

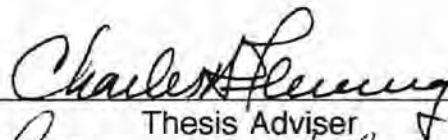
THE PORTRAYALS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS
IN PRINT ADVERTISEMENTS,
1970 - 1990

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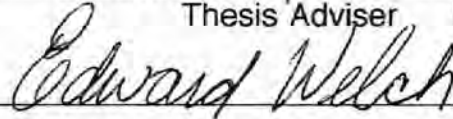
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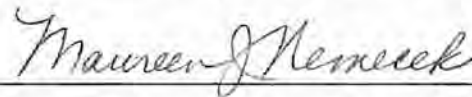
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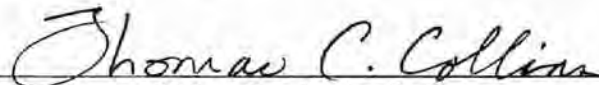
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Dean of the Graduate College

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Mass media, as a whole, has presented images of African Americans in a variety of roles. Many of the twentieth century images of African Americans in the advertising, film, radio, news, and television industries were based upon nineteenth century stereotypes produced by predominantly white-owned companies.¹ An example of the stereotypical portrayals of African Americans on radio was, The Amos and Andy Show, where the characters "...spoke in rural black dialect and showed lack of control over events affecting their lives."² The film industry produced such movies as, Gone With the Wind which personified the stereotypical female role of mammy. The portrayals of African Americans in the advertising industry "reflected society's myths and rituals [and] were usually absorbed and accepted as real..."³ In fact, many of the earlier images of African Americans in the eighteenth century were " ...developed during the years of slavery and segregation... [and were of] negative, racist images..."⁴ Examples of such images were, Aunt Jemima, which "...personified the mammy

stereotype" and Rastus, which exemplified the "...faithful black servant" who appeared on boxes of cream of wheat.⁵

The many images of African Americans in society are usually images that have been created by the media. The African American male has played a variety of roles over the years. He has played a violent, ruthless slave, an illiterate, and poor criminal, a drug dealer and occasionally, a professional, to name a few.

The stereotypical portrayal of African Americans in mass media has, in many ways, persuaded society to think and believe that these roles are accurate depictions. "If advertising adequately reflects our culture it should depict a significant change [in the roles of African Americans] in recent years....."⁶ The process of creating a positive image is almost impossible, but the 1990's have shown many African Americans in a variety of realistic roles.

Background of the Problem

The solution to the long disputed problem of stereotypical and inaccurate images of African Americans in advertising is to change those images or to create more accurate and truthful images of African Americans. In television, advertising, and film, the roles of the African American have been depicted in subservient roles such as slaves, butlers, and maids and within these subservient roles they were portrayed with "... bugged eyes, thick red lips, and expressions of stupidity."⁷ Not to mention, the African American female roles, which were depicted as The Amos and Andy character, Sapphire, "...a bossy,

shrewish 'mammy' figure."⁸ These were images of old that once existed, but for many years never faded away. These images and many others became the images that were accepted as true and accurate depictions of African Americans by society.

In the 1960's, African Americans were portrayed less as slaves and maids, but more as stereotypical characters, such as pimps and militants, which did not accurately depict who African Americans were in the 1960's. By the 1970's, African Americans were depicted in, what was considered, more honest portrayals on television such as, "Good Times," and "That's My Mama."⁹ In more recent times, African Americans have been portrayed in more professional roles, such as physicians, attorneys, and policemen, but the ever lingering role of the criminal still exists. Many of these roles have been seen in popular television sitcoms such as The Cosby Show, and L.A. Law, as well as numerous advertisements.

Statement of the Problem

The problem that this thesis will address is the lack of information on the types of images African Americans have portrayed in print advertisements, and the changes in those images over time.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to obtain information about the portrayal of

African Americans in print advertisements, and what changes have occurred over the period, 1970-1990. Specifically, the study will determine the occupational status, frequency of appearance, models skin tone, and the type of products associated with African American models.

Objectives and Methodology

A content analysis of Vogue, Harper's Bazaar, Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle, Popular Mechanics, Sports Illustrated, Esquire, Fortune, Newsweek, Time, Life, The New Yorker, and Ebony magazines will be done. This thesis will replicate portions of Harold Kassarian's 1969 study of "The Negro and American Advertising, 1946-1965," which examined the frequency of advertisements containing African Americans and the occupational status of African Americans during 1946, 1956 and 1965.¹⁰ Ebony magazine will also be analyzed to examine the portrayals of African Americans in a magazine for African Americans. This magazine was developed under the same format of Life magazine, except it was targeted to African Americans.

On a theoretical basis, this study will attempt to determine if the role of African Americans began to change as a result of the 1960's Civil Rights Movement and other societal events. It is believed that over time the images of African American models appeared more frequently in print advertisements, the occupational levels depicted will be higher in status, that products will be more middle-class, and that skin tones will be more varied.

Unlike Kassarian, only two issues per magazine will be examined during

five year intervals, from 1970-1990. Each half-page and larger advertisement will be judged by three coders. At the same time, all advertisements will be counted and the number of advertisements with only African Americans, as well as advertisements with whites will also be examined. The frequency and occupations of African Americans, like in the 1969 study will be examined, but the type of product and models skin tone in the advertisement will also be examined. The results will show, first how specific magazines portray African Americans, then if there were changes.

Scope and Limitations

The scope of this thesis is to examine the portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements over twenty years, 1970-1990 with respect to: frequency of appearance, apparent occupational status, products being promoted and models skin tone. Some limitations of this study are the number of issues per magazines, the time periods examined, the number of coders, and the size of the advertisements. The number of issues has been reduced from 12 per year to only two issues, because of the time factor, but the issues have been randomly selected. The time periods examined will include five different years: 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, and 1990. The number of coders used in this study will include two white coders and one African American coder to help keep the study unbiased. The size of the advertisements used in this study will only include half-page ads and larger. These are advertisements that are considerably more visible than advertisements smaller than half-page.

Significance of the Study

This study will benefit anyone interested in truth in advertising and will supply information concerning the changes in the portrayals of African Americans that has taken place in the past twenty years.

Outline for the Remainder of the Study

Chapter II will focus on studies done on the portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements. Other research on the portrayals of African Americans in mass media, specifically television and film will also be discussed.

Chapter III, methodology, will discuss the pretest, method of study, selection of the sample, focus on the content analysis of the 13 magazines, definitions of the frequency, occupations, types of products, model depiction and skin tone. The total amount of advertisements, as well as those portraying African Americans and whites will also be examined.

Chapter IV, findings, will include evidence of findings, evaluation and interpretation of findings and discussion of what findings represent.

Chapter V, summary, conclusions and recommendations, will summarize what was done, what was found, and make recommendations concerning further studies of this topic.

ENDNOTES

¹Jannette L. Dates and William Barlow, Split Images (Washington: Howard University Press, 1990):15.

²Ibid, 264.

³Ibid, 433.

⁴Ibid, 433.

⁵Ibid, 434.

⁶Dorothy Cohen, "Advertising and the Black Community," Journal of Marketing, (October, 1970): 3.

⁷Sylvia Appelbaum, " On Desegregating Advertising," The Crisis (June-July, 1969), 313-17 in Split Images (Washington: Howard University Press, 1990):433.

⁸Split Images, 178.

⁹Ibid, 256.

¹⁰Harold H. Kassarian, "The Negro and American Advertising, 1946-1965," Journal of Marketing Research, (February 1969): 29.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The portrayal of African-Americans in mass media has been a topic long studied. The literature which will be reviewed is the African American market, which will examine the buying and spending habits of African Americans. The portrayals of African Americans in magazines, television and film will also be examined. This will show how African Americans have been portrayed in the mass media from the 1950s to roughly the 1990s and the changes that have taken place.

The African American Market

According to Marilyn Kern in "Black, Brown, Red and Yellow Markets Equal Green Power," African Americans as consumers are a market that has remained untapped for years.¹ According to Jannette Dates, African Americans were seen as a market as early as 1916. By the 1930's, studies had been done

to determine the buying and spending habits of African Americans and it was concluded that the habits of African Americans were similar to and different from those of white consumers.² Advertisers began to recognize that African Americans were buying and spending large amounts of money each year and that African Americans were brand loyal and brand conscious.³ Several studies were done on African Americans and their spending habits.

In 1965, Raymond Bauer, Scott Cunningham and Lawrence Wortzel examined the dilemma African Americans faced concerning purchasing products. Bauer, Cunningham and Wortzel stated that the dilemma that African Americans faced was whether they should strive to attain middle class values or just go without.⁴ Their study indicated that African Americans spent less on automobiles, housing, food and health care, but spent more on furniture, alcohol, and clothing than whites in the same income level.⁵ Bauer, Cunningham and Wortzel concluded that the market for African Americans was not a homogeneous one, but that it was split between two groups, the strivers and the nonstrivers. They also concluded that African Americans tend to be more brand conscious and less brand-loyal.⁶

Dorothy Cohen examined the African American community as a target market in 1970. Cohen stated there were two markets, the "black" market and the "white" market and that the African American population was more homogeneous than the white population.⁷ She also stated that the African American market was wealthy and needed to be tapped by advertisers. She stated that advertisers are strong persuaders and have the opportunity and a

responsibility "...to provide a means by which blacks can be accepted and acknowledged in the mainstream of life."⁸

In 1972, Dennis Gensch and Richard Staelin examined the importance of "buying black" which was defined as purchasing goods and services from an African American owned business. Gensch and Staelin examined a community in eastern Pittsburgh which consisted of 30,000 people, 97 percent of whom were African American. This community was chosen for two primary reasons: the number of African Americans that resided there and the number of small businesses owned by African Americans. Gensch and Staelin compared the number of small businesses run by African Americans to the large shopping malls run by white personnel. Each family was interviewed as to buying patterns and attitudes toward shopping.⁹ Each family was questioned about where they purchased durable and non durable goods. The number of times the local businesses were mentioned was counted and that amount was divided by the total amount of times the shopping areas were mentioned.¹⁰ The results of Gensch and Staelin's study indicated that convenience, shopping location, quality, price, and service appealed to African Americans when making the decision to buy. On the other hand, closeness of the area, availability of credit, and "buying black" were taken into consideration.¹¹

Donald Sexton examined the "...apparent differences between blacks and whites, with respect to shopping effort and selection of stores, products, and brands" in 1972.¹² Sexton categorized buying behavior into three different categories: store shopping behavior, product buying behavior, and brand

buying behavior. In the store shopping behavior category, African Americans visited discount stores more than whites. Sexton's observations suggested that African Americans acknowledged the lower quality of goods and services in their own neighborhoods, but only those African Americans with higher incomes and their own automobiles would drive elsewhere to make their purchases.¹³ With respect to product buying behavior, whites were more innovative regarding food than African Americans, while African Americans were more innovative in more socially visible things, such as clothing.¹⁴ Regarding brand buying behavior, higher income level African Americans tended to appear more status-conscious than lower income level African Americans who concentrated more on name brands.¹⁵

In a 1987 study of "Blacks and Whites: One Market or Two," William O'Hare examined the spending habits of African American and white consumers. The results indicated that in both groups, transportation, housing and food claimed nearly two-thirds of both group's yearly household expenditures. His study also indicated that whites spend more on entertainment, tobacco, alcohol, and personal care than African Americans.¹⁶

In "The Difference in Black and White" (1993) Eugene Morris stated that African Americans may not interpret advertisements the same as other Americans; in fact the interpretation may be negative when it was actually intended to be positive. He stated that African Americans occasionally feel as though commercials are superfluous to their lives or may be offended by the images or words the sponsor used without intending to be offensive.¹⁷

African Americans are not "...like white consumers with darker skin. Blacks and

whites display profound differences in language use, taste, and product preferences."¹⁸ Advertisers must make that special effort to reach the African American market and once they do "...the rewards will be substantial."¹⁹

Portrayals of African Americans in Print Advertisements

The portrayal of African Americans in print advertisements has been examined in a variety of magazines, by a variety of researchers.

In 1953, Audrey Shuey, Nancy King and Barbara Griffith examined "...whether or not Negroes and whites are portrayed differently in magazine pictures" based on occupation.²⁰ They examined the first two issues from each month in 1949 and 1950 of Life, The Saturday Evening Post, Time, and The New Yorker, and all the issues of The Ladies Home Journal, and Collier's.²¹ Shuey, King and Griffith examined advertisements and non-advertisements and concluded that of the 292 issues examined only 213 advertisements contained one or more adult African Americans and in only ten of 213 advertisements was an African American portrayed in the highest of the occupation categories, above skilled labor.²² On the other hand, 151 white models in 213 comparable advertisements were portrayed as above skilled labor. In non-advertisements, their study was limited to 36 issues from 1949, and it was found that African Americans were pictured more frequently in pictures that accompanied articles. Their findings also indicated that both whites and African

Americans were equally represented in the field of entertainment, while African Americans were pictured more as baseball players and boxers than were whites.²³

Shuey, King and Griffith concluded this study by stating that "compared with whites, African American models were pictured very infrequently in Collier's, Life, The Saturday Evening Post, Time, The New Yorker, and The Ladies Home Journal."²⁴ African Americans were almost always portrayed in "...the semi- and unskilled laboring groups," mostly portrayed as waiters, porters and servants and that African Americans tend to be of well-known entertainers and professional athletes.²⁵

The study had some faults, though. The researchers examined every advertisement with an African American model while they examined comparable advertisements with white models that appeared only "...on the first page following each [advertisement] with a Negro..."²⁶ This does not allow for consistency considering the examination of the portrayals of African Americans and whites. They also examined only advertisements with adults in them. That would limit the number of advertisements in Life, because Life is considered a family magazine and some advertisements might contain children.

In 1963, Berkman's comparative study of advertisements included the April 18, July 18, October 10 and December 5 issues of Life (weekly) and the April, July, October, and December issues of Ebony (monthly).²⁷ Berkman divided the advertisements into a variety of categories, from food to alcohol to men's apparel and money making opportunities. In the two magazines examined, Ebony contained more advertisements that focused on alcoholic

beverages, patent medicines, travel and communications, men's apparel and accessories, money-making opportunities, and Negro cosmetics and hair preparation. On the other hand, the advertisements in Life focused more on motor vehicles, appliances, and home improvements.²⁸

In 1969, Harold Kassarian examined the portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements in 1946, 1956 and 1965. He examined Esquire, Fortune, Good Housekeeping, Harper's Bazaar, Life, Mademoiselle, The New Yorker, Newsweek, Popular Mechanics, Sports Illustrated, Time, and Vogue. He examined the frequency and the depiction of African Americans, race of the models in the advertisements, importance of African Americans in the advertisement, the racial makeup of the models, the type of model interaction, sex, apparent age, occupation of the persons in the advertisement, and changes over time.²⁹

He found that

...the frequency of using Negroes has not increased over the 20-year period. Instead it decreased in 1956, and by 1965 it merely reached the 1946 level. The Negro's occupational status, however, has risen significantly, but he is still seldom found in conventional middle-class settings.³⁰

Kassarian used a larger sample than previous researchers used in their study of the same topic, and a larger variety of men's, women's and news-oriented magazines. Although he used a larger sample he did not include magazines targeted at African Americans such as Ebony and did not give a reason for this exclusion, but chose to add Sports Illustrated because of its coverage of African Americans.

Keith Cox examined the "...social effects of integrated advertising in mass

magazines upon the stereotyping of American Negroes" in 1969.³¹ A content analysis was done of the 1967 issues and the first six months of 1968 issues, The Saturday Evening Post, The New Yorker, The Ladies Home Journal, Life, and Time magazines. Advertisements with adults and integrated advertisements, and advertisements portraying African Americans "...as a part of the mainstream of American life," were categorized by the occupational role of the African American portrayed in the advertisement.³² Cox used the occupational scale from Shuey, King, and Griffith's 1953 study on the "Stereotyping of Negroes and Whites" for rating the African Americans in the advertisements, and compared his findings with Shuey's 1953 study. Cox's study concluded that of the five magazines examined, "...approximately two per cent of all advertisements in 1967-68 were integrated advertisements, as compared to one-half of one per cent in 1949-50."³³ Cox also concluded that whereas the occupational roles of African Americans in 1949-50 were of lower skilled laborers, such as cooks, butlers and maids, that type of stereotyping rarely existed in 1967-68.³⁴

Richard Ferguson examined the portrayals of African Americans in the mass media, specifically the changing roles of African Americans in magazine and television advertisements. In his study of the portrayals of African Americans in magazine advertisements, Ferguson examined two issues of Newsweek, Life, Esquire, Mademoiselle, and Business Week over a 17-year period, 1953-1969. His examination included the relationship between models and the social interaction of African American models in one-fourth-page and larger single page advertisements.

Ferguson concluded that of the 6,266 advertisements examined 6,198 consisted of primarily all white groups.³⁵ He also concluded that for ten years out of the 17-years, there were no advertisements with African Americans. Only the years 1957-59 and 1963-65 had a "noticeable" number of African Americans pictured in advertisements. Ferguson noted that those years were eventful years in civil rights.³⁶ On the status of African Americans in print advertisements, he concluded that African Americans were portrayed more in subordinate and peer roles during the early to the mid 1950's and were shown in peer roles during the late 1950's to the early 1960's, and in peer and some superior roles during the mid to late 1960's.³⁷ In the overall exposure of African Americans, his study showed that Life and Business Week had the lowest percentage of all advertisements picturing African Americans.³⁸

The second part of his study focused on the roles of African Americans in television advertisements in the 1960's. Ferguson examined advertisements shown during prime time on the three major networks, during a five-day period from January 29, 1970, to February 4, 1970.³⁹ He examined the status relationship between the models, social interaction, and how each network represented African Americans. The results of his findings were that, of the 705 commercials viewed, 673 had white models and 58 had African American models, and of the 705 commercials, only 38 commercials portrayed African Americans and whites "...as main characters in primary groups in social interactions."⁴⁰ In relation to the status of the models, when both races were shown together they were equal in status, but when the African American was

pictured alone, he/she was portrayed in superior and subordinate roles, in some commercials and inferior and subordinate, in others.⁴¹ Of the three networks examined, ABC had the largest proportion of commercials with African American models while NBC had the smallest proportion of commercials with African Americans models.⁴²

In 1969, Keith Cox replicated Shuey, King and Griffith's 1953 study of the occupational status of African Americans and whites to determine if there had been any changes in the findings concerning occupational status.⁴³ Cox examined all of the 1967 issues and the first six months of 1968 issues of The Saturday Evening Post, Time, The New Yorker, Life, The Ladies Home Journal, and Look. Look magazine was substituted for Collier's. Cox, like Shuey, King and Griffith, examined only advertisements with adults, all advertisements with African Americans and only those advertisements with white models that immediately followed an advertisement with an African American model.⁴⁴ The results of this study indicated that there was an increase in the proportion of advertisements with African Americans from 0.57 per cent in the 1953 study to 2.17 percent in the 1969 study. There was also an increase in the occupational distribution of African American models in Cox's study as compared with the 1953 study. In the 1953 study, African Americans were seen more in the below skilled labor category, specifically as porters, butlers, and waiters and less in the above skilled labor category. In Cox's study, more African Americans were seen more in the above skilled labor category, specifically in entertainment, as professionals and less in the below skilled labor category.⁴⁵

In 1971, Guido Stempel examined the visibility of African Americans in 1960 and 1970 news and news-picture magazines such as Newsweek, Life, Time, U.S. News and World Report, and Look. Stempel examined the news-editorial photographic content and advertising in each magazine. His results showed a decrease from 1960 to 1970 in the percentage of news pictures that included white models while the percentage of advertisements with white models also decreased in 1970.⁴⁶ His conclusions indicated that the visibility of African Americans had increased.⁴⁷

David Colfax and Susan Sternberg hypothesized that the "...depiction of blacks in contemporary magazine advertising may be contributing to the perpetuation and reinforcement of racial stereotypes...."⁴⁸ To examine this, they analyzed the 1965-1970 issues of Reader's Digest, Ladies Home Journal, Look, and Life magazines. The results of their study indicated there had been an increase in the proportion of advertisements with African Americans, but African Americans were cast in roles that "...distorted black realities and confirmed racial stereotypes."⁴⁹

In 1972, George Gitter, Stephen O'Connell and David Mostofsky examined the appearance of African Americans in Ebony advertisements over a 17-year period, 1952-1968. The models in the advertisements were rated on three racial variables: physiognomy, "the thickness of lip and width of nose at base," which was on a 4-point scale from thin and narrow to thick and wide. Hair texture was rated on a 4-point scale, from "straight and smooth to kinky and coarse" and skin color was rated on a 4-point scale based on light to dark. In each of the 4-point scales, "1" represented more Caucasian features

while "4" represented Negroid features.⁵⁰ Half-page and larger advertisements were examined and from each of the advertisements only two models were chosen. The models with the largest heads and whose features could be most easily distinguished were chosen. The results of the study indicated that over the 17-year period, the appearance of male models became more "Negroid" while there was no change in the actual appearance of female models and the skin color was more Negroid.⁵¹ For male models, hair texture ratings were mostly on the Negroid half of the scale while for the female models, their hair texture rating gradually became less Negroid over the 17-year period.⁵²

In 1976, James Culley and Rex Bennett examined the portrayals of women and African Americans in advertisements. Their study indicated that "...few, if any significant changes had taken place in the past few years in the roles portrayed by blacks in consumer magazine advertising."⁵³ Their study examined quarter-page or larger advertisements in the October 1974 issues of Esquire, Playboy, and Reader's Digest. Their findings indicated that African Americans appeared in less than seven per cent of the advertisements.⁵⁴ The study also indicated that African Americans usually appeared in crowd scenes and were rarely portrayed in product advertisements.⁵⁵ A criticism of Culley and Bennett's study was that it used a limited sample from which to draw its conclusions.

In 1980, Leonard Reid and Bruce Vanden Bergh examined whether African American models were restricted more to the later phases in advertising

campaigns than in introductory campaign advertisements. Their examination included the January 1, 1968, to January 1, 1978, issues of Cosmopolitan, Time, Reader's Digest, and The Ladies Home Journal. Only introductory advertisements, "...defined as a message presenting a product or service new to the advertiser," with human models were selected.⁵⁶ The results of their study showed that of the 8,700 introductory advertisements chosen, only fifty-nine portrayed African Americans. Of the introductory advertisements that portrayed African Americans most were featured with personal care products.⁵⁷ Reid and Vanden Bergh concluded that although previous studies found that African Americans were being used more in advertisements and portrayed in upgraded roles, their study indicated that for new product advertising, this was not the case.⁵⁸

In 1983, Mary Alice Sentman examined the history of Life magazine and its coverage of African Americans. Sentman analyzed the 1937, 1942, 1947, 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967, and 1972 issues of Life.⁵⁹ The number of pages showing an African American were counted. Sentman included the total number of pages per year and the number of issues which did not have any African Americans and categorized each instance of the appearance of an African American. The categories were sports, entertainment, crime, social commentary, social or everyday life, news events, prominent person honored, advertising, and covers.⁶⁰ She also analyzed the coverage of white models and compared it with the coverage of African Americans.

Sentman's findings indicated that the total coverage of African Americans was at its lowest in 1947. The coverage of African Americans was

quite evenly distributed throughout all of the categories, except for the portrayals of African Americans in everyday life, which was low in comparison with the other categories.⁶¹ In comparison with the coverage of African Americans, white coverage continued to be greater.⁶²

Ronald Humphrey and Howard Schuman examined the portrayals of African Americans in magazine advertisements from 1950 to 1982. In this 1984 study, the first two issues of Time magazine for each month in 1950 and 1980 were examined, as well as each month of the 1950, 1979, and 1980 issues of The Ladies Home Journal.⁶³ All the advertisements portraying an African American were coded for the type of sponsor, number of people of each race, the gender and status of each model, interracial relationship, and the occupational status of each model.⁶⁴ Humphrey and Schuman also incorporated regional differences into their study using Time magazine "...from a mixed race Northern area (Detroit, Michigan), from a largely white area (Portland, Oregon), and from a mixed deep south area (Columbus, Georgia).⁶⁵ From the regional study, Humphrey and Schuman found no regional differences. Humphrey and Schuman also coded the frequency of African Americans in all of the 1980, 1981, and 1982 issues of Time, The Ladies Home Journal, and Newsweek.⁶⁶

Their findings indicated that there was a rise in the percentage of advertisements that included African Americans, except for 1981 when there seemed to be a drop in the proportion of advertisements with African Americans in Newsweek and The Ladies Home Journal.⁶⁷ Their study indicated that

over time, Time underrepresented African American women in comparison to white women and The Ladies Home Journal underrepresented African American men in comparison to white men. They also found that in Time African Americans appeared in more government-sponsored advertisements while in The Ladies Home Journal African Americans appeared in more nonprofit and governments sponsored advertisements.⁶⁸ In the social and occupational categories for both Time and The Ladies Home Journal, African Americans were less likely to be portrayed as high status consumers, while in both magazines they were portrayed more often as idle.⁶⁹ In the 1980 issues of both magazines, African Americans were shown less in low-skilled labor roles.⁷⁰ In the racial relationship category, African Americans were portrayed in subordinate roles in the 1950 advertisements while in the 1980's African Americans and whites were shown in equal status roles and in face-to-face interaction.⁷¹

In 1986, George Zinkhan, Keith Cox, and Jae Hong examined changes in racial stereotypes in magazine advertisements. Their study included 1983-84 issues of Life, Time, The Ladies Home Journal, The Saturday Evening Post, and The New Yorker. This study replicated Cox's 1970 study, which itself was a replication of Shuey, King and Griffith's 1953 study.

Zinkhan, Cox and Hong compared the results of their study to Cox's 1970 findings.⁷² The advertisements with African Americans were analyzed by focusing on the major African American model in the advertisement and identifying the model's occupation. A control group was used and was identified by using the first advertisement with a white model pictured after the

advertisement from which the African American advertisement was chosen.⁷³

The results of this study indicated that of the "...273 advertisements more than 70 percent were actually integrated ads and also contained white models" and Time contained the highest percentage of African American

advertisements while The Ladies Home Journal contained the lowest.⁷⁴

Although the percentage of advertisements with African Americans had increased, the percentage of advertisements in 1983-84 failed to represent the proportion of African Americans in the United States.⁷⁵ The portrayals of

African Americans in occupational roles increased from 6.1 per cent in 1949 to 80 per cent in 1983 in the above skilled labor category. The study also

indicated that in the above skilled labor category, white models were portrayed more as the consumer while African Americans were more likely portrayed in professional roles.⁷⁶

Portrayals of African Americans on Television

According to Melvin Moore in "Blackface in Prime Time," the portrayals of African Americans in television has been an issue long debated.⁷⁷ The first image of African Americans on television did not appear until almost twenty-three years after television's first drama was broadcast, experimentally in 1928.⁷⁸ The roles of African Americans in television during the 1950's were described by Moore, as "...inferior, lazy, dumb and dishonest...."⁷⁹ According to

Regina Sherard in "The Emergence of Blacks on Television," African Americans in the 1950's were portrayed as inferior and dumb and these stereotypes were perpetuated by the broadcast of The Amos 'n' Andy Show in 1951.⁸⁰ The perpetuation of the stereotype was merely to appease the white viewers discomfort of seeing African Americans on television, Sherard said. Sherard also stated that the networks focused their attention on roles for African Americans that exploited the stereotypes.⁸¹

In the 1960's, African Americans had a variety of roles on television. According to Nagueyalti Warren in "From Uncle Tom to Cliff Huxtable, Aunt Jemima to Aunt Nell: Images of Blacks in Film and the Television Industry," the 1960's found that

"[a] nonfictional image of civil rights activist and freedom fighters was projected by Blacks during this decade. Television captured that image and flashed it into nearly every American home and around the world."⁸²

In 1970, Joseph Dominick and Bradley Greenberg examined the "Three Seasons of Blacks on Television." They examined the new trends on television programs and commercials and noted the roles the actors would be playing.⁸³ They looked at television programming for three seasons, 1967, 1968, and 1969. Within those years they examined the emergence of the African American into commercial television. The content of the programs was categorized as dramatic shows, variety shows, game shows and commercials.⁸⁴ The commercials were categorized by time of day, channel and network, product type, number of African Americans in the commercial and the total number of people in the commercial. For each African American, the

researchers coded the racial relationship, if the actor spoke, handled the product, gender and if the actor's role was major or minor.⁸⁵ The dramatic shows were coded according to whether the actor gave or was given orders, reference to race, if the African American actor came into contact with other actors, and the occupation of the actors.⁸⁶

Dominick and Greenberg found that there had been an increase in the proportion of African Americans used in both daytime and prime time programs. In 1967, African Americans appeared in one out of every 20 commercials and were used more in the direct selling of a product, but were rarely alone.⁸⁷ In television dramas, the number of African Americans in dramatic roles increased and in the 1969-70 season, African Americans played different roles in the daytime than they did in nighttime programs. In prime-time programs African Americans appeared in one out of two programs.⁸⁸

In 1974, Marilyn Fife examined the "Black Image in American TV: The First Two Decades." Her study focused on the image of African Americans in television in the 1950's and 1960's. She stated that the 1950s were limited to the same stereotypes that other mass media were using and that the African American was treated as an "invisible man."⁸⁹ Fife also said that even though the civil rights movement was clearly covered, "blacks had not really 'arrived' in TV" and would not "arrive" until the 1970's.⁹⁰

In 1977, Ronald Bush, Paul Solomon, and Joseph Hair replicated Dominick and Greenberg's 1970 study of the role of African Americans in television advertisements during the periods, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1973, and

1974. They also compared "...similar data classifications, but across different geographic regions (south versus west)."91 A content analysis of television advertisements from two different regions, south and west, were analyzed. Television commercials from the three major networks during 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. (daytime) and 7:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. (prime time) hours were analyzed.92 Bush, Solomon, and Hair examined advertisement from July 16-22, 1973 and November 5 -11, 1973. They focused on the number of African Americans in each advertisement, relationship with others or self, whether there was any communication, gender and if the model handled the product.93

The results of their study indicated that there was an "...increase in the use of blacks. Approximately 13 per cent of all ads now contain blacks; in 1967, only 5 per cent of all ads contained blacks."94 African Americans appeared in more promotion advertisements in 1969 and 1974, and more public service advertisements in 1973 and 1974, than in Dominick and Greenberg's 1970 study and there was an increase in the percentage of product advertisements that used African Americans.95 The results of the regional study showed that the South used a larger proportion of African Americans in advertisements.96

Portrayals of African Americans in Film

The portrayal of African Americans in film has changed over time like their portrayal in magazines. According to Edward Mapp in Blacks in American Films: Today and Yesterday, " a steady increase in the number of appearances

of blacks in American films is evident in major and minor characterizations."⁹⁷

Prior to the 1950's, the role of the African American in film can be described in terms of five basic roles: the "Tom," the "Coon," the "Buck," the "Mammy," or the "Mulatto." The first "black" character in the movies was Uncle Tom seen in the 1903 12-minute motion picture of Uncle Tom's Cabin, where in reality Uncle Tom was not a "black" actor, but a White actor in blackface.⁹⁸

According to Donald Bogle in Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks, it was not uncommon to see white actors in blackface, portraying African Americans, in a variety of roles "...bearing the fanciful names of the coon, the tragic mulatto, the mammy, and the brutal black buck."⁹⁹

The "Tom" character was portrayed as the "good Negro" who would not turn against the master, but who was the kind hearted, submissive slave. This character was the most socially accepted character in comparison to the other characters.¹⁰⁰ The "Coon," was the object of amusement and was known as the "black buffoon." There were two different types of coons, the pickaninny coon was the harmless screwball character, "...whose hair stood on end with the least bit of excitement..."¹⁰¹ When the role of the pickaninny coon faded there was the emergence of the subhuman, unreliable, and lazy character often named "Rastus." With the death of Rastus came Uncle Remus, who was the naive, harmless and friendly coon.¹⁰²

The "Brutal Buck" character was introduced in The Birth of a Nation in 1915. The bucks were the "...big, baadddd niggers, oversexed and savage, violent and frenzied as they lust for white flesh."¹⁰³ The fourth character was

the "Mammy" who was well known "...by her sex and her fierce independence...she [was] usually big, fat, and cantankerous." An offshoot of this character was Aunt Jemima, who was usually sweeter and more mellow than the mammy; in other words she was a female "Tom."¹⁰⁴

The last character was the "Tragic Mulatto," who because of her white heritage, was often seen as a sympathetic and likable character, but because of her racial mixture she could not find happiness and thus was often a victim.¹⁰⁵ Bogle stated that the portrayals of African Americans changed from "plantation jesters" in the 1920s, to servants in the 1930's, and entertainers in the 1940's. The 1950's saw African Americans as troubled people while the African American became militant in the 1960's.¹⁰⁶

According to Thomas Cripps in "The Death of Rastus," the 1950's brought the creation of new stereotypes, such as the African American who would only be fulfilled with the support of the white man and occasionally the African American who was seen as the tragic hero, and as a victim.¹⁰⁷

According to Donald Bogle, the 1960's was a time of boycotts, riots, demonstrations and "untimely deaths," a time when "...Negroes were quietly asking for their rights and by 1969 they were demanding them."¹⁰⁸ The 1960's brought a variety of roles to the screen, militant films which showed hustlers, ghettos, poverty, and interracial marriages.¹⁰⁹ Films that came out of this era were The Cool World and Guess Who's Coming to Dinner. Each depicted African Americans in roles that before the 1960's they would not have been cast in. The latter part of the 1960's brought changes in attitudes and changes in

film. There was more of an emphasis on the "new black militancy."¹¹⁰

The role of the African American was changing, but some of the original roles and stereotypes still existed.¹¹¹ According to Nagueyaliti Warren in "From Uncle Tom to Cliff Huxtable, Aunt Jemima to Aunt Nell: Images of Blacks in Film and the Television," films in the 1970's were labeled "blaxploitation" because of the images aimed at African Americans.¹¹² Films that followed the "blaxploitation" theme were Shaft and Super Fly. In each film the main characters were African American males who were not intimidated by whites and who lived by their own standards.¹¹³ Warren also found that African Americans were seen in more multidimensional roles and were more often cast as professionals.¹¹⁴

By the 1980's the "blaxploitation" films were gone and the role of the African American actor was integrated with the White actor.¹¹⁵ According to Donald Bogle, the 1980's could be "...viewed as the age of the hybrid stereotype: a time when major stars played characters who were sometimes part coon/part buck, sometimes part coon/part mammy."¹¹⁶ He also viewed the 1980's as the "Era of Tan" because films attempt to make the audience forget the actor's "blackness."¹¹⁷

The question is: have there been any changes in the portrayals of African Americans? Yes, there have been several changes in the portrayals of African Americans over the course of time. The roles of African Americans slowly began to show changes and as indicated by the research the role of African Americans began to change more in the 1960's. According to Jannette

Dates in Split Images, many networks began to feel pressures "...to increase African American participation in the industry."¹¹⁸ Dates stated that "the civil rights movement coupled with... other pressures, helped push the networks toward producing and airing series that featured African Americans."¹¹⁹ The civil rights movement seemed to be a vital part of what sparked the changes in the portrayals of African Americans.

Conclusion

Of the studies found on the portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements some of the studies were different in terms of sample size, and numbers and types of magazines examined.

The portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements in the mid-1990's need to be examined and compared with portrayals of the past to observe what types of changes have taken place. The types of magazines need to be expanded to include a greater variety of men's, women's and news magazines. Also more variables, apart from the portrayals, frequency of African Americans and occupational status, need to be examined.

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CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter will discuss the research design, identify the hypotheses, and the limitations of the portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements.

A content analysis will be used to examine the portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements and the changes that have occurred over the period, 1970-1990.

Research Design

This thesis will focus on the portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements in Esquire, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, Popular Mechanics, Vogue, Mademoiselle, Harper's Bazaar, Good Housekeeping, Newsweek, Time, Life, New Yorker, and Ebony. The magazines are grouped according to men's, women's, and news oriented magazines. The 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985

and 1990, November and June issues of each magazine will be examined. Only half-page or larger advertisements portraying African American models will be used. This study will obtain information about the number of African American models, occupational status of African Americans, product type, and model skin tone in print advertisements and the changes that have taken place for each of these elements from 1970 to 1990.

Magazine Information

Below is a brief description of each magazine according to Consumer Magazine and Agri-Media Source, including circulation information according to paid subscriptions and non-paid circulations as of December 31, 1993.

Esquire magazine, established in 1933, "...is a general interest magazine for men. The editorial covers a full spectrum to meet a variety of interests: ...investigative journalism, quality fiction and coverage of sports, clothes, culture and the arts."¹ The total paid subscriptions are 737,134 and non-paid circulation is 34,664.

Fortune magazine, established in 1930, "...is edited for managers and covers successful management strategies, new technologies that improve the workplace, global challenges, [and] government policies..." to name a few of the topics.² The total paid subscriptions are 921,789 and non-paid circulation is 87,255.

Sports Illustrated magazine, established in 1954, "...reports and interprets the world of sports, recreation and active leisure...." ³ The total paid subscriptions are 3,356,729 and non-paid circulation is 145,411.

Popular Mechanics magazine, established in 1902, is "...a men's service magazine covering home improvements..., electronics, computers... fitness..., and technology categories."⁴ The total paid subscriptions are 1,656,951 and non-paid circulation is 20,153.

Vogue magazine, established in 1935, "...reflects modern times...from innovations in fashion and beauty to current personalities, political thought, social consciousness...fitness and travel...."⁵ The total paid subscriptions are 285,957 and non-paid circulation is 24,002.

Mademoiselle magazine, established in 1935, is "...edited for style-conscious, independent women in their twenties." This magazine offers "...modern views on fashion, beauty, careers,... entertainment and social issues."⁶ The total amount of paid subscriptions are 1,218,985 and non-paid circulation is 78,424.

Harper's Bazaar magazine, established in 1867, "...contains comprehensive coverage of fashion and beauty."⁷ The total paid subscriptions are 738,403 and non-paid circulation is 22,278.

Good Housekeeping magazine, established in 1885, "...focus[es] on food, fitness, beauty, and child care and draw upon the resources of the Good Housekeeping Institute."⁸ The total paid subscriptions are 5,162,597 and non-paid circulation is 34,375.

The New Yorker magazine, established in 1925, "...discusses current ideas and events in metropolitan America. The magazine blends domestic and international news, analysis with cartoons, regular criticism of sports, fashion,

and the arts....”⁹ The total paid subscriptions are 765,582 and non-paid circulation is 17,332.

Newsweek magazine, established in 1933, “...is edited to report the week’s developments on the news front of the world and the nation through news, commentary and analysis. News is divided into National Affairs, International, Business, Lifestyle, Society, and the Arts.”¹⁰ The total paid subscriptions are 3,156,192 and non-paid circulation is 112,709.

Time magazine, established in 1923, “...covers the full range of information that is important to people today-breaking news, national and world affairs, business news, societal and lifestyle issues, culture and entertainment news and reviews.”¹¹ The total paid subscriptions are 4,103,772 and non-paid circulation is 176,422.

Life magazine, established in 1936, “...shows the world through the power of pictures. It explores domestic and international news, business, the arts, lifestyle and human interest stories.”¹² The total paid subscriptions are 1,625,096 and non-paid circulation is 100,455.

Ebony magazine, established in 1969, “...is a black oriented, general, picture magazine dealing primarily with contemporary topics. Feature articles deal with education, history, politics, literature, art, business... civil rights... and social events.”¹³ Total paid subscriptions are 133,507 and non-paid circulation is 27,206.

Hypothesis

The following hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis #1: There is no change in the occupational status of African American models portrayed in print advertisements over the period, 1970-1990.

Hypothesis #2: There is no change in the skin tone of African American models in print advertisements over the period, 1970-1990.

Hypothesis #3: There is no change in the types of products associated with African American models in print advertisements over the period, 1970-1990.

Hypothesis #4: There is no change in the frequency of appearance of African American models in print advertisements over the period, 1970-1990.

Hypothesis #5: There is no difference in the frequency of appearance and occupational roles of African American models in print advertisements between the periods, 1970-1990 and Kassirjian's 1969 study covering the period, 1946-1965.

Hypothesis #6: There is no difference between the frequency of appearance, occupational roles, types of products, and skin tone of African Americans in Ebony magazine compared with the other magazines, 1970-1990.

Panel

The panel used in this study will consist of one African American and two whites. Each coder will analyze each advertisement and answer the questions that pertain to advertisements with African American models. A pretest will be conducted before the actual test is done to determine the effectiveness of the

coding form and to enable the coders to familiarize themselves with the directions and the questions.

A Inter-coder reliability test was done between each pair of coders using the following equation:

$$R = 2M / N_1 + N_2$$

The M= number of decisions on which the two coders agree.

N₁= number of decisions by coder #1.

N₂= number of decisions by coder #2.

Coding Form

The coders will complete a questionnaire for each half-page or larger advertisement that contains an African American model. The coding instructions include a number of questions that pertain to each advertisement.

Question 1: Number of African Americans in the advertisements? This will determine the number of African Americans in each advertisement.

Question 2: Racial Make-up. This question will determine the racial make-up of the models in the advertisements and their peer relationship. This question gives a variety of answers to choose from:

- a. All model(s) are African American
- b. Non-peer relationship between two different races. (African American secretary with an white executive).
- c. Peer relationship between two different races. (two children of

different races playing together).

- d. Non peer relationship between same races. (African American secretary with an African American executive).
- e. Peer relationship between same races. (two African American children playing together).

This will determine if all the models are African American or if the African American models are portrayed with models of other races and their relationship.

A peer relationship would be where there is some type of equality between the models, for example two children playing together. A non-peer relationship would be a relationship where the models are not portrayed equally.¹⁴ For example, a non-peer relationship would include an advertisement with an African American executive speaking to a Native American secretary. If there is more than one model or types of interaction in the advertisement then this question must be answered according to the different relationships.

Question 3: Importance of the African American model advertisement? Is the model small, which is defined as hard to distinguish and not important to the message; average, defined as equally distinguishable, or predominant, which is defined as, not hard to distinguish and important to the message. This will establish whether the role of the African American is important to the advertisement. If there is more than one African American then this question must be answered according to the importance of all African Americans in the advertisement.

Question 4: Occupational status. This question defines four different occupational status':

- a. Professional ("...reflecting the results of education, training and experience...")¹⁵

Examples: executive, designer, physician, dentist, or an attorney.

- b. Entertainer (one who entertains public)

Examples: actor/actress, model, athlete, comedian, or a musician.

- c. Clerical ("...one who does clerical work for an office or business...")¹⁶

Examples: secretary, receptionists, or a file clerk.

- d. Service (person who provides a service).

Examples: waiter/waitress, postal worker, fireman, policeman, flight attendant, or a plumber.

- e. Occupation not apparent.

These occupations are based on the definitions listed in Webster's Dictionary. Examples are given to aid the coders in determining which occupational status applies. The issue of having more than one model per advertisement is taken into consideration. Each question is to be answered for each African American model in the advertisement.

Question 5: Type of product. The list of products includes:

- a. Furniture, home furnishings/appliance
- b. Toys, recreational and entertainment
- c. Home electronics, such as cameras, VCR's, televisions, etc.
- d. Business electronics such as computers, fax and calculators

- e. Clothing
- f. Car/car products
- g. Food, drink, alcohol and tobacco
- h. Personal care products (shampoo, soap, body lotion, women's sanitary pads, toothpaste, and cosmetics).
- i. Non-personal care products (detergent, fabric rinse and dishwashing liquid).
- j. Medicine
- k. Service, activities, benefits or satisfactions that are offered for sale such as dental care, hair dressing, banking, transportation, and travel services.
- l. Public services- non-profit public service announcements, by organizations that want to build identities in the public mind.
- m. Miscellaneous, such as pillows, jewelry, eye glasses, watches, and so on.

If there are more than one product check all products that apply.

Question 6: What is the skin tone of the model? To categorize the skin tones, the coders are shown four different models representing four different skin tones to help them to distinguish skin tones. The issue of having more than one model per advertisement is taken into consideration. Each question is to be answered for each African American model in the advertisement.

Questions 7-9: Total number of half-page and larger advertisements?
Total number of advertisements less than a half-page? Total number of advertisements with white models in half-page and larger advertisements?
These questions will determine if the increase in the number of advertisements

with African American models improved because of the increase in the total amount of advertisements with models in each magazine overall.

Limitations

The limitations of the study are: the number of magazine issues, years examined, number of coders, and the size of advertisements. The number of magazine issues used in this study will be only two issues, because of limited time and resources. Missing pages, missing issues, and the repetition of some advertisements will also be taken into consideration. To account for the missing issues a random issue was chosen in place of the original issue. In examining Ebony magazine a random number will be chosen because the number of advertisements with African American models is quite large.

The time periods examined will include five different years: 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, and 1990. Since this study will focus on the changes that have taken place and a comparison with the findings of this study and Kassarian's findings, the time periods chosen were based upon the time intervals of Kassarian's study. The size of the advertisements will only include half-page advertisements and larger. The sizes were chosen because they are considerably more visible than ads smaller than a half-page.

Summary

The purpose of this study is to examine the portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements and the changes that have taken place in: frequency of appearance, occupational status, product types and skin tone,

during the period, 1970-1990. A comparison with Harold Kassarian's 1969 study, of the frequency of appearance and occupational status of African Americans, will be compared with this study. Also, a comparison of the roles and depictions of African Americans in Ebony magazine will be compared with the findings of the other magazines. This comparison will determine if the portrayals of African Americans in Ebony are the same or different from the portrayals of African Americans in the other magazines. The type of products, racial make-up, and skin tones of the models will also be compared. This will indicate whether Ebony's representation of African Americans is along the same lines as the other magazines or if Ebony's portrayal is different because of its audience.

ENDNOTES

¹Consumer Magazine and Agri-Media Source. (Wilmetter: SRDS, 1994): 388.

²ibid, 97.

³ibid, 503.

⁴ibid, 397.

⁵ibid, 747.

⁶ibid, 724.

⁷ibid, 744.

⁸ibid, 718.

⁹ibid, 280.

¹⁰ibid, 499.

¹¹ibid, 505.

¹²ibid, 272.

¹³ibid, 267.

¹⁴Harold Kassarian, "The Negro and American Advertising," Journal of Marketing Research, (February, 1969): 31.

¹⁵Webster's Third New International Dictionary, A Merriam Webster,
(Springfield, 1961): 184.

¹⁶ibid, 421.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

A content analysis of thirteen magazines was done on the portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements.

Changes in Occupational Status

Tables I - XIII show the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in various magazines. Null hypothesis: there is no change in the occupational status of African American models portrayed in print advertisements over the period, 1970-1990.

The row labeled "0000" on the tables represents the models of different races pictured with the African American models in the advertisements.

Ebony Magazine

Table I shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent

occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in Ebony for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE I
Occupational Status of African Americans Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for Ebony magazine
N=36

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=3	N=7	N=3	N=18	N=5	
0000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Professional	0	0	0	11%	0	6% (2)
Entertainer	0	43%	0	6%	40%	17% (6)
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	0	0	17%	20%	11% (4)
Occupation not apparent	100%	57%	100%	67%	40%	67% (24)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square=806, df=20, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.7870, Coefficient of determination =62%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for Ebony magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderately strong, with a 62 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

Table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990

the occupational status of African American models in Ebony magazine was generally "not apparent." Later in the period, Ebony was more apt to identify an occupation for African Americans models appearing in its print advertisements.

Newsweek Magazine

Table II shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in Newsweek for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE II
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for Newsweek Magazine
N=107

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=17	N=3	N=5	N=60	N=22	N=(x)
0000	6%	0	20%	2%	9%	5%(5)
Professional	0	0	0	8%	5%	6%(6)
Entertainer	0	33%	0	0	0	1%(1)
Clerical	0	0	0	88%	0	50%(53)
Service	0	0	40%	0	68%	16%(17)
No Occupation Apparent	94%	67%	40%	2%	18%	23%(25)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square=300, df=20, p=, .05, Contingency Coefficient: .3926, Coefficient of Determination=62%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print

advertisements for Newsweek magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 62 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the occupational status of African Americans in Newsweek was "not apparent" until 1975. At that point, The occupational status of African American models fluctuated between the service and clerical occupational status.

Time Magazine

Table III shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in Time for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE III
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by year for Time Magazine
N=79

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=2	N=37	N=5	N=60	N=22	N=(x)
0000	100%	0	3%	0	100%	4%(3)
Professional	0	0	17%	0	0	6% (5)
Entertainer	0	78%	10%	50%	0	47% (57)
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	0	67%	0	0	22% (17)
No Occupation	0	22%	13%	50%	0	22% (17)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square=103, df=20, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.2574, Coefficient of Determination=50%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for Time magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 50 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect

because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the occupational status of African Americans in Time was "not apparent" until 1975. Later in the period, the occupational status of African American models fluctuated between entertainer and service occupational status.

Life Magazine

Table IV shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent status of African American models in print advertisements in Life for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE IV
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by year for Life Magazine
N=49

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1972	1980	1985	1990	
	N=3	N=10	N=10	N=17	N=22	N=(x)
0000	33%	0	0	0	0	2%(1)
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainer	0	0	10%	18%	0	8%(4)
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	70%	30%	18%	78%	45(22)
No Occupation Apparent	67%	30%	60%	65%	22%	45(22)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square=392, df=20, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0 .4557, Coefficient of Determination=67%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for Life magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 67 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are

suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period the occupational status of African Americans in Life was "not apparent" until 1972. The occupational status then fluctuated between the service and "no apparent occupation" categories later in the period.

The New Yorker Magazine

Table V shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in The New Yorker for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE V
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for The New Yorker Magazine
N=25

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1972	1980	1985	1990	
	N=6	N=10	N=10	N=17	N=22	N=(x)
0000	17%	14%	20%	100%	20%	24% (6)
Professional	0	0	20%	0	0	4% (1)
Entertainer	0	0	0	0	80%	16% (4)
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	43%	60%	0	0	24% (6)
No Occupation Apparent	83%	43%	0	0	0	32% (8)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square=73, df=20, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.1910, Coefficient of Determination=43%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for The New Yorker magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 43 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period the occupational status of African Americans models in print advertisements in The New Yorker was "not apparent." Later in the period, African Americans were pictured in a service occupation, but in 1985 the occupational status was again unapparent.

Esquire magazine

Table VI shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in Esquire for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE VI
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for Esquire Magazine
N= 102

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1972	1980	1985	1990	
	N=20	N=2	N=74	N=2	N=4	N=(x)
0000	0	50%	0	100%	25%	4% (4)
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainer	0	50%	1%	0	75%	5% (5)
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	0	99%	0	0	72% (73)
No Occupation Apparent	100%	0	0	0	0	20% (20)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square=30, df=20, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.0909, Coefficient of Determination=30%.

Analysis indicates that there is not a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for Esquire magazine. Strength of the relationship is definite, but small with a 30 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are

suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentage appears to indicate that early in the period, 1970-1990 the occupational status of African Americans in Esquire print advertisements was generally "not apparent." Later in the period, African American models were portrayed as entertainers and in the service occupations.

Fortune Magazine

Table VII shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in Fortune for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE VII
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for Fortune Magazine
N=62

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=33	N=27	N=0	N=0	N=0	N=(x)
0000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Professional	58%	89%	0	0	0	67% (43)
Entertainer	9%	0	0	0	0	5% (1)
Clerical	6%	6%	0	0	0	9% (6)
Service	3%	0	0	0	0	2% (1)
No Occupation Apparent	27%	7%	0	0	0	17% (11)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 489, df=20, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.6198, Coefficient of Determination =78%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for Fortune magazine. Strength of the relationship is strong, with a 78 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 African Americans in Fortune were portrayed in clerical and professional occupations. Later in the period, no occupation status for African Americans could be identified because there were no African American models portrayed in print advertisements in Fortune.

Sports Illustrated Magazine

Table VIII shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in Sports Illustrated for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE VIII
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for Sports Illustrated Magazine
N=125

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=14	N=4	N=28	N=28	N=2	N=(x)
0000	0	25%	0	0	0	1% (1)
Professional	0	25%	0	0	0	1% (1)
Entertainer	100%	0	32%	100%	43%	59% (74)
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	0	7%	0	0	2% (2)
No Occupation Apparent	0	50%	60%	0	57%	38% (47)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 562, df=20, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.5403, Coefficient of Determination =73%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for Sports Illustrated magazine. Strength of the relationship is strong, with a 73 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate a fluctuation in the occupational status of African Americans in print advertisements from "no occupation apparent" to entertainer for the period 1970-1990.

Popular Mechanics Magazine

Table IX shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in Popular Mechanics for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE IX
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for Popular Mechanics Magazine
N=14

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=2	N=2	N=6	N=2	N=2	N=(x)
0000	100%	100%	33%	100%	100%	71% (10)
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainer	0	0	17%	0	0	7% (1)
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	0	50%	0	0	21% (3)
No Occupation Apparent	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 1, df=20, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.0011, Coefficient of Determination =3%.

Analysis indicates there is not a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for Popular Mechanics magazine. Strength of the relationship is weak, with a 3 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the occupational status of African Americans in Popular Mechanics did not exist until 1980 when African Americans were portrayed in clerical positions. In the later periods, the occupational status of African American models does not exist.

Good Housekeeping Magazine

Table X shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in Good Housekeeping for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE X
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for Good Housekeeping Magazine
N=57

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=11	N=14	N=6	N=2	N=24	N=(x)
0000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainer	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Occupation Apparent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100% (57)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 5, df=20, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.0099, Coefficient of Determination =9%.

Analysis indicates there is not a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for Good Housekeeping magazine. Strength of the relationship is weak, with a 9 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990, occupational status of African Americans in Good Housekeeping was "not apparent" throughout the period 1970-1990.

Vogue Magazine

Table XI shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in Vogue for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XI
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for Vogue Magazine
N=27

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=9	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=12	N=(x)
0000	13%	100%	50%	100%	0	22%(6)
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainer	0	0	0	0	17%	8% (2)
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Occupation Apparent	87%	0	50%	0	83%	70% (19)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 347, df=20, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.6119, Coefficient of Determination =78%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for Vogue magazine. Strength of the relationship is strong, with a 78 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the occupational status of African Americans in Vogue was "not apparent."

Mademoiselle Magazine

Table XII shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in Mademoiselle for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XII
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for Mademoiselle Magazine
N=27

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=0	N=6	N=9	N=2	N=9	N=(x)
0000	0	33%	11%	50%	11%	22% (6)
Professional	0	17%	0	0	0	4% (1)
Entertainer	0	0	0	50%	0	4% (1)
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Occupation Apparent	0	50%	89%	0	89%	70% (19)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 293, df=20, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.4982, Coefficient of Determination =70%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for Mademoiselle magazine. Strength of the relationship is strong, with a 70 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 "no occupation" was apparent for African American models in Mademoiselle. By 1985, African American models in Mademoiselle were identified as entertainers.

Harper's Bazaar Magazine

Table XIII shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements in Harper's Bazaar for the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XIII
Occupational Status of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for Harper's Bazaar Magazine
N=10

Occupational Status	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=(x)
0000	100%	100%	100%	100%	50%	90% (9)
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entertainer	0	0	0	0	50%	10% (1)
Clerical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Occupation	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 4, df=20, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.0079, Coefficient of Determination =8%.

Analysis indicates there was not a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent occupational status of African American models in print advertisements for Harper's Bazaar magazine. Strength of the relationship is weak, with a 8 percent variation in occupational status attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 no occupational status existed for African Americans. Later in the period, the occupational status for the African American models in Harper's Bazaar was identified as entertainers.

Changes in Skin Tone

Tables XIV-XXVI shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in various magazines. Null hypothesis: there is no change in skin tone of African American models in print advertisements over the period, 1970-1990.

Ebony Magazine

Table XIV show the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in Ebony from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XIV
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for Ebony Magazine
N=36

Skin Tone	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=3	N=7	N=3	N=18	N=5	N=(x)
0000	0	0	0	22%	0	11%(4)
Light	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fair	0	29%	0	11%	20%	14%(5)
Brown	100%	43%	33%	39%	40%	44%(16)
Dark	0	29%	67%	28%	40%	31%(11)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 43, df=16, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.1025, Coefficient of Determination =32%.

Analysis indicates there is not a genuine relationship between year of

publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for Ebony magazine. Strength of the relationship is definite, but small with a 32 percent variation in models skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that in the period 1970-1990 the skin tone of African Americans in Ebony fluctuated between brown skin and dark skin with some fair skinned models.

Newsweek Magazine

Table XV shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in Newsweek from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XV
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for Newsweek Magazine
N=107

Skin Tone	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=17	N=3	N=5	N=60	N=22	N=(x)
0000	94%	0	80%	10%	73%	39%(42)
Light	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fair	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brown	6%	33%	20%	72%	0	43%(46)
Dark	0	67%	0	18%	27%	18%(19)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 291, df=16, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.5446, Coefficient of Determination =73%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for Newsweek magazine. Strength of the relationship is strong, with a 73 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that in the period 1970-1990 the skin tones of the African American models in Newsweek were generally of

brown and dark complexions.

Time Magazine

Table XVI shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in Time from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XVI
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for Time Magazine
N=79

Skin Tone	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=2	N=37	N=30	N=10	N=0	N=(x)
0000	100%	76%	74%	60%	0	73%(58)
Light	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fair	0	3%	0	20%	0	4% (3)
Brown	0	11%	3%	10%	0	8%(6)
Dark	0	11%	23%	10%	0	15%(12)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 14, df=16, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.1349, Coefficient of Determination =36%.

Analysis indicates there is not a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for Time magazine. Strength of the relationship is definite, but small with a 36 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect

because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that in the period 1970-1990 the skin tones of the African American models in Time were generally of brown and dark complexions.

Life Magazine

Table XVII shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in Life from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XVII
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for Life Magazine
N=49

Skin Tone	Year					Overall
	1970	1972	1980	1985	1990	
	N=3	N=10	N=10	N=17	N=9	N=(x)
0000	33%	50%	60%	59%	56%	55%(27)
Light	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fair	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brown	0	20%	10%	24%	33%	20%(10)
Dark	67%	30%	18%	11%	30%	24%(12)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 514, df=16, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.6245, Coefficient of Determination =79%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for

Life magazine. Strength of the relationship is strong with a 79 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that in the period 1970-1990 the skin tones of the African American models in Life were generally of brown and dark complexions.

The New Yorker Magazine

Table XVIII shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in The New Yorker from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XVIII
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for The New Yorker Magazine
N=25

Skin Tone	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=6	N=7	N=5	N=2	N=5	N=(x)
0000	17%	43%	80%	100%	60%	52% (13)
Light	17%	0	0	0	0	4 (1)
Fair	32%	0	0	0	0	8% (2)
Brown	17%	43%	20%	0	20%	24% (6)
Dark	17%	14%	0	0	20%	12% (3)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 120, df=16, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.0197, Coefficient of Determination =14%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for The New Yorker magazine. Strength of the relationship is weak, with a 36 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the skin tones of the African American models in The New Yorker fluctuated. Later in the period, African American models were more apt to be identified as brown skinned and dark skinned.

Esquire Magazine

Table XIX shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in Esquire from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XIX
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for Esquire Magazine
N=102

Skin Tone	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=20	N=2	N=74	N=2	N=4	N=(x)
0000	75%	50%	70%	100%	25%	70%(71)
Light	5%	0	0	0	0	1%(1)
Fair	0	0	5%	0	0	4% (4)
Brown	5%	50%	12%	0	25%	12%(12)
Dark	15%	0	12%	0	50%	14%(14)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 139, df=16, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.4357, Coefficient of Determination =66%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for Esquire magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 65 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that throughout the period

1970-1990 the skin tones of the African American models in Esquire were generally brown skinned and dark skinned.

Fortune Magazine

Table XX shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in Fortune from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XX
Skin Tone of African American Models in Print Advertisements
by Year for Fortune Magazine
N=64

Skin Tone	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=35	N=29	N=0	N=0	N=0	N=(x)
0000	76%	81%	0	0	0	80%(51)
Light	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fair	6%	0	0	0	0	3% (2)
Brown	9%	8%	0	0	0	8%(5)
Dark	9%	11%	0	0	0	9%(6)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 14, df=16, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.2446, Coefficient of Determination =49%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for Fortune magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 49 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the skin tones of the African American models in Fortune were generally of brown and dark complexions.

Sports Illustrated Magazine

Table XXI shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in Sports Illustrated from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XXI
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for Sports Illustrated Magazine
N=125

Skin Tone	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N=14	1975 N=4	1980 N=28	1985 N=28	1990 N=51	
0000	93%	0	54%	79%	59%	64%(80)
Light	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fair	7%	0	11%	0	0	3% (4)
Brown	0	25%	14%	4%	4%	6%(8)
Dark	0	75%	21%	18%	37%	26%(33)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 256, df=16, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.5424, Coefficient of Determination =73%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication

and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for Sports Illustrated magazine. Strength of the relationship is strong, with a 73 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that throughout the period 1970-1990 the skin tones of the African American models in Sports Illustrated were generally of brown and dark complexions.

Popular Mechanics Magazine

Table XXII shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in Popular Mechanics from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XXII
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for Popular Mechanics Magazine
N=14

Skin Tone	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=2	N=2	N=6	N=2	N=2	N=(x)
0000	100%	100%	67%	100%	100%	86%(12)
Light	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fair	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brown	0	0	33%	0	0	14%(2)
Dark	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 278, df=16, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.3572, Coefficient of Determination =59%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between publication year and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for Popular Mechanics magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 59 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that it was not until

1980 that a skin tone could be determined. The African American models were identified as brown skinned.

Good Housekeeping Magazine

Table XXIII shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in Good Housekeeping from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XXIII
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for Good Housekeeping Magazine
N=57

Skin Tone	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=11	N=14	N=6	N=2	N=24	N=(x)
0000	73%	72%	67%	50%	71%	70%(40)
Light	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fair	0	7%	0	0	13%	7% (4)
Brown	18%	7%	17%	50%	17%	16%(9)
Dark	9%	14%	17%	0	0	7%(4)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 93, df=16, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.3826, Coefficient of Determination =61%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for Good Housekeeping magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 61 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that in the period 1970-1990, the skin tones of the African American models in Good Housekeeping were generally of brown or dark complexions. Later in the period, African American models were identified as fair skinned and brown skinned.

Vogue Magazine

Table XXIV shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in Vogue from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XXIV
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for Vogue Magazine
N=27

Skin Tone	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N=9	1975 N=2	1980 N=2	1985 N=2	1990 N=12	
0000	75%	100%	50%	100%	42%	63%(17)
Light	0	0	0	0	17%	7%(2)
Fair	13%	0	0	0	25%	15% (4)
Brown	0	0	0	0	8%	4%(1)
Dark	13%	0	50%	0	8%	11%(3)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 135, df=16, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.5018, Coefficient of Determination =70%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for Vogue magazine. Strength of the relationship is strong, with a 70 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that in the period 1970-1990 the skin tones of the African American models in Vogue were generally of fair and dark complexions.

Mademoiselle Magazine

Table XXV show the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in Mademoiselle from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XXV
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for Mademoiselle Magazine
N=27

Skin Tone	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=1	N=6	N=9	N=2	N=9	N=(x)
0000	100%	67%	78%	50%	67%	70%(19)
Light	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fair	0	0	0	0	11%	4% (1)
Brown	0	17%	0	50%	22%	15%(4)
Dark	0	17%	22%	0	0	11%(3)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 107, df=16, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.4385, Coefficient of Determination =66%.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for Mademoiselle magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 66 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-

1990 there were no African American models shown in Mademoiselle. Later in the period, African American models were more apt to be identified as brown skinned and dark skinned.

Harper's Bazaar Magazine

Table XXVI shows the relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements in Harper's Bazaar from the period 1970-1990.

TABLE XXVI
Skin Tone of African American Models in print Advertisements
by Year for Harper's Bazaar Magazine
N=10

Skin Tone	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=(x)
0000	100%	100%	100%	100%	50%	90%(9)
Light	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fair	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dark	0	0	0	0	50%	10%(1)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 5, df=16, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.01, Coefficient of Determination =10%.

Analysis indicates there is not a genuine relationship between year of publication and apparent skin tone of African American models in print advertisements for Harper's Bazaar magazine. Strength of the relationship is

definite, but small with a 10 percent variation in skin tone attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 there were no African American models in Harper's Bazaar. In 1990, African American models became apparent and were identified as dark skinned.

Types of Products

Tables XXVII - XXXX show the relationship between year of publication and types of products associated with African American models in print advertisement in various magazines. Null Hypothesis: there is no change in the types of products depicted with African American models in print advertisements over the period, 1970-1990.

Ebony Magazine

Table XXVII shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in Ebony were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and type of products depicted with African American models in Ebony magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 58 percent variation in type of products attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the type of products portrayed with African American models in Ebony were generally of personal care products. Later in the period, African American models were more apt to be portrayed with miscellaneous products and in service advertisements.

TABLE XXVII

Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for Ebony Magazine
N=36

Products	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=4	N= 7	N= 2	N= 18	N= 5	N=(x)
0000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Car and Car Products	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	0	14%	50%	0	0	8% (2)
Personal Care	100%	43%	50%	28%	20%	39% (14)
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	0	43%	0	28%	60%	30% (11)
Public Services	0	0	0	0	20%	3% (1)
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	44%	0	22% (8)
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 265, df=56, $p < .05$, Contingency Coefficient=0.3464, Coefficient of Determination =58%.

Newsweek Magazine

Table XXVIII shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in Newsweek were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates there is not a genuine relationship between publication year and type of products depicted with African American models in Newsweek magazine. Strength of the relationship is weak, with a 10 percent variation in type of products attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the type of products portrayed with African American models in Newsweek were generally food/alcohol products and home electronic products. Later in the period, African American models were portrayed in service, activities and benefits advertisements, car products, and public service advertisements.

TABLE XXVIII

Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print Advertisements by Year for Newsweek Magazine
N= 107

Products	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N= 18	N= 2	N= 5	N= 60	N= 22	N=(x)
0000	11%	0	20%	2%	9%	6% (6)
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Electronics	0	100%	0	0	0	2% (2)
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Car and Car Products	0	0	0	3%	91%	21% (22)
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	89%	0	0	0	0	15% (16)
Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	0	0	80%	8%	0	8% (9)
Public Services	0	0	0	87%	0	49% (52)
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 5, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.0104, Coefficient of Determination =10%.

Time Magazine

Table XXIX shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African Americans models in Time were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and type of products depicted with African American models in Time magazine. Strength of the relationship is strong, with a 75 percent variation in type of product attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the type of products portrayed with African American models in Time were generally with miscellaneous products, food/alcohol and service, activities, and satisfaction advertisements. Later in the period, African American models were more apt to be portrayed in service, activities and benefits advertisements and car/car product advertisements.

TABLE XXIX
Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for Time Magazine
N= 78

Products	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N= 1	N= 37	N= 30	N= 10	N= 0	N=(x)
0000	0	0	3%	0	0	1% (1)
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Electronics	0	3%	0	0	0	1% (1)
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Car and Car Products	0	0	0	50%	0	7% (5)
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	100%	11%	0	0	0	7% (5)
Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	0	8%	83%	50%	0	42% (33)
Public Services	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	78%	0	0	0	37% (29)
No Product	0	0	13%	0	0	5% (4)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 389, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.5678, Coefficient of Determination =75%.

Life Magazine

Table XXX shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in Life were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and type of products depicted with African American models in Life magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 66 percent variation in type of product attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that throughout the period 1970-1990 the type of products portrayed with African American models in Life were generally of service, activities and benefits advertisements.

TABLE XXX
Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for Life Magazine
N= 39

Products	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N= 3	1975 N= 0	1980 N= 10	1985 N= 17	1990 N= 9	
0000	33%	0	0	0	0	3% (1)
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Electronics	0	0	0	0	22%	5% (2)
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Car and Car Products	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	0	0	10%	0	0	2% (1)
Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	67%	0	60%	82%	11%	59% (23)
Public Services	0	0	30%	18%	67%	30% (12)
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 362, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.4366, Coefficient of Determination =66%.

The New Yorker Magazine

Table XXXI shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in The New Yorker were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates there is a genuine relationship between year of publication and type of products depicted with African American models in The New Yorker magazine. Strength of the relationship is definite, but small with a 30 percent variation in type of products attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the type of products portrayed with African American models in The New Yorker were generally of service, activities and benefits advertisements and public service advertisements. Later in the period, African American models were generally portrayed in service, activities and benefits advertisement and toys, recreational and entertainment advertisements.

TABLE XXXI
Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for The New Yorker Magazine
N= 25

Products	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N= 6	N= 7	N= 5	N= 2	N= 5	N=(x)
0000	17%	14%	20%	100%	20%	24% (6)
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	80%	16% (4)
Home Electronics	0	29%	0	0	0	8% (2)
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Car and Car Products	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	0	43%	80%	0	0	28% (7)
Public Services	83%	14%	0	0	0	24% (6)
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 34, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.0936, Coefficient of Determination =30%.

Esquire Magazine

Table XXXII shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in Esquire were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and type of products depicted with African American models in Esquire magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 49 percent variation in type of products attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the type of products portrayed with African American models in Esquire were generally of clothing, personal care products, food and alcohol, and car advertisements. Later in the period, African Americans were portrayed in personal care product advertisements and clothing advertisements.

TABLE XXXII
Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for Esquire Magazine
N= 101

Products	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N= 20	1975 N= 2	1980 N= 74	1985 N= 2	1990 N= 3	
0000	0	50%	0	100%	33%	4% (4)
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	1%	0	0	1% (1)
Home Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	45%	0	0	0	33%	10% (10)
Car and Car Products	0	0	99%	0	0	72% (73)
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	15%	50%	0	0	0	4% (4)
Personal Care	45%	0	0	0	33%	9% (9)
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	0	0	0	0	0	0
Public Services	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 165, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.2481, Coefficient of Determination =49%.

Fortune Magazine

Table XXXIII shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in Fortune were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates there is not a genuine relationship between year of publication and types of products depicted with African American models in Fortune magazine. Strength of the relationship is definite, but small with a 22 percent variation in type of products attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the type of products portrayed with African American models in Fortune were generally of service, activities and benefits advertisements. Later in the period, there were no African American models portrayed in print advertisements in Fortune.

TABLE XXXIII
Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for Fortune Magazine
N=64

Products	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=37	N=27	N=0	N=0	N=0	N=(x)
0000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Electronics	18%	0	0	0	0	9% (4)
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Car and Car Products	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	82%	100%	0	0	0	84% (54)
Public Services	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 11, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.0517, Coefficient of Determination =22%.

Sports Illustrated Magazine

Table XXXIV shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in Sports Illustrated were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and type of products depicted with African American models in Sports Illustrated magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 69 percent variation in type of products attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990, the type of products portrayed with African American models in Sports Illustrated were generally of service, activities and benefits advertisements, personal care products, food and alcohol, and car product advertisements. Later in the period, African Americans were portrayed in service, activities, and benefits advertisements and miscellaneous products.

TABLE XXXIV
Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for Sports Illustrated Magazine
N=125

Products	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N=14	1975 N=4	1980 N=28	1985 N=28	1990 N=51	
0000	7%	0	0	0	0	1% (1)
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	11%	0	0	2% (3)
Car and Car Products	0	0	43%	0	0	10% (12)
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	0	0	29%	0	0	6% (8)
Personal Care	93%	0	0	0	14%	16% (20)
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	0	100%	4%	96%	47%	45% (50)
Public Services	0	0	0	0	10%	4% (5)
Miscellaneous	0	0	14%	4%	29%	16%(20)
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 465, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=.4818, Coefficient of Determination =69%.

Popular Mechanics Magazine

Table XXXV shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in Popular Mechanics were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates there is not a genuine relationship between year of publication and type of products depicted with African American models in Popular Mechanics magazine. Strength of the relationship is definite, but small with a 38 percent variation in type of products attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that throughout the period 1970-1990, except for 1980, there were no African American models portrayed in print advertisements in Popular Mechanics.

TABLE XXXV
Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for Popular Mechanics Magazine
N=14

Products	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=2	N=2	N=6	N=2	N=2	N=(x)
0000	100%	100%	17%	100%	100%	64%(9)
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Electronics	0	0	17%	0	0	7% (1)
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Car and Car Products	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food, Alcohol, and tobacco	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	0	0	0	0	0	0
Public Services	0	0	67%	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 28, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.1452, Coefficient of Determination =38%.

Good Housekeeping Magazine

Table XXXVI shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in Good Housekeeping were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates there is not a genuine relationship between year of publication and type of products depicted with African American models in Good Housekeeping magazine. Strength of the relationship is definite, but small with a 34 percent variation in type of products attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the type of products portrayed with African American models in Good Housekeeping were generally of furniture, clothing, and miscellaneous products advertisements. Later in the period, African American models were portrayed in public service advertisements, medicine and food and alcohol advertisements.

TABLE XXXVI
Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for Good Housekeeping Magazine
N=57

Products	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N=11	1975 N=14	1980 N=6	1985 N=2	1990 N=24	
0000	0	0	0	50%	0	2%(1)
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	73%	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	43%	0	0	0	11% (6)
Car and Car Products	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	0	0	0	0	46%	19% (11)
Personal Care	0	0	0	0	17%	7%(4)
Non-Personal Care	0	0	17%	0	0	2% (1)
Medicine	0	0	0	50%	0	2% (1)
Service, Activities, and Benefits	18%	0	0	0	0	2% (1)
Public Services	0	0	83%	0	21%	18% (10)
Miscellaneous	9%	57%	0	0	17%	23% (13)
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 28, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.1188, Coefficient of Determination =34%.

Vogue Magazine

Table XXXVII shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in Vogue were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and type of products depicted with African American models in Vogue magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 50 percent variation in type of products attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the type of products portrayed with African American models in Vogue were miscellaneous products. Later in the period, African Americans were portrayed more in personal care product advertisements.

TABLE XXXVII
Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for Vogue Magazine
N=27

Products	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=9	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=12	N=(x)
0000	13%	100%	50%	100%	0	22%(6)
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	0	0	67%	30% (8)
Car and Car Products	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	13%	0	0	0	0	4% (1)
Personal Care	0	0	50%	0	33%	19% (5)
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	0	0	0	0	0	0
Public Services	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	75%	0	0	0	0	26% (7)
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 80, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.2512, Coefficient of Determination =50%.

Mademoiselle Magazine

Table XXXVIII shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in Mademoiselle were portrayed with for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and type of products depicted with African American models in Mademoiselle magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 40 percent variation in type of products attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 the type of products portrayed with African American models in Mademoiselle were personal care products and clothing advertisements. Later in the period, African American models were portrayed in miscellaneous products and clothing advertisements.

TABLE XXXVIII
Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for Mademoiselle Magazine
N=27

Products	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N=0	1975 N=6	1980 N=9	1985 N=2	1990 N=9	
0000	0	33%	11%	50%	11%	22%(6)
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	22%	0	33%	19% (5)
Car and Car Products	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal Care	0	67%	0	0	11%	19% (5)
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	0	0	0	0	0	0
Public Services	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	67%	50%	44%	41% (11)
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 48, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.1604, Coefficient of Determination =40%.

Harper's Bazaar Magazine

Table XXXIX shows the relationship between year of publication and type of products African American models in Harper's Bazaar were portrayed with for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and type of products depicted with African American models in Harper's Bazaar magazine. Strength of the relationship is small, but definite with a 10 percent variation in type of product attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 there were no African American models portrayed in print advertisements in Harper's Bazaar. Later in the period, African American models were shown in clothing advertisements.

TABLE XXXIX
Types of Products Portrayed with African American Models in Print
Advertisements by Year for Harper's Bazaar Magazine
N=10

Products	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=(x)
0000	100%	100%	100%	100%	50%	90%(8)
Furniture, Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toys, Recreational and Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business Electronics	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clothing	0	0	0	0	50%	10% (1)
Car and Car Products	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food, Alcohol, and Tobacco	0	10%	0	0	0	4% (1)
Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Personal Care	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service, Activities, and Benefits	0	0	0	0	0	0
Public Services	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Product	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 5, df=56, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.01, Coefficient of Determination =10%.

Changes in the Frequency of Appearance

Tables XXXX - LII show the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in print advertisements in various magazines. Null hypothesis: there is no change in the frequency of appearance of African American models in print advertisements over the period, 1970 - 1990.

Ebony Magazine

Table XXXX shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in Ebony for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Ebony magazine. Strength of the relationship is small, but definite with a 38 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 there was a low frequency of African American models appearing in print advertisements in Ebony. Later in the period, the frequency of African American models in print advertisements was higher.

TABLE XXXX
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Ebony Magazine
 N= 18

Frequency	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N= 3	N= 7	N= 3	N= 18	N= 5	N=(x)
0000	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	33%	14%	33%	28%	40%	28% (10)
2	66%	0	66%	0	0	11% (4)
3	0	86%	0	0	60%	25% (9)
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	27%	0	14% (5)
8	0	0	0	44%	0	22% (8)
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 85, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.1453, Coefficient of Determination =38%.

Newsweek Magazine

Table XXXXI shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in Newsweek for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Newsweek magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 38 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 there was a low frequency of African American models appearing in print advertisements in Newsweek. By 1990, the frequency of African American models in print advertisements in Newsweek showed an increase.

TABLE XXXXI
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Newsweek Magazine
 N= 107

Frequency	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N= 17	N= 3	N= 5	N= 60	N= 22	N=(x)
0000	6%	0	20%	2%	9%	5% (5)
1	94%	33%	80%	10%	31%	32% (34)
2	0	67%	0	0	9%	4% (4)
3	0	0	0	0	50%	10% (11)
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	83%	0	50% (53)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 161, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.12543, Coefficient of Determination =50%.

Time Magazine

Table XXXXII shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in Time for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Time magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 61 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that in 1970 there was a low frequency of African American models in Time. By 1975, there was an increase in the frequency which began to decrease in 1985.

TABLE XXXXIII
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Time Magazine
 N=79

Frequency	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N= 2	1972 N= 37	1980 N= 30	1985 N= 10	1990 N= 0	
0000	100%	0	0	0	0	3% (3)
1	0	0	83%	50%	0	38% (30)
2	0	14%	0	0	0	6% (5)
3	0	87%	0	50%	0	47% (37)
4	0	0	13%	0	0	5% (4)
5	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 173, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.3203, Coefficient of Determination =56%.

Life Magazine

Table XXXXIII shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of African American models in Life for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Life magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 56 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 there was a low frequency of African American models appearing in print advertisements in Life. In 1985, there was an increase in the frequency of appearance of African American models, but by 1990 that frequency decreased.

TABLE XXXXIII
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Life Magazine
 N=49

Frequency	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N= 3	1972 N= 10	1980 N= 10	1985 N= 17	1990 N= 9	
0000	33%	0	0	0	0	2% (1)
1	0	0	100%	65%	33%	49% (24)
2	67%	100%	0	0	67%	37% (18)
3	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	29%	0	10% (5)
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	5%	0	2% (1)
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 173, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.3203, Coefficient of Determination =56%.

The New Yorker Magazine

Table XXXIV shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in The New Yorker for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in The New Yorker magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 61 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that in 1970 there was a fairly high frequency of African American models appearing in The New Yorker. By 1975, the frequency of African American models began to decrease.

TABLE XXXXV
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for The New Yorker Magazine
 N=25

Frequency	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=6	N=7	N=5	N=2	N=5	N=(x)
0000	17%	14%	20%	100%	20%	24% (6)
1	0	57%	80%	0	80%	48% (12)
2	0	29%	0	0	0	8% (2)
3	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	83%	0	0	0	0	20%(5)
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 244, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.3788, Coefficient of Determination =61%.

Esquire Magazine

Table XXXXVI shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in Esquire for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Esquire magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 44 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 there was a low frequency of African American models appearing in print advertisements in Esquire. Later in the period, the frequency of African American models in print advertisements showed an increase in 1980, but began to decrease in 1985.

TABLE XXXXV
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Esquire Magazine
 N=102

Frequency	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N=20	1975 N=2	1980 N=74	1985 N=2	1990 N=4	
0000	0	50%	0	100%	25%	4% (4)
1	45%	50%	1%	0	75%	14% (14)
2	55%	0	0	0	0	11% (11)
3	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	35%	0	0	26%(26)
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	64%	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 81, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.1995, Coefficient of Determination =44%.

Fortune Magazine

Table XXXXVI shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in Fortune for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates there is not a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Fortune magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 3 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that early in the period 1970-1990 there was a low frequency of African American models appearing in print advertisements in Fortune. Later in the period, there was no frequency apparent, because there were no African American models pictured in Fortune.

TABLE XXXXVI
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Fortune Magazine
 N=60

Frequency	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=33	N=27	N=0	N=0	N=0	N=(x)
0000	0	0	0	0	0	
1	94%	0	0	0	0	49% (31)
2	6%	100%	0	0	0	51% (29)
3	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= .8, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.00119, Coefficient of Determination =3%.

Sports Illustrated Magazine

Table XXXXVII shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in Sports Illustrated for the period, 1970-1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Sports Illustrated magazine. Strength of the relationship is small, but definite with a 35 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that throughout the period 1970-1990 there was a steady increase in the frequency of African American models appearing in Sports Illustrated.

TABLE XXXXVII
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Sports Illustrated Magazine
 N=125

Frequency	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N=14	1975 N=4	1980 N=28	1985 N=28	1990 N=51	
0000	7%	0	0	0	0	1% (1)
1	7%	25%	39%	4%	14%	17% (21)
2	86%	0	32%	0	0	17% (21)
3	0	75%	29%	0	0	9% (1)
4	0	0	0	0	60%	24% (30)
5	0	0	0	96%	0	22%(27)
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	27%	11% (14)
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 71, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.1258, Coefficient of Determination =35%.

Popular Mechanics Magazine

Table XXXXVIII shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in Popular Mechanics for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Popular Mechanics magazine. Strength of the relationship is moderate, with a 58 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that throughout the period 1970-1990 the frequency of African American models in Popular Mechanics was low.

TABLE XXXXVIII
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Popular Mechanics Magazine
 N=14

Frequency	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=2	N=2	N=6	N=2	N=2	N=(x)
0000	100%	100%	17%	100%	0	50% (7)
1	0	0	83%	0	100%	50% (7)
2	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 93, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.3369, Coefficient of Determination =58%.

Good Housekeeping Magazine

Table XXXXIX shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in Good Housekeeping for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Good Housekeeping magazine. Strength of the relationship was strong, with a 71 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that throughout the period 1970-1990 there was a low frequency of African American models appearing in print advertisements in Good Housekeeping.

TABLE XXXIX
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Good Housekeeping Magazine
 N=57

Frequency	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N=11	1975 N=14	1980 N=6	1985 N=2	1990 N=24	
0000	0	0	0	50%	0	25% (1)
1	73%	0	100%	50%	54%	49% (20)
2	27%	100%	0	0	46%	49% (20)
3	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 477, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.5145, Coefficient of Determination =71%.

Vogue Magazine

Table L shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in Vogue for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Vogue magazine. Strength of the relationship is strong, with a 79 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that throughout the period 1970-1990 there was a low frequency of African Americans in Vogue.

TABLE L
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Vogue Magazine
 N=26

Frequency	Year					Overall
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	
	N=8	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=2	N=(x)
0000	13%	100%	50%	100%	0	22% (6)
1	88%	0	50%	0	100%	78% (20)
2	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 598, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.6388, Coefficient of Determination =79%.

Mademoiselle Magazine

Table LI shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in Mademoiselle for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Mademoiselle magazine. Strength of the relationship is strong, with a 72 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is not supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that throughout the period 1970-1990 the frequency of African American models appearing in Mademoiselle was low.

TABLE LI
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Mademoiselle Magazine
 N=27

Frequency	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N=0	1975 N=6	1980 N=9	1985 N=2	1990 N=9	
0000	0	33%	11%	50%	11%	22% (6)
1	33%	0	89%	50%	89%	63% (17)
2	66%	67%	0	0	0	15% (14)
3	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 331, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.5287, Coefficient of Determination =72%.

Harper's Bazaar Magazine

Table LII shows the relationship between year of publication and frequency of appearance of African American models in Harper's Bazaar for the period, 1970 - 1990.

Analysis indicates a genuine relationship between year of publication and the frequency of appearance of African American models in Harper's Bazaar magazine. Strength of the relationship is small, but definite with a 10 percent variation in the frequency of African American models attributable to year of publication.

While the null hypothesis is supported, statistical tests are suspect because of the number of cells with no or low frequency counts.

The table percentages appear to indicate that the frequency of African American models in print advertisements were low.

TABLE LII
 Frequency of African American Models in Print Advertisements
 by Year for Harper's Bazaar Magazine
 N=10

Frequency	Year					Overall N=(x)
	1970 N=2	1975 N=2	1980 N=2	1985 N=2	1990 N=2	
0000	100%	100%	100%	100%	50%	90% (9)
1	0	0	0	0	50%	10% (1)
2	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi-square= 5, df=40, p=<.05, Contingency Coefficient=0.01, Coefficient of Determination =10%.

Changes in Relationships

The research indicated changes in the relationship between year of publication and relationship between models in print advertisements in various magazines over the period 1970-1990.

Throughout the period 1970-1990, Ebony magazine pictured African American models in peer relationships with models of the same race and alone, while Mademoiselle, Esquire, and Good Housekeeping magazines pictured African American models in peer relationships with models of different races and alone.

Life, The New Yorker, and Newsweek magazines pictured African American models and models of different races in peer relationships throughout the period, 1970-1990. Sports Illustrated pictured African American models in peer relationships with models of the same race and models of different races, but also pictured African Americans in non-peer relationships with models of different races.

Throughout the period 1970-1990, Harper's Bazaar, Fortune, and Vogue magazines pictured more African American models alone. In Time and Popular Mechanics the African American models were pictured in a peer relationship with models of other races.

Changes in Importance

The research indicated changes in the importance of African American models in print advertisements in various magazines. The models were portrayed as small, average, or predominate.

Throughout the periods 1970-1990, Ebony, Time, