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Survivors and Dreamers:
A Rhetorical Vision of *Teen Voices* Magazine

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Abstract

This study explores how *Teen Voices*, a magazine written and edited by teenage girls, created a rhetorical vision of empowerment through its text and photographs. Using symbolic convergence theory and fantasy theme analysis, the researcher identified four fantasy types: 1) I am a survivor, 2) I am a dreamer, 3) I am an activist, and 4) I can do anything. Findings discussed within the framework of third wave feminism show the rhetorical community established within *Teen Voices* magazine valued individualism and personal strength.

Keywords: Magazines, adolescent females, third wave feminism, fantasy theme analysis, symbolic convergence theory

As the dawn breaks, I am back in my world,
and again I'm just another girl,
but with a heart full of dreams.

—Torie Jay White, 13, “The Voice”¹

Eventually I drifted off to sleep, dreaming of the past, present, and
hopeful future. I'd be strong...I had to be.

—Emma Rodriguez, 14, “Glass Houses”²

Introduction

At the start of the 21st- century, dozens of magazines targeted the teenage girl, and readership of industry leaders *Seventeen*, *YM*, and *Teen* topped ten million.³ In the pages of teen magazines, girls rule: “Doing quizzes, reading facts about the stars, and laughing over stories of embarrassment is *fun*, frequently becoming a bonding activity with girlfriends.”⁴ Girls scour their favorite magazines for useful information from applying mascara to understanding boys. However, the magazines’ editorial and advertising content also offer contradictory messages, encouraging the teens to “be themselves” yet desirable for boys.⁵ Research has shown that teen consumer magazines support “mythical standards” of

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adolescent femininity, in which heterosexual relationships, physical attractiveness achieved by buying cosmetics and fashionable clothing, and thinness are key.⁶

McCracken wrote that teen magazines such as *Young Miss* and *Teen* are “especially effective agents of socialization and consumer culture.”⁷ Widely read and trusted by adolescent females, the big-circulation publications offer researchers good vehicles for studying cultural discourse. However, few researchers have examined alternative teen publications that provide young girls non-stereotyped messages of female identity and a forum for their own voices.

This paper examines such a publication: *Teen Voices*, a glossy magazine that tackled serious issues and criticized advertisers for their sexualization of teen girls. Co-founder Alison Amoroso considered the magazine a training ground for feminists: “I want girls to be angry about their world. And I want that anger to mobilize them.”⁸ Its mission was to empower girls through writing and mentorship.⁹ Published from 1990 to 2012, *Teen Voices* never enjoyed the six-figure circulation of industry leaders in the teen market. Yet it is worthy of study for several reasons: It offered markedly different content than commercial leaders in the market, and it was written and edited by teenage girls.

Research on three leading teen magazines found that text written by readers instead of editors made up only a small part of the magazines’ editorial content.¹⁰ Moore’s analysis of *Seventeen*’s “Traumarama!” column, created in 1994 as a space for girls to share embarrassing moments, suggested editors heavily edited and co-wrote the submissions, creating a homogenized everygirl who learned that it is not okay to be imperfect.¹¹ McRobbie argued that more study should be done on those who produce magazines, as they have the means to transform dominant messages.¹² As this research indicated, *Teen Voices*’ young staff presented its readers images of strong females who had survived incest, learned to be teenage moms, and fought bullying. Unlike that of large-circulation teen magazines, content in *Teen Voices* was largely unmediated by adults.

This research used symbolic convergence theory and its related fantasy theme analysis to explore how the photographs and text of *Teen Voices* created a potent social reality for its readers. The magazine created a rhetorical community that was pluralistic and individualistic, reflecting many of the attributes of the third wave of feminism emerging in the 1990s. The study adds to our understanding of the important role that alternative media play in shaping gender and cultural norms. There is little feminist and communication scholarship focused on publications that counter mainstream messages about adolescent identity. This study helps to fill that gap.

Literature Review

Symbolic Convergence Theory

Bormann’s symbolic convergence theory and the related method of fantasy theme analysis help researchers understand how individuals come to share a world

view or rhetorical vision.¹³ Foss wrote that symbolic convergence theory assumes that communication creates reality. While scholars might debate exactly how rhetoric functions, they “agree that there is a connection between the symbols we use and the reality we experience or the knowledge we have of the world.”¹⁴ A second assumption also underlies this theory: that individuals’ private meanings for symbols overlap with those of others. Such shared meanings form the basis for discussing common experiences and understanding one another, important elements of creating a community. Particularly relevant to magazine research is the theory’s recognition that audience and the sharing of messages are critical to the rhetorical process.¹⁵

A basic unit of study in this critical method is the fantasy theme, a story line that unfolds with characters, actions, and settings. Not to be confused with the word fantasy’s connotation as imaginary, these stories describe real experiences, offering a “social reality filled with heroes, villains, emotions and attitudes.”¹⁶ The fantasies are not neutral but instead offer a biased interpretation of the event or experience. Another element in fantasy theme analysis is the fantasy type, a motif that occurs repeatedly in the group’s rhetoric. The fantasy type lets group members interpret new experiences within a stock scenario. Individuals who share the same interpretation of reality, through fantasy themes and types, constitute a rhetorical community.¹⁷

Editors shape magazine content to attract a like-minded community of readers whom advertisers want to reach. Text, photographs, and advertisements create potent narratives, inviting readers to share a specific social reality. Thus, magazines are appropriate artifacts for this type of rhetorical study. Hinnant and Hendrickson used symbolic convergence theory and fantasy theme analysis to study celebrity health coverage in American magazines, concluding that a shared rhetorical vision presented health as both containable and controllable.¹⁸ Furrow’s study of the NCAA in-house magazine *Champion* showed it fell short of creating a rhetorical vision of NCAA sports as inclusionary.¹⁹ In a study of the *Title Nine* mail-order catalog, Edmondson found four fantasy types that reflect third wave feminism’s emphasis on personal choice and empowerment.²⁰

Of interest to this research was Duffy and Gotcher’s fantasy theme analysis of a 1993 issue of *YM* magazine, a publication that, like *Teen Voices*, targeted adolescent females. They concluded the high-circulation magazine provided its young readers a distorted world view that lacked work and educational opportunities, where pursuit of males was paramount, and where “they must costume and beautify themselves to achieve an almost impossible physical beauty ideal.”²¹ Similarly, Garner, Sterk, and Adams, who used fantasy theme analysis to examine the sexual etiquette put forth in advice columns in four magazines popular among teens, concluded the media presented a clear rhetorical vision, in which women contain their desires to fit into a male-defined role.²²

This study explored fantasy types evident in *Teen Voices* and whether the publication created a rhetorical community. *Teen Voices* differed from mass-market consumer publications aimed at young girls in two important ways: Its content was produced by

teenage girls instead of adults, and the magazine, published by a non-profit group, did not need to tailor content to please advertisers, and in fact, carried few ads on its pages. The study will consider the implications of these differences.

Third Wave Feminism

The third wave of feminism emerged in the nineties to encompass issues of importance to young women in their late teens through their thirties. While first wave feminists worked to get the vote and second wavers fought for job equality and reproductive rights, the issues facing this generation of feminists are diverse and include the personal as well as political. Baumgardner and Richards noted that every Third Wave Foundation membership card featured a space to answer the question, “My issues are...?” and no two cards have ever listed the same answer.²³ Heywood and Drake described the third wave as a hybrid movement that is inclusive of people of various sexualities, genders, and classes. It embraces individualism, multiple identities, and personal activism, and it acknowledges the contradictions inherent in modern life.²⁴

Third wave feminists reject the idea that they must accept a set of shared political priorities to be considered a feminist, Baumgardner writes, and they value personal narratives.²⁵ Essays in *Catching a Wave* describe a generation of women who created space in the feminist movement for marginalized voices and who recognized that race, class, age, ability, gender identity, and other interlocking issues affect how women experience discrimination.²⁶

Bronstein, who studied how the news media frame third wave feminism, wrote that the politics of appearance is another aspect of third wave feminism, in which third wavers reject an imposed style that “stifles personal aesthetic expression.”²⁷ Third wave feminists can be fashionistas as well as activists.

