Mary’s dress. Neither of these comments complimented Mary on the way she looked, like comments in previous Seasons. Many of the episodes centered on an event that happened at work or socializing with her coworkers; both Phyllis and Rhoda have long moved away, and Mary is not consistently seen dating during this season. In planning for the final season, it is possible that producers wanted a show that started out focusing on a single career woman and ended with emphasis again on this aspect of the show.

In Episode 8, Mr. Grant knocks on Mary’s apartment door while she sits in a robe painting her nails with curlers in her hair. “Who is it?” she wants to know before she answers the door. Upon finding out that it is Mr. Grant, she tells him “Oh, Mr. Grant, I just wanted to check because I look so awful.” As Mary opens her door she finds Mr. Grant standing with another handsome man. Immediately she is embarrassed because of the way she is dressed. Mr. Grant picks up on this embarrassment and says to his friend, “Oh, the curlers? Mary doesn’t worry about that.” In reality, Mary was very concerned with the way she looked in front of Mr. Grant’s friend, who was actually going to be her lawyer. In previous seasons, Mr. Grant was more sensitive to the way Mary felt in front of other men. However, Mary is no longer seen as a
young single woman who needs to attract a man. This comment from Mr. Grant is far different from Season 2 when he insists on telling Mary what to wear to go on a date.

Although Mr. Grant’s comments about Mary’s dress have seemed to change over the seasons, Ted Baxter is a character whose narrow minded view of Mary never seems to evolve. In Episode 8, Ted once again finds himself complaining about Mary by telling her:

You didn’t want me to tell them what you really do around here, did you? You come in, you hang up your coat, you go in and talk to Lou about your problems, you wear a lot of different clothes, and you have a lot of parties.

Although Mary has had seven years at WJM to prove her skills in the male dominated newsroom, Ted Baxter has never given her any of the credit she deserves. He often tries to make Mr. Grant understand that Mary is very petty; she only worries about her personal problems and what she is wearing. At the same time, Ted is very concerned with his own looks, often complaining to his co-workers, fishing for complements. Ted’s comment is the last related to dress in the sample taken of the series. Although the comments were sparse throughout the last season, the last comment supports the idea that because Mary is a woman, she is still not an equal member of the workplace. In addition, the way Ted Baxter chooses to convey his thoughts about Mary are often tied with the importance he believes that she puts on her own dress. In the later part of the series, Mary was highly unlikely to say anything about her dress to her male co-workers; however, Ted still believes that because she is a woman, she must feel the need to talk about her dress instead of business matters.

**Data Analysis by Season**

**Frequency of Comments per Season**

In order to better understand how *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* changed over the course
of its seven years, the data collected has been analyzed by season. Change in the frequency of each category is important because it directly relates to changes in the show. From 1970-1977, there were many changes taking place in society that could be reflected in the dialogue of the show. In Figure 1, shown below, the frequency of comments regarding Mary Richard’s dress throughout the seven seasons is shown.

![Figure 1. Frequency of Comments per Season](image)

The number of comments ranged from two to eight. As shown in Figure 1, the numbers of comments in Seasons 1 through 4 are comparable. Season 5 had the highest number of comments at eight; which was followed by a consistent decline in comments in Seasons 6 and 7. This sharp decline in comments in the last two seasons suggests that comments regarding Mary’s dress were no longer appropriate or popular with audiences. The change in Mary’s dress from Seasons 1 through 5 was more noticeable in the show and, therefore, was more likely to be accompanied with comments than in Seasons 6 and 7, where her dress remained similar in style.

**Gender Role Comments per Season**

Comments relating to Mary’s perceived gender role were also evaluated for change. Gender roles in society were changing while the show was on the air, and by analyzing comments regarding gender roles, we can see if and how Mary’s perceived gender role evolved.
Comments about Mary’s dress were categorized as being rejecting, supporting, or neither rejecting or supporting a traditional female gender role. This is shown below in Figure 2.

![Graph showing gender role comments per season](image)

**Figure 2. Gender Role Comments Per Season**

As Figure 2 shows, there were no comments made throughout the seven seasons that rejected the concept of a traditional gender role. Comments range from zero to six per season with a total of 37 comments in the series. Although Mary’s role on the show changed through the years, none of the comments regarding her dress rejected the concept of traditional gender roles. Comments supporting a traditional female gender role (shown in green) remained constant for the first three seasons and then began to decline. This supports the idea that gender roles were changing in society, and it is reflected in comments regarding Mary’s dress in the show.

Comments that neither rejected or supported traditional gender roles, and therefore were considered gender neutral, ranged from zero (Season 7) to six (Season 5). Season 5 was also the season with the highest frequency of comments regarding Mary’s dress. The frequency of comments declined in the last two seasons, however in the last season the two comments made supported traditional gender roles. Based on this data, over the course of seven seasons comments were less likely to support traditional gender roles, which is a reflection of a change in gender roles in society with the exception of the last season, where support for traditional gender roles
roles increased.

**Comments by Gender per Season**

Comments were recorded and evaluated by gender to determine whether males or females made the most comments and how it changed throughout the show. Since the focus of the data is based on Mary’s perceived gender role, it is important to identify the gender most likely to make comments regarding Mary’s dress. Figure 3, below, shows the frequency of comments made by gender over seven seasons.

![Figure 3. Comments by Gender per Season](image)

In Season 1, there were no comments made by male characters regarding Mary’s dress. However, in Season 2 the frequency of male comments was highest at four. Comments by males in Seasons 3 and 4 declined but spiked again in Season 5. Previous analysis shows that the most comments regarding Mary’s dress were also in Season 5. Seasons 6 and 7 comments by males declined as comments in general declined (comments by males and females were equal in Season 7). The increase in male comments from Season 1 to Season 2 is opposite from comments from females, which declined from Season 1 to Season 2. In Seasons 4, 6, and 7, comments from both males and females declined.
Comments by Attitude per Season

Comments regarding Mary’s dress were evaluated as being negative, neutral, or positive in attitude. These comments directly reflect Mary as a character, so by analyzing those comments by attitude the overall perception of Mary’s character can be seen. In Figure 4, comments are categorized by attitude over each Season.

![Graph of comments by attitude per season](image)

**Figure 4. Comments by Attitude per Season**

Negative comments were more frequent in the first four seasons and then declined. There were zero comments categorized as neutral in Seasons 1 and 7, and two neutral comments in Season 3. This suggests that a comment was most likely to be either negative or positive in attitude. Neutral comments in a television show could be seen as dialogue filler because a neutral comment is less likely to invoke a reaction from the audience (neutral and positive comments were equal in Seasons 6 and 7).

Positive comments ranged from zero (Season 4 and 7) to four (Season 5). The season with the highest frequency of comments is also the season with the highest frequency of positive comments. Since these comments were positive in nature, Mary’s dress can be considered pleasing to both herself and other characters in Season 5. Both Seasons 4 and 7 had zero positive comments, which suggests that Mary’s dress was less pleasing in these two seasons.
Comment Reference per Season

Comments were categorized as directed towards Mary’s personal dress or career dress. Mary does not work in a field that carries a strict dress code, so comments regarding her dress relating in her career can be seen as unnecessary and supporting a traditional gender role, whether positive or negative. Figure 5 shows the frequency of comments regarding both Mary’s career and personal dress per season.

![Figure 5. Comment Reference per Season](image)

Comments regarding Mary’s career dress ranged from zero (Season 2) to four (Season 3). Mary’s career role remained the same throughout Seasons 2 and 3. However, the largest increase in the frequency of comments regarding Mary’s career dress is in Season 4. Season 3 is also the only season when comments regarding Mary’s career dress occurred more frequently than comments regarding her personal dress. Comments regarding Mary’s personal life ranged from one (Season 7) to six (Seasons 2 and 5). Throughout all seven seasons there is never a time in which there are zero comments regarding Mary’s personal dress (career and personal comments were equal in Seasons 6 and 7).

Frequency of Comments by Character

In addition to comments categorized by gender, these comments are also evaluated based
on each character. The role each character played in Mary’s life is already known; so by knowing the frequency of comments by characters, we can examine the role of the character that is most likely to make a comment regarding Mary’s dress throughout the seven seasons. Table 2 shows the frequency of comments by character.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhoda</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Grant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sue Ann</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ted</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phyllis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mary Richards made the most comments regarding her own dress, with a total of nine comments. Since Mary’s comments were in regards to her own clothing, they were most likely to criticize her choices or seek the approval of other characters. This is a trait most often given to women because a traditional gender role depicts women as being more concerned with her own appearance than men. In Season 5, frequency of comments regarding Mary’s dress was highest, yet Mary only commented once. Season 6 was the only season Mary did not comment on her own dress; this could be because Mary had higher self-esteem and relied less on the approval of others.

Mary’s neighbor, Rhoda made 18.9% of the comments regarding Mary’s dress, even though she only appeared on the show for the first four seasons. Mary and Rhoda had a close
relationship and she was most likely to talk with Mary about her dress. Mary’s boss, Mr. Grant, was the male character most likely to make comments regarding Mary’s dress. Mr. Grant was in an authoritative position, which would make it less appropriate for him to make comments regarding Mary’s dress. Although Mr. Grant did not make a comment in Season 1, the next season he made the highest number of comments regarding Mary’s dress: three. Mr. Grant might have felt more comfortable making a comment regarding Mary’s dress after he had known her for a year.

**Frequency of Comments by Type of Dress**

Comments were categorized according to the type of dress to which the comment refers. Certain types of dress are more likely considered traditional gender appropriate, so comments regarding types of dress show if non-traditional gender types of dress fostered more comments. Although Mary’s career is a main focus on the show, she is shown in a variety of different types of dress. Table 3 shows the frequency of comments by type of dress.

**Table 3**

Frequency of Comments by Type of Dress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Dress</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pants</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>24.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skirt</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pajamas</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>5.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Occasion</td>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The highest frequency of comments is related to Mary wearing pants, 37.8%. Pants are traditionally considered apparel designated for men; the high number of comments regarding Mary’s pants suggests that this type of dress was most controversial. Comments regarding pants were most likely made in Seasons 3 through 5. Mary did not wear pants to work in the first two seasons, which would contribute to the lower frequency of comments regarding pants at that time. Comments about pants tapered off in the last two seasons, suggesting that the characters became more comfortable with Mary wearing pants. Gender roles became less traditional in Seasons 6 and 7 because fewer comments were made regarding pants.

**Gender Related Comments**

**Character Gender and Gender Roles**

In addition to analyzing comment frequencies, the relationships between categories are also important in further understanding the dress related comments on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Comments were categorized as rejecting, supporting, or neither rejecting nor supporting gender roles and were classified by characters gender to evaluate if either male or female characters are more likely to support traditional gender roles. Because Mary is a female, the comments are regarding female gender roles. Gender related comments are shown in Figure 6.

![Figure 6. Gender Role Comments by Character Gender](image)
Male characters were only slightly more likely to support traditional gender roles in their comments. Women, on the other hand, were more likely to remain neutral concerning traditional gender roles than they were to support them. Overall, there were more comments regarding Mary’s dress made by women. Neither males nor females made comments rejecting traditional female roles.

**Character Gender and Attitude**

Knowing whether or not gender affects the attitude of comments in the show can help determine which gender was more critical of Mary’s dress. Figure 7 shows the attitude of comments categorized by gender.

![Figure 7. Character Gender and Attitude](image)

Both males and females were more likely to make negative comments than positive comments regarding Mary’s dress. There was a higher frequency of females who made comments on Mary’s dress, but gender was not an important part in determining if the comment will be negative, neutral, or positive in attitude. Criticism and praise came from both genders; neutral comments were likely less frequent because if a character was going to make a scripted comment, it would most likely have either a negative or positive attitude for entertainment value.
Character and Attitude

The previous figure indicates that gender does not play a role in the attitude of comments.

By categorizing attitude and character, we can determine the overall attitude each character has in regards to Mary’s dress. Then the relationship that character has with Mary can be evaluated.

Table 4 shows the relationship between character and attitude.

Table 4
Character and Attitude

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Percent Positive</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Percent Neutral</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Percent Negative</th>
<th>Total Comments</th>
<th>Percent Total</th>
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<td>50.00%</td>
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<td>16.70%</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>66.70%</td>
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</tr>
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Mary’s neighbor and friend, Rhoda has the highest percentage of positive comments with 57.1%. Rhoda was often depicted as envious of Mary’s appearance and body type. However, Rhoda did not let this envy get in the way of giving Mary positive feedback about her dress.

Three characters, Mike, Phyllis, and Ted gave 100% negative feedback regarding Mary’s dress; however, none of them make frequent comments. Mary made the most overall comments in regards to her own dress, none of which was positive in attitude. The majority, 77.8%, of Mary’s comments were negative, suggesting that Mary had low self-esteem and was never satisfied with her dress. Although Mary was successful in her career and had a stable personal life, she never made one positive comment about any aspect of her dress.
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Mary’s dress played an important role in identifying her character on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. This can be seen by comments made by both Mary Richards and the other characters on the show. Comments range from short complimentary remarks to criticism of Mary’s dress by her boss, Mr. Grant. Overall, these comments help to shape Mary’s identity and gender role on the show.

From the opening theme song, we meet Mary Richards for the first time. As she throws her beret in the air on a crowded street, we hear “you might just make it after all”. Mary’s character seems sweet and energetic; her feisty neighbor Rhoda thinks she looks a little too perfect. Perfection and all, Mary admits that she is a “coward” when it comes to being overtly sexual; she prefers to be sweet and conservative. Throughout the season we see that all of the characters (including Mary) are very concerned that she is still single and thirty years old. Although she is enjoying her job in the newsroom, she is very interested in finding the right man. At this point in the show, it is hard to believe that she will make it seven years without commitment.

Season 2 begins with a reassuring nature; the theme song now boast “you’re gonna make it after all”. Although the theme song is more positive about Mary Richards making it in the big city, the rest of the characters are not so sure. Mr. Grant tries to tell Mary what to wear to a blind date with his friend. When she doesn’t wear the dress he prefers and the date does not go favorably, Mr. Grant blames Mary for not taking his advice. Even though Mr. Grant is her middle aged boss, he believes that he knows better than Mary and she should listen to him. Later in the season Mary shares her fears with Rhoda about having to call the fire department to unzip
her dress because she lives alone. Season 2 has made little progress in picturing Mary as anything more than a single woman, looking for a husband who is incapable of making her own decisions.

In Season 3, Mary feels the pressure of representing women in the workplace because of her prestigious role in the newsroom. Mary takes on her first gender related issue: women earning less money than men. Although she does not win this battle, she unintentionally brings up another issue of gender appropriate dress in the workplace. When she wears a man’s style suit and tie to the office, Mr. Grant promptly tells her never to wear pants to work again. Even though this is done to get laughs, the rest of the episode follows the belief that Mary is not equal to men in the workplace. She is seen as merely a secretary who needs to dress like a proper lady; she even takes Mr. Grant’s advice and abstains from wearing pants through the majority of episodes in this season. Season 3 is different from the previous seasons because it brings up contemporary issues that women in the workplace faced.

Examining how American society felt about pants during this time is important in determining whether or not the show portrayed current issues regarding gender roles and dress. Two main sources will be used to describe acceptable corporate workplace attire: John Molloy’s books on dressing for success and examples of fashions at the time as shown in magazines and retrospective books.

In 1975, business consultant John Molloy wrote *Dress for Success*. The first of two books was geared towards men’s dress and was popular in the workplace, setting the standard for appropriate business dress. Molloy began as an image consultant for businesses, then started writing columns in newspapers, and later appeared on radio and television shows. He was a pioneer in career dressing at a time when unemployment levels were high and Americans were
searching for advice on how to get a job (Cunningham, 2005).

In the 1970s, the American workforce was changing; by 1978 over 40 percent of the workforce were women. The women’s movement was instrumental in changing women’s roles in the workplace (Cunningham, 2005). In his second book Molloy begins

This is the most important book ever written about women’s clothing because it is based on scientific research, not on opinion. The advice in this book will help women make substantial gains in business and their social lives (page 15).

The dress of Mary Richards on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was considered “a front-runner of the dress for success look (Melinkoff, 1984, p. 173).” Mary’s dress was seen as serious in the workplace but also as attainable; many of the designs worn were Norman Todd designs that were easily found and affordably priced. Mary’s dress was seen as body conscious yet wasn’t too trendy (Melinkoff, 1984).

Molloy goes on to explain the specific mistakes that women make, much like he did in the previous book written for at men. The number two mistake women make is “they often still view themselves as sex objects” (Molloy, 1977, p. 16). The reason that women are considered sex objects is twofold: because men subjugated them and because women allowed this to happen. Molloy attributes the recent women’s movement to giving women more “depth and personality” and a desire for career success. He attributes the European-driven fashion industry as the reason American women were failing to dress for success. American women have the desire to achieve success in their jobs, and he believes European designers have the need to keep women “barefoot and pregnant” (Molloy, 1977).

The first example Molloy gives of what a women must not wear to work is anything that imitates what a man might wear. Based on his own observational research, he suggests that
women wearing skirted suits have an easier time giving orders in the workplace, whereas as pantsuit “destroys” a woman’s ability to have authority. He regrets that the advice he gave in his first book aimed at men was being translated to women’s career fashions. In addition, Molloy argues that the book is not sexist because he offers women advice on dressing to please men for one reason: men hold the most power when it comes to business. Homemakers have been unfairly treated based on their gender, and it is devastating when professional women are treated unfairly for the same reason. He even suggests that women, for the first time, had an edge in obtaining a job over men due to government guidelines (Molloy, 1977).

Societal opinions about women wearing pants drastically changed from the mid-sixties to mid-seventies. Opinions of fashion often vary according to geography. The following show national trends, which are often first accepted in large cities like New York and slowly become accepted in smaller towns. In 1966, Yves Saint Laurent pantsuits for women became immensely popular. *Life* magazine wrote that this new pants look showed that women now had endless choices when it came to fashion. Although women began buying the pantsuits, there was resistance in society to this new fashion (Melinkoff, 1984). Women’s Wear Daily published an account of two women who were denied entrance to several New York City restaurants in 1966 because they each had on pants (Kasover, 1966). Women who decided to wear pantsuits to work could be sent home to change because business dress codes restricted women in the corporate workplace (Melinkoff, 1984).

By 1968, pants suits were accepted as high end fashions, which prompted social venues to change their willingness to accept women wearing pants. As social venues began to accept women wearing pants, pants in the corporate workplace also became more acceptable. By 1970, *Vogue* fashion magazine depicted women in career pants as commonplace (Mulvagh, 1988).
There is no way to determine what year pants were acceptable in the corporate workplace, but personal accounts in Melinkoff’s book What We Wore suggests that women were beginning wearing pants to work between 1968 and 1971. Pantsuits were accepted before pants separates were in regards to work (Melinkoff, 1984). Women’s Wear Daily trade publication noted that as a result of the women’s movement women wore pants (not strictly pantsuits) to work in corporate America, and as a result dress sales dropped between 1970-1979 (Pogoda & Nicholson, 1998).

Mary first wore pants to the WJM Newsroom in 1972 (Season 3). The show was set in Minneapolis, which would have likely been delayed in adopting new fashion trends. However, women wearing pants to work would not have been a controversial issue in 1972. Although the show was the first to feature a single, career oriented female lead character, the issues females faced regarding appropriate dress in the workplace were not occurring at the same time as shown on The Mary Tyler Moore Show.

In addition to the occasion Mary first wore pants to work, the criticism Mary faced from co-workers regarding her dress is especially telling. Mary first struggles with herself to find an appropriate look to represent ‘women in television’. When she finally decides on a pantsuit with a wide tie, Mary is dressing more like a man than a woman. Mary’s adoption of a masculine dress in order to be taken seriously at the workplace could be viewed as a pro-feminist decision. However, when Mary gets to work, she receives a negative reaction from her male co-workers, and her boss even tells her not to wear pants to work again. These reactions support traditional gender roles: Mary is a woman and should therefore not dress like a man. In addition, these reactions suggest that Mary’s dress is subject to the opinions of her male co-workers and what they deem acceptable.
These anti-feminist views are seen in the remainder of the episode when Mary has to record her own interview. Although she is being interviewed for being a woman in a man’s world, she is being treated like a secretary. In addition, she is asked out by the interviewer, which suggests that Mary is ultimately seen as a sexual object by the male interviewer, not as a serious career oriented woman. This episode takes one step forward, then two steps back regarding Mary’s perceived gender role at WJM. Instead of taking up for herself, Mary lets these comments affect her; she also does not wear pants again for several episodes.

In Season 4 (1973-1974), Mary began wearing pants to work regularly, which continued until the end of the show. Many times Mary’s dress included pants without a matching jacket; pantsuits were considered the more conservative choice. By this time, pants had become an acceptable form of dress for women in corporate America, and Mary faced no negative reactions regarding this wardrobe choice. A negative reaction could have been deemed outdated and turned off many female viewers who regularly wore pants to work. Regarding feminists views on dress, the show favored the idea of Mary’s dress becoming more masculine than a feminist natural anti-fashion idea. Mary continued to be very concerned with her overall appearance throughout the show, but she did adopt masculine trends as her male co-workers adopted a more feminine style. These changes in dress reflect the change in Mary’s perceived gender role over time. Mary was given a promotion at work and there was less pressure placed on her to fulfill a traditional gender role by getting married and having kids.

Mary’s dress did not follow the guidelines later addressed in John Molloy’s *The Woman’s Dress for Success Book*. Although not published until 1977, the last year the show aired, the guidelines featured in this book were closely followed in the first three seasons of the show. However, the guidelines in the book were much more conservative than Mary’s dress in
the last four seasons.

As Season 4 begins, Mary’s dress in the theme song is much different; she wears pants for many of the opening shots. The issue of pants in the workplace was not brought up again, but Mary now feels comfortable enough to wear pants to work routinely. Mary now faces issues with getting older. Even though she is only 34 years old, she tries shopping in younger boutiques to give her a more youthful appearance. Mary’s dress adopts more masculine details and Mary’s male co-workers dress adopts brighter colors and patterns, suggesting that gender roles are becoming less defined.

During Season 5, Mary had established her identity in the WJM Newsroom. She is taken more seriously than before, but she still faces some opposition. When Mary is in a relationship with a man who has a child, co-worker Sue Ann gives her advice on how to “snare” him. Sue Ann suggests that Mary show she can be a good homemaker, Mary seems to laugh this idea off but Mary still feels pressure from others regarding her personal life. Overall, this season features racier material and Mary’s gender role has slightly evolved.

In Season 6, Mary struggles with her life being in a rut. She is unsure what to do to make her life more exciting and decides to wear a blonde wig to work. Her co-workers are astonished when Mary walks in with platinum hair, and are relieved to find out that it is only a wig. Mary decides to move to a new apartment, but she is still unhappy with her life. Mary realized that having a successful career does not fulfill her; she is still missing a piece to the puzzle. Although we assume that this missing piece is a man, characters decrease comments about Mary settling down. Comments about Mary’s dress are also much less common than in previous seasons.

The final season the show was on the air has a much different tone than before. Comments regarding Mary’s dress are at an all time low. Mr. Grant even suggests that Mary
doesn’t worry about what she looks like in front of others. Mary is no longer referred to as a beautiful young woman; rather she is seen as an older woman who has chosen a career over her personal life. The issue of Mary’s gender at the workplace is rarely seen. Mary is taken more seriously in her job. When the series ends, Mary is still unwed and along with her other co-workers she is fired from WJM.

There were no comments recorded that rejected traditional gender roles regarding Mary’s dress. Comments that supported traditional gender roles were more likely during the first three seasons, suggesting that Mary’s perceived gender role did change throughout the course of the show. However, the last season showed an increase in comments supporting traditional gender roles. There were only two comments made regarding Mary’s dress in this season, but both supported traditional gender roles. This increase in traditional gender role comments could be related to Mary’s age; which is also an issue during the last few seasons. Females were more likely to make comments that neither supported nor rejected traditional gender roles, whereas men were more likely to support traditional gender roles in their comments regarding Mary’s dress.

When it comes to attitude of the comments, Mary’s dress appeared to be the most pleasing in Season 5, with the highest frequency of positive dress comments. Negative comments declined over the course of the series; however the number of comments also declined. Mary’s identity was better established and accepted after Season 4. Both females and males were more likely to make negative comments than positive comments regarding Mary’s dress. Males were unlikely to make neutral comments; they were either negative or positive in nature. This could be because males are traditionally less likely to comment on dress in a neutral way than women, who often talk about dress in their everyday lives.
Mary made more comments regarding her own dress than any other character. Out of the nine comments, seven of them were negative. Mary often made comments that showed her low self-esteem and desire to be accepted. Mary uses negative comments regarding her dress as a way of doubting herself as an independent woman. Mary lacks the ability to become a true feminist role model with her frequent use of negative comments which fail to reinforce her ability to be confident in herself.

Comments made were more likely to be regarding Mary wearing pants (37.8 percent) than any other type of dress. This supports the idea that pants were an important issue on the show. Twelve of the fourteen comments were made between Seasons 3 and 5, when Mary began wearing pants to work. This shows that comments regarding Mary’s dress were influenced by her gender role; pants were the only type of dress than could be considered masculine that Mary wore throughout the show. There were less comments regarding traditionally feminine dress such as skirts and nightgowns; suggesting they were less of an issue. If Mary’s gender role would have been consistent throughout the show, there would not have been issues regarding Mary wearing pants to work. Comments regarding pants were most likely to be made in Seasons 3-5, suggesting a change in Mary’s gender role through her dress on the show.

Mary’s Gender Role

Over the course of seven years, Mary’s perceived gender role did evolve on the show. However, comments regarding Mary’s dress were more likely to shift from supporting traditional gender roles to being neutral; however there was an increase in supporting comments in the last season. Comments regarding Mary’s dress were never recorded as rejecting traditional gender roles. Mary’s dress did become more masculine and the male characters’ dress became more feminine throughout the show. When expected gender roles become similar between men and
women, dress follows suit by becoming similar (Bush & London, 1960). Although the genders do not attempt to look like the opposite gender, often times females adopt masculine styles and males will adopt understated feminine styles (Lennon, 1990). Dress did evolve on the show to mimic that of changing gender roles in society.

The concept of ‘women’s liberation’ was shown in a negative light on The Mary Tyler Moore Show. The first comments regarding the women’s movement were made in Season 5, which aired in 1975. By 1970, cover stories of the women’s movement could be seen on almost every major magazine in the country, and 80 percent of American adults knew about the movement (Deckard, 1979). The show not only was late in discussing the movement but was also accompanied by negative reaction to the movement by male characters. Although The Mary Tyler Moore Show did bring up issues relevant to working women like unfair pay and struggles to be taken seriously, these issues were often resolved by Mary looking like a fool. This was a situational comedy and was therefore not meant to confront difficult issues. However, the show, which began only weeks after the “Women Strike for Equality” and fifty years after women were granted the right to vote, did little to show a culture where women were becoming equal to men (Dow, 1996).

Comments Mary made regarding her own dress were often negative and displayed low self-esteem. Although Mary was successful in her career, she constantly felt the need to question herself. One of the ways this was shown was through her dress. When Mary found herself in a rut, she wore a blonde wig to work. When Mary was uneasy about dating a younger man, she tried desperately to look younger through her dress. Mary was very concerned with her appearance and the meanings behind her dress; this attribute is traditionally directed at women. Male characters also contributed to this notion when they were concerned about Mary’s shirt.
being un-tucked and when her boss gave her specific instructions on what to wear to a date. Although Mary does well in the WJM Newsroom, the show rarely gave Mary the accolades she deserved.

Overall, Mary’s gender role did change throughout the seven years of the show. However, the majority of the change occurred in the last three seasons. Mary had many successes in her career; however she still faced comments that supported a more traditional gender role. This change can be seen in the last two seasons as comments regarding her dress decreased and the overall attitude that Mary does not know what is best for her diminishes. Mary was less likely to be seen dating in the last two seasons and ultimately ended the show a single woman. Her fate is also the same as her male co-workers; she is fired from the WJM newsroom. Unlike the earlier seasons, we know that Mary is “gonna make it after all”.

Research question one asked: how do comments regarding Mary’s dress reflect her gender role throughout The Mary Tyler Moore Show from 1970-1977? Comments evolve throughout the course of the show to reflect Mary’s gender role. One was this is seen is through comments regarding Mary wearing pants to work. These comments were likely to be made in Seasons 3-5, showing a change in Mary’s gender role from the first two seasons. These comments decreased in the last two seasons once her gender role had evolved. In addition, comments were less likely to support traditional gender roles as the show was on the air from 1970-1977. There was an increase in traditional comments in the last season, however the number of comments made supporting traditional gender roles was still lower in Season 7 than the first seasons. Comments regarding Mary’s dress show an evolution of her gender role from very traditional in Season 1, to much less traditional in the later seasons.

Research question two asked: is this gender role consistent with changes in gender roles
in society? This question was answered using an important issue featured on the show: Mary wearing pants to work. This issue first emerged in 1972 and Mary began regularly wearing pants to work in 1974. Many women in America faced similar issues wearing pants in the workplace between 1967 and 1970. *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* featured pants in the workplace later than that in society; the show was not up to date on this issue. However, Mary faced many issues that women in the workplace were facing such as low wages and a lack of respect. Although those issues were not the main focus of the show, they did portray the show as being current with society.

**Recommendations for Further Research**

This research could be expanded in many ways to further explore the relationship between gender roles and dress on television. *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was a situational comedy involving a single career-oriented female character. By comparing this show with other television shows in which the lead character was not a career oriented single female or with dramatic shows, research could show how *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* compared to other shows of the same time period. This research could determine if comments regarding Mary’s dress were similar or different from comments made in other television shows.

Future research could also explore how *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* compares to shows featuring single career oriented females in different time frames. Mary Richards might have been the first character of her type on television, but many single career oriented females have starred in both comedies and dramatic shows since 1970. A comparison between television shows of different time periods could focus on how gender roles in the workplace have changed as well as determine if there has been a substantial change in comments regarding the dress of the female characters.
Finally, research concerning dress in relation to gender roles on television can be extended to focus on male characters. Since males have been starring on television from the time it was introduced to American homes, a study involving how gender roles and dress are related with male characters over time could show how gender roles have changed in America since the 1950s. Comparisons between males and females during the same time period or the same show in regards to dress related comments and gender roles would also expand on the topic addressed in this research.

Overall, comments regarding Mary’s dress help us to understand her perceived gender role on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Throughout the seven years the show aired, Mary’s traditional gender role evolved in the same direction as society’s views on gender roles; although it did not evolve as quickly as in society. This change can be seen in Mary’s dress as well as comments regarding Mary’s dress. Research involving long running television shows is important in understanding the relationship between the media and society. This relationship is especially essential when studying periods of time with significant cultural change, like *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* 1970-1977.
REFERENCES


VITA

Ashley Hayes was born in Shawnee Mission, Kansas, in 1984. Due to her father’s career, Ashley lived in several different southern states while growing up. After graduating high school in Somerset, Kentucky, Ashley attended Western Kentucky University in Bowling Green where she earned a Bachelor of Science degree in design, merchandising, and textiles in 2007. Ashley was an active member of the Alpha Delta Pi Sorority. She completed her internship at D&D Creations, studying custom Mardi Gras costumes in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 2007.

Ashley was accepted into the Master of Science program in the School of Human Ecology in 2009, which fulfilled her dream of attending Louisiana State University. Ashley served as president for the Human Ecology Graduate Student Association from August 2009 to December 2010. In addition, Ashley worked as a graduate assistant for the 4-H Youth Development Office in 2010. After receiving her Master of Science degree in December 2010, Ashley plans on building a career as a college instructor in the field of textiles, apparel design, and merchandising.