Female Adolescent media and Gendered Identity

In addition to fantasy theme analyses, other research examining female adolescent magazines suggests the publications present a traditional, gendered notion of identity. Setting the stage for several quantitative analyses was McRobbie’s 1982 study of British teen magazine *Jackie*, in which romance, fashion, and pop stars figured predominately.²⁸ Peirce’s content analysis of *Seventeen* magazine in the years 1961, 1972, and 1985 showed increased coverage of feminist-type issues in 1972, possibly motivated by the feminist movement of the late 1960s. However, when feminism dropped off the public’s radar in subsequent years, coverage of these topics returned to 1961 levels.²⁹ From the pages of their favorite magazine, Peirce noted, young women learn that beauty trumps brains, their goal in life is to find a man who can support them, and their job involves home and hearth.³⁰

Durham’s study of sexual ideologies apparent in *Seventeen* and *YM* magazines concluded that the “girls are encouraged to cast themselves as objects of male desire while being admonished never to succumb to that desire or to acknowledge their own.”³¹

Researchers Hust, Brown, and Engle found that sexual health content in teen media reinforced the traditional gender stereotypes of men being sexually obsessed and women being responsible for consequences—including caring for children.³² Research on the editorial and advertising content of *Sassy*, *Seventeen*, and *Young Miss* magazines concluded the publications emphasized fashion and beauty and had a disproportionate representation of teens of color.³³

Narratives that girls told about themselves in *Seventeen*'s "Traumarama!" columns, which researcher Moore maintained were shaped by editors, presented lives filled with shame and insecurities: "Girls, in these stories, are too much for a boy, expose too much of their bodies, or are too smart or not smart enough for the situation at hand."³⁴ *Seventeen*'s first editor envisioned a teen service magazine that included serious issues for the young adult who would soon be a voting citizen, but Massoni's cultural history of the magazine showed that a teen girl known foremost for her shopping savvy eventually trumped that early ideal.³⁵

Teen media also offer gendered messages about employment. Massoni found that *Seventeen* magazine glorified fashion modeling as a career option for females. "In *Seventeen*'s workplace, Cinderella is a temp worker who is biding time until her prince arrives, Barbie knows that her beauty supersedes her talent or ability, and Girl Friday is ever ready to assist her male superior."³⁶

Although most scholars have focused on high circulation teen magazines, a few have examined alternative publications, including *Teen Voices*. Scanlon reviewed six small-circulation magazines that updated the familiar teen magazine fare of quizzes, dating and sex advice, and fashion with a feminist twist: for instance, a sex-advice column that encouraged masturbation or an article each issue written by a girl from outside the U.S.³⁷ In an essay, Kruckemeyer contrasted the feminism in *Seventeen* and *Teen Voices* magazines, concluding that *Seventeen* represented a profeminist vehicle that seldom explicitly made the reader aware of feminism's goals while *Teen Voices* authors were unafraid to voice controversial positions and cover serious issues like abortion.³⁸ In their content analysis of *Teen Voices* between 2005 and 2011, Charmaraman and Lee found that, similar to other teen magazines, about half of its content centered on topics related to sexuality or romance; however, *Teen Voices* focused "more on promoting *anti*-sexualization and media activism, rather than a romantized, hyperfeminine notion of girlhood."³⁹

Teen Magazine Market

Teen Voices was one of a number of magazines in the 1990s and first decade of the twenty-first century that targeted the twelve- to nineteen-year-old female demographic. Advertisers eager to access the buying power of teenage girls supported mass-market consumer magazines such as *Seventeen* and, for short periods, upstart publications such as *Sassy*. Some magazines were long established ones scrambling to update their content for a new type of girl who was no longer the "gum-chewing teenybopper commonly portrayed," one editor told the *Washington Post*.⁴⁰ Others, like *Teen Voices*, were small-circulation

magazines that eschewed the fashion-and-beauty focus of their mass-market counterparts and, whether purposefully or not, received few dollars from fashion, beauty products, or clothing advertisers.⁴¹ While this study is not intended as a comparative analysis, it is helpful to understand the competitive market in which *Teen Voices* existed.

Seventeen, *YM*, and *Teen* dominated in the teen market in the 1990s. Created in 1944, *Seventeen* had a circulation in 1990 of 1.9 million.⁴² Researchers have noted the magazine's significant role in introducing the teen girl consumer to advertisers.⁴³ According to *1990 Writer's Market*, *Seventeen* was edited for young women between the ages of twelve to twenty concerned with the development of their own lives and the problems of the world around them.⁴⁴ Peirce's content analysis of *Seventeen* showed that 46 percent of its editorial pages in 1985 focused on the topic of appearance, 11 percent on home topics, 6.5 percent on male-female relations, and 6.8 percent on self development themes.⁴⁵

YM, an acronym that over the years reflected the titles *Young Miss*, *Young & Modern*, and *Your Magazine*, was published from 1932 to 2004, when new owner Condé Nast folded the magazine and added its 1.2 million subscribers to *Teen Vogue's* readership.⁴⁶ Targeted toward adolescent females ages twelve to nineteen, *YM* focused on beauty, fashion, romance, modeling tips, and hairstyles, and half of its pages comprised advertisements.⁴⁷

Teen magazine had a circulation of one million in 1990. Its profile in *Bacon's Magazine Directory* was unapologetic about the publication's consumeristic slant: "Devoted exclusively to shopping, style and celebrity and created to make a connection between the girl and the goods she wants."⁴⁸ The editors advised in a *1990 Writer's Market* listing that fiction submissions should have no explicit language, casual reference to drugs, alcohol, sex, or smoking, nor "too depressing outcome."⁴⁹

Sassy magazine represented an edgy, hip alternative to its mass-market cousins. Published from 1988 to 1996, its circulation reached 800,000 by 1994. *Sassy* covered lesbian couples, politics, and the pros and cons of virginity, among other candid topics.⁵⁰ In *How Sassy Changed my Life*, Jesella and Meltzer wrote that *Sassy* was a "refuge from airhead teenybopper magazines."⁵¹ On the down side, they noted, it was a very middle- to upper-class magazine celebrating, in large part, a white culture that did not have financial worries.⁵² A letter-writing campaign started by parents upset about the magazine's frank sexual content and pullback from major advertisers led Peterson Publishing to close *Sassy*.

A few small circulation magazines, including *Teen Voices*, offered readers a place where they could write about their own experiences and where they could find "female-positive" messages.⁵³ The magazine *blue jean* was published between 1996 and 1998. Its teen editorial board, which grew from three to twenty-nine members, helped brainstorm story ideas, review submissions, and even stuff letters for renewal mailings. Teen correspondents wrote articles on topics such as sports, black feminism, and self-confidence. Sherry Handel, the publisher who launched *blue jean* with just \$6,000, wanted an ad-free publication that bridged the age gap between *New Moon* magazine's eight- to fourteen-year-old readers and

Ms. magazine's adult demographic. Closed after the September/October 1998 issue for financial reasons, it returned online in 2000.⁵⁴

HUES (Hear Us Emerging Sisters) magazine began as a women's studies class project by three University of Michigan students, including twin sisters who had interned at *Sassy* magazine. In 1992, they distributed the first issue as a campus freebie and, by 1997, had produced nine national issues of 25,000 circulation. Feminist leaders Gloria Steinem and Rebecca Walker joined its advisory board. Ophira Edut, one of *HUES*' founders, described its inclusive target audience: "When we say women, we mean all women. At *HUES*, we'll show large women, thin women, tomboys, feminine-looking women. We're not telling anybody how to be a strong woman or what one looks like. We're trying to let women define strength for themselves, with as many different perspectives as possible."⁵⁵ Aimed primarily at older teens and college-aged women, *HUES* featured multicultural topics and a flippant tone. In 1997, *HUES* was acquired by Duluth-based New Moon Publishing, which discontinued publishing it in 1999.⁵⁶

The Latinitas organization launched the digital magazine *Teen Latinitas* in 2004 for young Hispanic women ages fifteen to twenty. Similar to *Teen Voices*' parent group, the organization offers an after-school outreach program with the mission of empowerment and media literacy. The organization created its first print product in 2009 and a glossy edition in 2013. Today, the group publishes an online magazine for teens called *Latinitas Magazine*.⁵⁷

In addition, a few magazines existed during the same period as *Teen Voices* that targeted the younger "tween" market of girls ages eight to fourteen. Among these were *New Moon: The Magazine for Girls and Their Dreams*, *Discovery Girls*, *Dream/Girl: The Arts Magazine for Girls*, and *American Girl*.⁵⁸

Teen Voices, the Magazine

Teen Voices premiered in spring 1990 with sixteen pages of articles written by young girls on topics from adolescent love to surviving physical abuse. The magazine was published by Women Express, a Boston non-profit founded by Alison Amoroso and Christine Diamond in 1988 that also ran a leadership program for local girls.⁵⁹ Funded by foundations and private donations along with subscriptions, the magazine eventually grew to fifty-six glossy pages. It began as a twice-a-year publication but expanded to quarterly between 1996 and 2003.⁶⁰ It ran for twenty-two years, ending with its Spring/Summer 2012 issue.

In the early 1990s, the Boston area was home to many women interested in gender issues who were eager to support the launch of an alternative publication with a feminist slant, and perhaps just as important, there was a promising philanthropic climate.⁶¹ In a *Ms.* article, Amoroso described the need for the publication: "One in five teenagers is sexually abused, others are in dysfunctional families—and each one thinks she's alone. We just want to show teens that they can have another life someday."⁶² Amoroso, who received a master's

degree in education from Harvard, was twenty-two years old and working as a social worker when she started the magazine with \$4,000.

Kathryn Wheeler, who joined *Teen Voices* as editor in 1996 from the Girls Coalition of Greater Boston, said in a phone interview that the goal was to produce a magazine by, for, and about teen girls around the world, one whose mission was “empowering girls and amplifying their voices.”⁶³ Wheeler said the staff had a feminist philosophy and political approach, but there was a reluctance among young girls to embrace feminism.

That did not prevent the girls from writing about dicey topics such as interracial dating, abortion, adoption, and transgender issues, among others. A teen advisory board, comprised of young girls selected as teen peer leaders, hashed out story ideas and angles for each issue. A college-age intern was responsible for mentoring a group of two to three writers. The intern and writers were aided by a staff member who taught journalism skills such as how to shape a topic, research a story, and interview experts. A 2011 *Teen Voices* fact sheet noted more than 195 teen girls had participated that fiscal year.

The student staffers, who came to the magazine’s offices in the basement of the YMCA three afternoons each week after six hours of school, were from economically disadvantaged parts of Boston and were mostly teens of color. In summer, each girl earned a small monthly stipend funded by a city employment program to work on the magazine. Together they hammered out sensitive editorial decisions: Could teens in the country’s heartland understand the slang shorthand “b-cuz,” and should editors include a note explaining that some writers worked on an article about homosexuality even though they didn’t agree with that lifestyle? Yes, on using “b-cuz,” and no on adding an editor’s note.⁶⁴

The college interns also reviewed submissions that the magazine received from girls around the world and wrote occasional features or columns. The magazine’s editorial content was lightly mediated by adults, who attended story conferences, wrote responses to reader letters, and penned informational material in sidebars. At times, the mediation appeared as a side note to a published opinion; for instance, one writer in a 1994 article equated feminism with “blaming men,” a comment that motivated an editor’s note encouraging the writer to become better informed about feminism.⁶⁵

The student writers and editors were ages fourteen to eighteen, and they wrote for a twelve- to nineteen-year old target audience. Regular content included the “Dear D” advice column, the “Say What?” feature that scrutinized print advertisements in other publications, readers’ letters, poetry, fiction, reviews, and articles on serious issues. In a 1998 essay comparing feminist teen magazines, Phillips wrote: “This was the junior *Ms.* with sex and violence.”⁶⁶ Noticeably missing were glossy fashion spreads, makeovers, and “how to get the guy” features. There were few ads. Sold by subscriptions, the magazine could be found in some 500 school libraries and at women’s bookstores.⁶⁷

In 1990, its first year of publication, *Teen Voices* had 2,000 subscribers. By 1996, subscriptions had increased to 10,000, and its readership, calculated using a three times pass

along rate, was 30,000. When the magazine added its teenvoices.com website in 1999, the print readership was 75,000. Amoroso expressed the lofty goal of reaching one million by 2005.⁶⁸ The online *Teen Voices* contained different content than the print version, and editorial staff updated it three times a week with one to three new articles.⁶⁹

With its small circulation and little interest from advertisers, *Teen Voices* struggled financially. In 1996, its annual budget was \$45,000--twenty-five percent of which came from grants and donations--when publisher Amoroso told the *Boston Globe* she needed to raise \$300, 000 or would have to sell.⁷⁰ In 2000, Amoroso took a pay cut to cover bills.⁷¹

It was clear the organization was in serious trouble by mid-2012. At the time, the magazine was being sold in Barnes and Nobles and about one hundred independent bookstores for a cover price of \$3.50. An annual subscription cost \$25, or \$40 for two years.⁷² A plea online asked for help in raising money for the organization: "We must raise \$300,000 by August 1. Yes, it's that bad."⁷³ In August 2012, the organization's board chairman announced the magazine and its after-school program were folding, citing a \$300,000 decline in donations and grants from the previous year and the loss of its longtime executive director. When *Teen Voices* stopped publishing, readership was at 45,000.⁷⁴

Method

The artifact examined in this study was the print version of *Teen Voices* magazine, which was published from 1990 to 2012. Using a convenience sample, the researcher examined ten issues from the years 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2011/2012, for a qualitative reading of text and art.⁷⁵ The analysis included 138 nonfiction articles and fiction such as poetry and short stories but excluded "Letter from the Editor" columns, which previewed each issue's content, and reviews of books, movies, and music. Cover images and photographs or illustrations accompanying text were studied; however, authors' profile photos were not included. Also, the study did not consider advertisements since *Teen Voices* was almost ad-free. Typically, only four to six of the magazine's fifty-six pages contained ads, and these generally promoted educational programs or the magazine itself.

The author closely read the artifact to map elements that comprise fantasy theme analysis: characters; settings in which action occurs; action or plotlines; and fantasy types, or recurring themes that offer a similar moral. Evidence of fantasy types would suggest that the readers shared a common view of their world.

The following research questions guided the analysis:

RQ1: How do *Teen Voices* magazine's photographs and text represent teenage girls?

RQ2: What fantasy types, if any, are used to portray teenage girls?

RQ3: What is the world view, or shared rhetorical vision, created in the pages of *Teen Voices* magazine?

Findings

Teen Voices' stories and art portrayed girls as teen moms, friends, and community organizers, among other characters. Their narratives played out in homes, on the streets, and in schools, and sometimes in hospital or prison settings. In both private and public spheres, the girls are seen in action: writing, talking, playing sports, and protesting. The research found four fantasy types: 1) I am a survivor, 2) I am a dreamer, 3) I am an activist, and 4) I can do anything. As the following sections show, fantasy types sometimes overlap. The girl-survivor often turned into an activist to prevent other girls from experiencing similar situations. The "I am a dreamer" fantasy type is similar to the "I can do anything" type, but it includes the more fanciful desires of young girls, often reflected in their poetry and short stories, to find love, understanding, and self-fulfillment.

Fantasy Type 1: I Am a Survivor

Teen Voices' readers were survivors of poverty, violence, sexual abuse, and more. Seventeen-year-old Wenona Rhoads was beaten by her boyfriend multiple times before she realized she did not deserve it: "The last time I ended up bruised all over. I had a black eye and scrapes all over."⁷⁶ In her poem "A Breakthrough," Alexuss Green wrote of using personal strength and wit to survive harassment: "The words people throw at me stab, cut, scrape and rub me wrong. They are toxins to my self-esteem."⁷⁷ Transgender teens described finding ways to accept themselves when faced with intolerant classmates and rejection by family members.⁷⁸ Many of the teen writers' poems and personal stories detailing their surviving rape or sexual harassment appeared in feature spreads titled "Surviving Sexual Assault." Four of the ten issues analyzed for this paper included these articles.⁷⁹

Settings where readers experienced harassment, even violence, included homes, schools, relationships, and countries caught up in war. An anonymous writer described being sexually harassed by an older boy on the bus enroute to school; she pressed charges and won the case.⁸⁰ Thirteen-year-old Agnesa Shuka, who left her native Kosovo "under terror of Serbian enemies," hoped to return someday.⁸¹ For some readers, their bodies failed them. Katherine Jackson, age sixteen, wrote of living with cancer: "I know that I just went through a very difficult time, and I overcame it."⁸² Quinn Nystrom, diagnosed with diabetes at age thirteen, wrote that she was a stronger individual as a result of living with an incurable disease. In the photo above her story, "Fighting for a Cure," she is seated behind the wheel of a convertible sporting a banner with her name and the words National Youth Advocate.⁸³

Interviews with successful young women also reflected this fantasy type. Filmmaker Allison Anders survived abusive relationships, poverty, and teen motherhood. She drew strength from family and the songs of Paul McCartney, whose lyrics portrayed women "in a strong, very humanized light."⁸⁴ Actress Lili Taylor suffered manic depressive bouts and isolation in high school and was expelled from drama school, yet she carved out a successful career; a *Teen Voices* writer described Taylor's role in the 1996 movie *Girl Town*, in which she played a working class teen mom who fights back against her baby's abusive father.⁸⁵ Author Liz Murray told a *Teen Voices* staffer that she survived homelessness and losing her

mother to AIDS, and she offered readers this advice: “Choice by choice, inch by inch, you can carve out a life for yourself that is not in any way limited by your past.”⁸⁶

Fantasy Type 2: I Am an Activist

Another recurring fantasy type showed young girls as activists. For some of the teen readers and young women interviewed, their experiences as survivors prompted them to take action, in the hopes that they could help others facing similar struggles. For instance, one article featured the South Street Survivors, a group of girls who witnessed the shooting of a friend in their housing project’s playground. Not finding help “to deal with the pain,” the survivors-turned-activists created a support network; they visited shelters for battered women and organized protests to get better street lighting.⁸⁷

Lior Solaimani had experienced online taunts herself, but the suicide of a local high school student who was the victim of cyberbullying ignited her activism. She began work on projects that raised awareness among peers about the consequences of bullying, and she refused to be a bystander to bullying.⁸⁸ Marina Belotserkovskaya countered high school bullying for being a lesbian with her YouTube video “My Life Is No Place for Hate.” It is her personal statement to show others that life will get better.⁸⁹ Quinn Nystrom’s community-level work led to her being selected a National Youth Advocate for the American Diabetes Association: “I used to think people wouldn’t listen to me because I was just a kid. But I was wrong.”⁹⁰ Neha Gupta at age nine visited an Indian orphanage and became motivated to start the non-profit organization Empower Orphans. The project evolved from selling toys at a garage sale to funding four libraries, health clinics, and computer, science, and sewing centers.⁹¹

In addition to teen girls, the characters depicted in activist settings included celebrities and scientists. Eighteen-year-old Jessica Rimington learned about the plight of teenage refugees while attending World Refugee Day, where she also had the opportunity to interview Angelina Jolie. The celebrity, who works with refugees as a United Nations goodwill ambassador, told Rimington that one of her heroes was environmentalist and humanitarian Jane Goodall.⁹²

An article about women in extreme sports featured pro skateboarder Patty Segovia, whose actions, from creating girls’ events with prize money to making photos of women skaters available to the media, showed that girls can skate, too.⁹³ In the accompanying illustration, a teen girl soars over an obstacle in a skate park.⁹⁴ Peer leaders at *Teen Voices* found themselves in advocacy as well as editorial roles. The April 2008 issue described several staff members’ trip to Los Angeles to address a conference on young female characters in television and the movies. They encouraged producers to feature more multiracial characters, girls of all sizes, single-parent families, and boys and girls being friends. As Tanasia Barboza-White wrote: “This was the perfect cause for *Teen Voices* because our main focus is to change the world for girls through the media.”⁹⁵

Activists pass laws, protect peoples' rights, and speak up; this was the message that emerged from sidebars, or small boxed articles, written by *Teen Voices* adult staff and placed near the text of teen authors. Although no one character can be ascribed to these sidebars, the author's voice reflects an authoritative, in-the-know individual. For instance, the boxed articles "What You Can Do" and "Youth Organizations That Make A Difference" reinforced the "I am an activist" fantasy type.⁹⁶ Each issue of *Teen Voices* included the regular department "Say What?" It critiqued advertisements that sexualized teen girls or embraced violence and encouraged readers to take action by boycotting products or writing manufacturers.⁹⁷

Showing this fantasy type throughout its pages, the twentieth anniversary issue of *Teen Voices* highlighted activism. In an upbeat tone, the editor noted that this issue featured "ten great things organizations and teen girls are doing today to empower their peers, plus ten other cool things that YOU can do to bring about change."⁹⁸

Fantasy Type 3: I Am a Dreamer

Text and photographs in *Teen Voices* showed the young readers are dreamers who hoped to find love, happiness, and successful careers. In an article about female chefs, the message was clear: "...no girl should be afraid to follow her culinary dream! Don't let the boys intimidate you. Jump into the kitchen cooking, work hard, and make the kitchen your own!"⁹⁹ In "Follow Your Seams, Live Your Fashion Dreams," girls learned how their skills might fit non-modeling fashion careers.¹⁰⁰ When *Teen Voices* staff interviewed nineteen-year-old Adriane Richburg for "Dancing Dreams and Harlem Nights," the ballerina admitted that becoming a dancer was one of her dreams at an early age, but she was afraid her brothers would tease her for being "too girly."¹⁰¹ A story on singer-songwriter Dar Williams, who is also an activist, portrays her as "following her muse."¹⁰²

This fantasy type appeared often in departments featuring reader-submitted poetry and fiction. In the illustration accompanying a two-page spread of poems, a fairy castle and twinkling stars floated above a sleeping girl. In her poem, Yvette Presberry shared her hopes for a future filled with love, learning, and family. She picks a flower whose stem has this message: "As long as there are dreams, the future will always be within reach."¹⁰³ For fifteen-year-old Desireae Lewis, believing in one's hopes and dreams kept depression at bay:

—And always remember
How tender
Hopes and dreams are
And shall always be.¹⁰⁴

In the poem "The Voice," Torrie Jay White dreamt of a world where she was a lawyer, pirate, and princess of Norway, among other things.¹⁰⁵ Emma Rodriguez's first-person story "Glass Houses" showed her daydreams brought back memories of good times before her parents' fighting began.¹⁰⁶ Some readers dreamt of an inclusive society. Tadina [no last name], who has parents of different races, would like to enter into a room and not be

different: “I hope that someday every little girl can walk into any environment, from ballet school to business school, and feel comfortable because she is surrounded by a rainbow of races—including multiracial people—many of whom look just like her.”¹⁰⁷

Fantasy Type 4: I Can Do Anything

Teen Voices' teenage writers and the young adult women they interviewed for stories offered narratives of fighting abuse, bucking stereotypes, and taking control of their lives. They expressed confidence and independence in male-dominated spheres. Sixteen-year-old Amber McConnico was diagnosed with asthma when she was one. She was determined to participate in sports and found her niche in swimming. Living with asthma is difficult, she wrote, but she was “in control.”¹⁰⁸ In a touching personal narrative, Maria, age sixteen, wrote from San Francisco's Juvenile Hall that she was confident she could change and not make the same mistakes when she got out.¹⁰⁹ Photos illustrating the “Unleash Your Inner Girl Power” article showed a young girl staring intently toward the camera with her fists raised in self-defense and several other young women in active martial defense poses.¹¹⁰

An article on girls in extreme sports described a motocross racer who was deaf. She rode hard, raced against boys, and succeeded in a hearing world.¹¹¹ Monet Cunningham, age fourteen, scored thirty-six touchdowns in her four years playing on a club football team. In a photo, Monet wore a padded-shoulder Middletown uniform and a big smile. Although she now only played for fun on weekends, the five-foot, five-inch, 115-pound teen wrote that she could “still outrun the boys.”¹¹² A female professional football player told the *Teen Voices* writer she planned to coach in the NFL some day.¹¹³

Do-it-yourself features for the magazine's style- and budget-conscious teens also reflected this fantasy type. In “F.Y. I...It's D. I.Y.,” Bianca Carrerra designed her own prom dress, and Liz Smurlick juggled a successful sewing business with school. In photos, they model their outfits in confident poses.¹¹⁴ A sixth grader who put together a sassy pink outfit that elicited a friend's negative comment was undaunted: “I continue to ignore her and wear whatever I want.”¹¹⁵

Author Chandra Prasad told a *Teen Voices* staffer that being multiracial in a homogeneous high school helped her learn to be independent: “They [multiracial] teens have the capacity to view the world in a broad, open-minded way, to resist stereotypes and to show others by example that most boundaries are illusory.”¹¹⁶ *Teen Voices* readers learned about Donna Brazile, who grew up in a poor family in the segregated South and went on to become the first African American to serve as a presidential campaign manager. Now a professor, columnist, author, and one of *Essence* magazine's “Top 50 Women in America,” Brazile illustrated the woman who could do anything.¹¹⁷

Some of the characters comprising this fantasy type were fictional ones from Japanese Manga stories. “Power Profiles” described Haruhi Fujioka, the confident, independent sixteen-year-old who plans to become a lawyer; Kaname Chidori, also sixteen, who can

understand advanced technologies; and Miaka Yuki, fifteen, the average teen “who is easily distracted, but when she gets an idea she pursues it, no matter what.”¹¹⁸

Discussion

Using fantasy theme analysis of *Teen Voices*' text and art, the researcher found four fantasy types: 1) I am a survivor, 2) I am a dreamer, 3) I am an activist, and 4) I can do anything. These motifs were repeated in the narratives of the group, and though the stories included a variety of characters in different settings, they point to a shared rhetorical vision or world view. As shown in these dramatic narratives, the world of *Teen Voices* was a place where girls survived rape, incest, homelessness, and a host of less horrid but still difficult events. In this world, girls were strong. They railed against abusive boyfriends and raised young babies while finishing high school. It was a place where girls found support from family and their “sisters.”¹¹⁹

It was also a multicultural world in which readers saw other girls like themselves: girls whose bodies were not stick-thin and whose skin color was black, brown, and white. In an example of how fantasy types overlap, the survivor became an activist in many *Teen Voices* narratives. Having found the inner strength or community resources to cope, the girls helped others facing similar obstacles. They created organizations to raise money, organized protests, and spoke out against injustices. Even the pop culture celebrities in this world worked for change.

The girls shared a world in which dreams played an important role. Dreams helped them erase haunting memories and consider a future different from their past. In this futuristic world, girls were lawyers, dancers, and politicians. The dream world was an “I can do anything” place, again showing the blending of fantasy types. Stories from girls and adult-mediated content reinforced this can-do world vision. Whether it was fighting gender discrimination or taking control of one's diabetes, girls in this world were powerful and successful.

The rhetorical vision of *Teen Voices* contrasts that of mainstream teen publications, which present a non-inclusive world in which girls “must costume and beautify themselves to achieve an almost impossible beauty ideal” and where attracting the attention of young men is life's main objective.¹²⁰ In *Teen Voices*, strength, individuality, and taking action are the keys to female success.

The story lines in *Teen Voices* also reflect the diverse issues that interest third wave feminists. Activists of this wave, while not ignoring previous feminists' fight for reproductive rights or an end to workplace discrimination, focus on issues such as LGBTQ rights, environmental degradation, and global health, among many others. Similarly, *Teen Voices* writers sought empathy, and social change, for transgender teens coping with discrimination.¹²¹ They wrote about adolescent girls around the world forced into marriage.¹²² And they called for readers to eat healthier to help reduce stress on the planet.¹²³

Personal narratives are important to third wave feminists and the young writers of *Teen Voices*. Feminist scholars note the link between individual experience and social change; for instance, Baumgardner and Richards encourage would-be activists to not wait for famous people to effect change: “Meanwhile, like punk rock, feminism is also based on the idea that you, an average *schmo*, have the right and the power to take matters into your own hands.”¹²⁴ On the pages of *Teen Voices*, this message is clear.

Just as third wave feminism celebrates inclusion and defines “woman” as a multi-faceted individual, so did *Teen Voices* narratives. In the issues studied, photos and stories portray teens of varied sexual identities, ethnic backgrounds, and economic classes. Photo illustrations for the “Cultural Harmony” feature showed this particularly well: Parts of different girls’ faces were digitally stacked atop one another to create new faces with multiple skin tones and shapes. What might appear ghoulish was just the opposite as bright eyes and large smiles punctuated each new face.¹²⁵ Co-founder Alison Amoroso noted that one goal of the magazine was to help girls from different backgrounds relate to one another: “You can buy a magazine just for Latino girls, just for black girls, or just for white girls, but no one was saying, ‘Hey, you all have similar feelings inside.’”¹²⁶

Today, *Teen Voices* has a new home online with the non-profit news service Women’s eNews and an updated tagline: “Changing the media landscape one byline at a time. Girl-produced news for a global audience.”¹²⁷ Katina Paron, who became editor of *Teen Voices at Women’s eNews* in 2014, interned at *Teen Voices* magazine in 1994 as a Boston University student. She explained in a phone interview that the publication’s mission changed from being a girl-to-girl publication to one produced by girls, but not necessarily just for girls. Now there is a solid journalistic emphasis, she said, with one goal being to make adults accountable for decisions they make for teens. Recent stories reported the need for more training on care of ACL injuries that plague female teen athletes, and another one called out states that are not enforcing laws related to indoor tanning salons.¹²⁸

Paron works with 160 contributors from eleven countries in a virtual newsroom. Contributors receive \$50 for each reported story. Although *Teen Voices* no longer carries fiction and poetry, it includes first person essays written by girls from partner institutions around the world such as Kenya’s Daraja Academy. A new “Girl Forward” project will fund reporting on girls with physical disabilities.¹²⁹

As *Teen Voices at Women’s eNews* evolves, its global, tech-savvy writers seem poised to represent feminists of the fourth wave, which some scholars suggest began following the economic collapse of 2008.¹³⁰ These feminists inhabit a world defined by technology and social media, and they are comfortable managing Twitter feeds, blogs, and online campaigns that build movements.¹³¹

This study adds to the literature on feminist teen magazines and suggests they play an important role in providing adolescent girls alternative messages about what it means to be young and female in today’s society. The research showed that content produced by teens and largely unmediated by adults can be raw and uplifting at the same time. In addition, the

study supports the use of symbolic convergence theory and fantasy theme analysis as an effective framework for describing a magazine's rhetorical community, in this case one that put its young readers' need for peer support and advice over the economic needs of advertisers.¹³²

The research had some limitations. It did not consider whether the fantasy types changed over time. Future research might explore how the rhetorical vision changed as the publication grew and third wave feminism evolved. Another limitation is that it did not explore the magazine's process of story selection, in particular, the extent to which the founders' feminist mission and mentoring by adult staff influenced the content that teens produced. Similarly, it raised but did not answer the question of how gender representation on an editorial staff affects story selection. Future historical research could compare the apprentice-like editorship that *Teen Voices* offered modern-day teens to the "identify-forming" experience of nineteenth-century girls writing for their school paper, *The Jabberwock*.¹³³

The world of *Teen Voices* was not fairytale perfect, but it was filled with hope. Marina Belotserkovskaya, a lesbian who was the target of bullying classmates, wrote that an accepting, inclusive world exists: "I want to show people that...as dark as things may seem, everything will get better.... My story did have that happy ending."¹³⁴

Notes

¹ Torrie Jay White, "The Voice," in "Dreams and Hopes for the Future," *Teen Voices* 17, no. 1, 52.

² Emma Rodriguez, "Glass Houses," in "Fresh Fiction," *Teen Voices* 20, no. 1, 43.

³ Bonny Norton, "When Is a Teen Magazine Not a Teen Magazine," *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* 45, no. 4 (December 2001/January 2002): 296; see also Laura Sessions Stepp, "Today's 'Real Girls,'" *Washington Post*, May 25, 2000, 4, which notes that according to the Magazine Publishers of America more than 200 magazines in 2000 targeted teenage girls, a figure the author could not confirm. *2000 Writer's Market* listed 20 teen publications in its teen and young adult category, and *Bacon's Magazine Directory 2002* listed 89 in youth/teenage and youth category.

⁴ Kate Bayerl, "Mags, Zines, and gURLs: The Exploding Worlds of Girls' Publications," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 28, no. 3/4 (Fall-Winter 2000): 288.

⁵ Dawn H. Currie, *Girl Talk, Adolescent Magazines and Their Readers* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 185. See also Ellen McCracken, *Decoding Women's Magazines: From Mademoiselle to Ms.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

⁶ Megan Scanlon, "Reading for Real: Magazines for Girls and Young Women," *Feminist Collections* 18, no. 2 (1997): 8. See also Meenhakshi Gigi Durham, "Dilemmas of Desire," *Youth & Society* 29, no. 3 (1998): 369-89.

⁷ McCracken, *Decoding Women's Magazines*, 142.

⁸ Alisa Valdes, "Beyond Guys and Lip Gloss: Teen Girls Get Their Say, Editor Alison Amoroso Gives Teen Voices a Feminist Forum," *Boston Globe*, June 18, 1996, 57.

⁹ Kathryn Wheeler, phone interview, October 24, 2013; for information on the *Teen Voices* mentorship program, see the following documentary: Linda Charmaram, *It's Our Time: The Empathy Gap for Girls of Color* (2013) 28 min.

¹⁰ Currie, *Girl Talk*, 46.

¹¹ Carley Moore, "Invasion of the Everygirl: *Seventeen* Magazine, 'Traumarama!' and the Girl Writer," *Journal of Popular Culture* 44, no. 6 (December 2011): 1248-68.

¹² Angela McRobbie, "From Jackie to Just Seventeen; Girls' Comics and Magazines in the 1980s," in *Feminism and Youth Culture, from Jackie to Just Seventeen* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 1990), 186.

¹³ Ernest Bormann, "Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision: The Rhetorical Criticism of Social Reality," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 4 (1972): 396-407; and "Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision: Ten Years Later," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 68 (1982): 288-305.

¹⁴ Sonja K. Foss, "Fantasy-Theme Criticism," in *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration & Practice* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1996), 122.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 122-23.

¹⁶ Bormann, "Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision," 398.

¹⁷ Foss, *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration & Practice*, 289-98.

¹⁸ Amanda Hinnant and Elizabeth Hendrickson, "Rhetorical Visions of Health: A Fantasy-Theme Analysis of Celebrity Articles," *Celebrity Studies* 3, no. 2 (July 2012): 197-212. See also Ronald Bishop, "The World's Nicest Grown-up: A Fantasy-Theme Analysis of News Media Coverage of Fred Rogers," *Journal of Communication* 53, no. 1 (2003): 16-31.

¹⁹ Ashley Furrow, "A Balancing Act: The Rhetorical Vision of *Champion Magazine*," (presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Conference, Chicago, 2012).

²⁰ Aimee Edmondson, "'Tool of Empowerment': The Rhetorical Vision of Title Nine," *Lodz Papers in Pragmatics* 7, no. 1 (2011): 135-54.

²¹ Margaret Duffy and J. Micheal Gotcher, "Crucial Advice on How to Get the Guy: The Rhetorical Vision of Power and Seduction in the Teen Magazine *YM*," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 43.

²² Ana Garner, Helen M. Sterk, and Shawn Adams, "Narrative Analysis of Sex Etiquette in Teen Magazines," *Journal of Communication* (Autumn 1998): 59-78.

²³ Jennifer Baumgardner and Amy Richards, *Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism, and the Future* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), 47.

²⁴ Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake, eds., *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 1-20.

²⁵ Jennifer Baumgardner, "Is There A Fourth Wave? Does it Matter?" www.feminist.com, article excerpt from Baumgardner's book *F'em: Goo Goo, Gaga and Some Thoughts on Balls*, 2011.

²⁶ Rory Dicker and Alison Piepmeier, eds., *Catching a Wave: Reclaiming Feminism for the 21st Century* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003), 9-10.

²⁷ Carolyn Bronstein, "Representing the Third Wave: Mainstream Print Media Framing of a New Feminist Movement," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 82, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 791.

²⁸ McRobbie, "From Jackie to Just Seventeen," 135-89.

²⁹ Kate Peirce, "A Feminist Theoretical Perspective on the Socialization of Teenage Girls through *Seventeen* Magazine," *Sex Roles* 23, no. 9-10 (1990): 491-500.

³⁰ Ibid. Also, scholars who extended Peirce's work reported similar findings. See Jennifer A. Schlenker, Sandra L. Caron, and William A. Halteman, "A Feminist Analysis of *Seventeen* Magazine: Content Analysis from 1945 to 1995," *Sex Roles* 38, no. 1/2 (1998): 135-49.

³¹ Meenakshi Gigi Durham, "Dilemmas of Desire: Representations of Adolescent Sexuality in Two Teen Magazines," *Youth and Society* 29, no. 3 (March 1998): 386.

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³⁵ Kelley Massoni, *Fashioning Teenagers, A Cultural History of Seventeen Magazine* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2010).

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³⁷ Scanlon, "Reading for Real," 8.

³⁸ Kate Kruckemeyer, "Making Room for Teen Voices: Feminist Discourse in Magazines by and for Girls," *Iris* 44 (Spring 2002): 46.

³⁹ Linda Charmaraman and Brittany Low, "From Media Propaganda to De-Stigmatizing Sex: Exploring a Teen Magazine By, For, and About Girls," in *Girls' Sexualities and the Media* (New York: Peter Lang, 2013), 254.

⁴⁰ Laura Sessions Stepp, "Today's 'Real Girls,'" *The Washington Post*, May 25, 2000, 4.

⁴¹ Bayerl, "Mags, Zines, and gURLs," 287-92.

⁴² Glenda Tennant Neff, *1990 Writer's Market* (Cincinnati, OH: Writer's Digest Books, 1989), 635.

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⁴⁴ Neff, *1990 Writer's Market*, 635.

⁴⁵ Peirce, "A Feminist Theoretical Perspective," 498.

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⁴⁷ Duffy and Gotcher, "Crucial Advice on How to Get the Guy," 36.

⁴⁸ *2002 Bacon's Magazine Directory*, 50th ed., (Chicago: Primedia, 2001), 2004.

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⁵⁰ Sammye Johnson and Patricia Prijatel, *The Magazine from Cover to Cover*, Third Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 162-63.

⁵¹ Kara Jesella and Marisa Meltzer, *How Sassy Changed My Life: A Love Letter to the Greatest Teen Magazine of All Time* (New York: Faber & Faber, 2007), 17.

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⁵⁴ Sherry S. Handel, *Blue Jean, What Young Women Are Thinking, Saying, and Doing* (Rochester, NY: Blue Jean Press, 2001).

⁵⁵ Lisa Herbert, "Hues: 'More than a Magazine. It's a Movement,'" *Michigan Today*, Winter 1996, <http://michigantoday.umich.edu/96/Win96/mta12w96.html>; see also Tali Edut, with Dyann Logwood and Ophira Edut, "HUES Magazine: The Making of a Movement," in Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake, eds., *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 83-102.

⁵⁶ Scanlon, "Reading for Real," 8; and "Hues Magazine," mediarology.com, *Mediarology*.

⁵⁷ Marilda Janet Ovieda, "Growing up Latinita: Latina Girls, Online 'Zine Production, and Identity Formation" (dissertation, University of Iowa, 2013), <http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/2601>; and "Latino Girls Magazine Launches Teen Version," April 16, 2014, [writenews.org](http://www.writenews.org), <http://www.writenews.com/latina-girls-magazine-launches-teen-version-41620045>; and laslatinatas.com.

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⁵⁹ Gayle Kirshenbaum, "Mentor Express," in "Gender Watch," *Ms.*, November 1990, 90.

⁶⁰ Katina Paron, email correspondence to author, Feb. 17, 2016.

⁶¹ Kathryn Wheeler, phone interview; and Molly Mead, phone interview, January 6, 2015. Mead, while at Tufts University in the 1990s, conducted research on Boston-area philanthropic organizations and their interest in funding programs for girls.

⁶² Kirshenbaum, "Mentor Express," 90.

⁶³ Kathryn Wheeler, phone interview.

⁶⁴ Celina De León, "Letting the Voices of Young Women Be Heard," *Nieman Reports* (Spring 2001): 58-59; and *teenvoices* factsheet, FY11, which noted that "82% of the 195+ participants are low-income, and 93% are girls of color."

⁶⁵ Kruckemeyer, "Making Room for Teen Voices," 46.

⁶⁶ Maxine Phillips, "Beyond Buying and Posing: Feminist Teen Magazines," *Dissent* 45, no. 4 (Fall 1998): 115–18.

⁶⁷ Sally Cragin, "Careers 'Voices' Hears Teen Angst: Magazine Offers Real Alternative to Fashion Gloss," *Boston (MA) Herald*, April 22, 1996, 40.

⁶⁸ "Teen Voices Magazine Celebrates Ten Years of Publishing Girls' Voices; One of Few Surviving Alternatives to the Advertising-Driven, Lipstick Wilderness of Typical Teen Magazines," *Business Wire*, December 20, 1999.

⁶⁹ Sarah Cassell, email correspondence with author, Feb. 23, 2016. Cassell, a one-time intern with *Teen Voices*, joined the staff in 2012 as marketing and editorial coordinator.

⁷⁰ Judith Gaines, "Depicting Teen-agers' Serious Side," *Boston Globe*, January 16, 1996.

⁷¹ Jamal E. Watson, "Young Feminists Have Their Say in an Alternative Magazine," *Boston Globe*, August 27, 2000.

⁷² Sarah Cassell, email correspondence.

⁷³ "Teen Voices Needs Your Help (Big Time)," *Constantcontact.com*, (undated), <http://myemail.constantcontact.com/Teen-Voices-Needs-Your-Help--Big-Time-.html?soid=1011329374102&aid=bGq7wc6j1pU>.

⁷⁴ Emily Sweeney, "Financial Woes Shutter *Teen Voices*," *Boston Globe*, August 16, 2012.

⁷⁵ Former *Teen Voices* editor Kathryn Wheeler provided the author 24 issues from 1996-2012; the analysis began with 1996, the magazine's sixth year of publication, after it added color and increased to 32-plus pages. The author then selected every four years to study, including the 10th and 20th anniversary issues in 2000 and 2012. Typically anniversary issues contain content that reflects a magazine's mission.

⁷⁶ Wenona Rhoads, "I Believed Him When He Said He Was Sorry," in "Surviving Sexual Assault," *Teen Voices* 5, no. 2, 25.

⁷⁷ Alexuss Green, "A Breakthrough," in "Out Loud," *Teen Voices* 20, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2011), 50.

⁷⁸ "Special Feature: Trapped in the Wrong Body," *Teen Voices* 17, no. 1 (November 2008), 42-48.

⁷⁹ "Surviving Sexual Assault," *Teen Voices* 9, no. 1, 34–8. Feature spreads with the same name also appeared in *Teen Voices* issues 17, no. 2, 22-24; 9, no. 2, 34-38; and 5:2, 25-27.

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- ⁸⁰ Anonymous, "Know Your Rights, Dealing with Sexual Harassment at School," *Teen Voices* 9, no. 2, 34.
- ⁸¹ Agnesa Shuka, "Road of No Return," *Teen Voices* 9, no. 1, 30.
- ⁸² "An Interview with Katherine, Survivor," in "Above & Beyond," *Teen Voices* 9, no. 2, 9.
- ⁸³ Quinn Nystrom, "Fighting for a Cure," in "Diagnosed with Diabetes: Coping with a Disease That Won't Let Go," *Teen Voices* 13, no. 1, 10.
- ⁸⁴ "Allison Anders: Proof That You Can Never Dream Too Big," *Teen Voices* 5, no. 2, 19.
- ⁸⁵ Anastasia Goodstein, "Lili Taylor Doing It Her Own Way," *Teen Voices* 5, no. 3, 22-23.
- ⁸⁶ "Breaking Night: Liz Murray's Journal From Darkness to Light," *Teen Voices* 20, no. 1, 25.
- ⁸⁷ "South Street Survivors, Sisters Standing Strong," in "We Are Family," *Teen Voices* 5, no. 2, 10.
- ⁸⁸ "Standing up Against Cyberbullying," *Teen Voices* 20, no. 2, 23.
- ⁸⁹ "Don't Let the Door Hit You on Your Way Out," *Teen Voices* 20, no. 2, 34.
- ⁹⁰ Quinn Nystrom, "Fighting for a Cure," 11.
- ⁹¹ "Girl in Action Empowering Orphans: From Empathy to Action!" *Teen Voices* 20, no. 2, 32-33.
- ⁹² Jessica Rimington, "More than Just a Tomb Raider...She's an Ambassador!" *Teen Voices*, 13, no. 2, 12-15.
- ⁹³ "Good Vibration Girlz: Women in Extreme Sports," *Teen Voices* 17, no. 2, 46-47.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.
- ⁹⁵ Tanasia Barboza-White, "Getting Down to Business," *Teen Voices* 17, no. 1, 5.
- ⁹⁶ "What You Can Do," *Teen Voices* 17, no. 2, 28; and "Youth Organizations That Make A Difference," *Teen Voices*, 13, no. 2, 14.
- ⁹⁷ "Say What?" *Teen Voices* 5, no. 3, 29.
- ⁹⁸ Michelle Golden, "Girl Talk, *Teen Voices*' 20 Years of Change," *Teen Voices* 20, no. 1, 3.

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- ⁹⁹ "Cooking Under Pressure: Female Chefs Who Are Taking the Heat," in "Food Buzz," *Teen Voices* 20, no. 2, 15.
- ¹⁰⁰ "Follow Your Seams, Live Your Fashion Dreams," *Teen Voices* 20, no. 2, 25.
- ¹⁰¹ "Dancing Dreams and Harlem Nights," *Teen Voices* 13, no. 2, 36-37.
- ¹⁰² Michelle Golden, "Dar Williams' Poetic Landscape," *Teen Voices* 20, no. 1, 12.
- ¹⁰³ Yvette Presberry, "Dreaming," in "Poems from Dreamland," *Teen Voices* 9, no. 1, 25.
- ¹⁰⁴ Desireae Lewis, "Untitled," in "Poems from Dreamland," *Teen Voices* 9, no. 1, 24.
- ¹⁰⁵ White, "The Voice," 52.
- ¹⁰⁶ Rodriguez, "Glass Houses," 44.
- ¹⁰⁷ Tadina, "What Are You," in "Race Remixed: Shades of Gray Shining Like the Colors of the Rainbow," *Teen Voices* 17, no. 1, 49.
- ¹⁰⁸ Amber McConnico, "Like a Fish Out of Water," in "Out of Breath? Teens With Asthma Get the Word Out," *Teen Voices* 17, no. 1, 31.
- ¹⁰⁹ Maria, "My Path Out," in "Voices From Within Part Three: Writings from San Francisco's Juvenile Hall/Youth Guidance Center," *Teen Voices* 9, no. 2, 16.
- ¹¹⁰ "Unleash Your Inner Girl Power!" *Teen Voices* 13, no.1, 6-9.
- ¹¹¹ "Good Vibration Girlz," 48.
- ¹¹² Monet Cunningham, "Outrunning the Boys," in "Girls on the Gridiron," *Teen Voices* 13, no. 2, 42.
- ¹¹³ "Female Footballer: From High School to the Pros," in "Girls on the Gridiron," 13, no. 2, 43-44.
- ¹¹⁴ "F.Y.I...It's D.I.Y.," *Teen Voices*, 17, no. 2, 38-40.
- ¹¹⁵ Kayla McMurry, "Wearing What I Want," in "Fashion Extravaganza," *Teen Voices* 17, no. 2, 37.
- ¹¹⁶ "Interview with Chandra Prasad," in "Cultural Harmony," *Teen Voices* 17, no. 1, 50.
- ¹¹⁷ "Donna Brazile, Amplifies Our Teens' Voices," *Teen Voices* 20, no. 2, 11-13.
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- ¹¹⁹ “South Street Survivors,” 10.
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- ¹²¹ “Don’t Let the Door,” 34.
- ¹²² “When Will Their Voices Be Heard?” *Teen Voices* 20, no. 1, 26-9.
- ¹²³ “Eating Our Way to a Healthier Planet,” *Teen Voices*, 20, no. 1, p. 14.
- ¹²⁴ Baumgardner and Richards, *Grassroots: A Field Guide for Feminist Activism* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005), 22. See also: Amber Lynn Zimmerman, M. Joan McDermott, and Christina M. Gould, “The Local is Global: Third Wave Feminism, Peace, and Social Justice,” *Contemporary Justice Review* 12, no. 1, (2009): 77-90.
- ¹²⁵ “Cultural Harmony,” *Teen Voices* 17, no. 1, 48-51.
- ¹²⁶ “Talking to Teen Voices Co-Founder and Publisher Alison Amoroso,” in “Behind the Scenes at *Teen Voices*,” *Teen Voices* 9, no. 1, 9.
- ¹²⁷ *Teen Voices* website, <http://womensenews.org/category/teen-voices/>; the tagline on the former print magazine read: ‘Because You Are ore Than Just A Pretty Face.’”
- ¹²⁸ Katina Paron, phone interview, February 17, 2016.
- ¹²⁹ Paron, phone interview.
- ¹³⁰ Baumgardner, “Is There a Fourth Wave?”
- ¹³¹ Kira Cochrane, “The Fourth Wave of Feminism: Meet the Rebel Women,” Dec. 10, 2013, [theguardian.com](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/10/fourth-wave-feminism-rebel-women), <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/10/fourth-wave-feminism-rebel-women>
- ¹³² In contrast, Duffy and Gotcher wrote that the rhetorical community editors of *YM* magazine created for readers “disguises the economic motive behind the relationship.x.” Duffy and Gotcher, “Crucial Advice on How to Get the Guy,” 43.
- ¹³³ Lucille M. Schultz, “Editing *The Jabberwock*: A Formative Experience for Nineteenth-Century Girls,” in *Blue Pencils & Hidden Hands, Women Editing Periodicals, 1830-1910* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 15.
- ¹³⁴ “Don’t Let the Door,” 34.

Appendix

Cover Sample

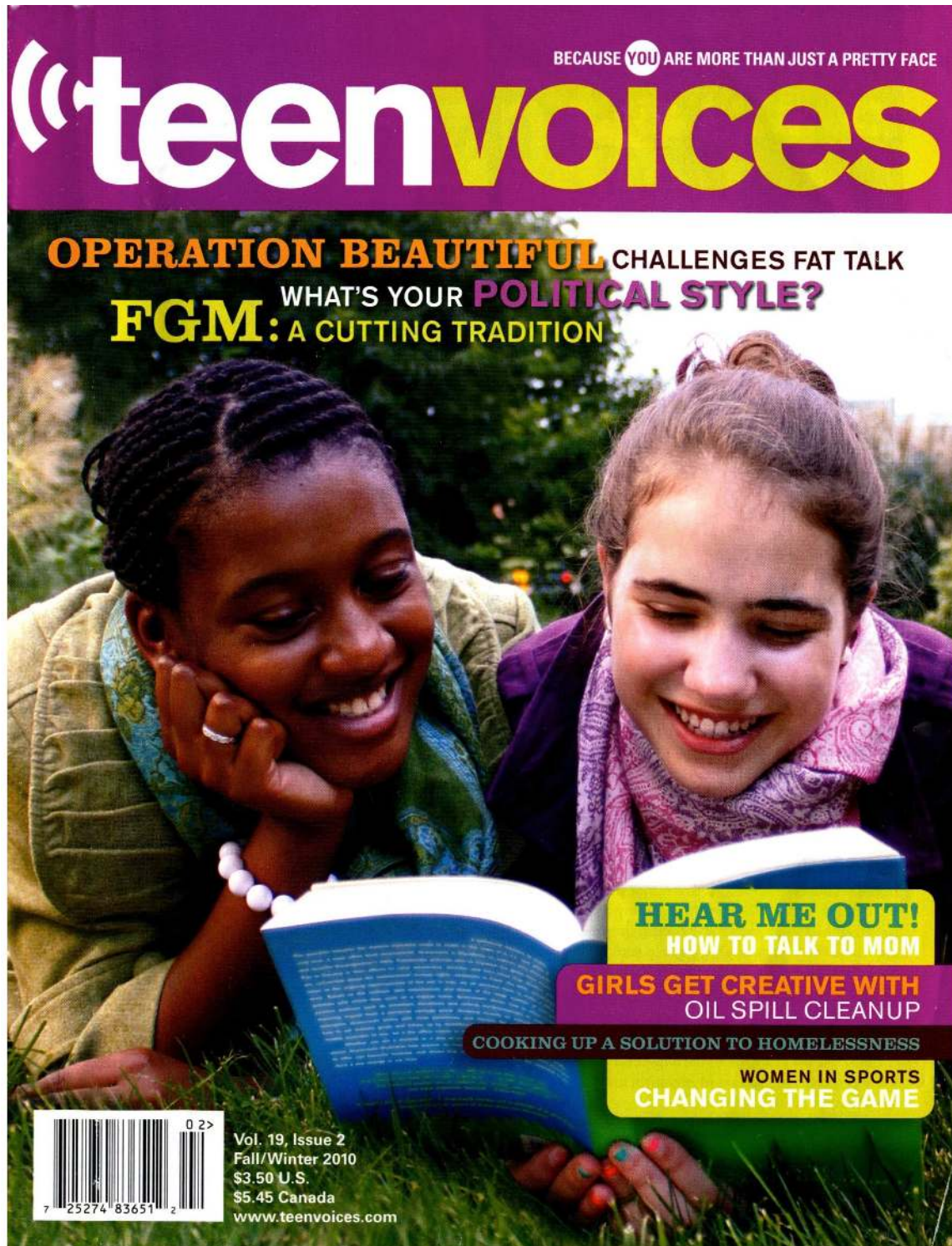
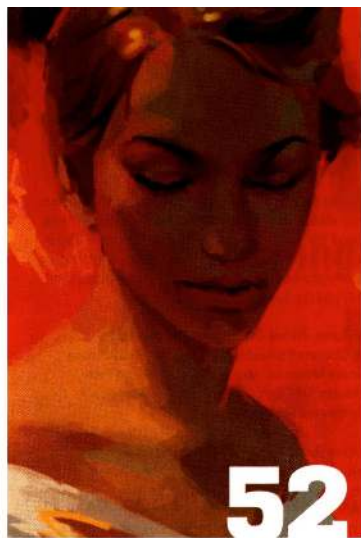


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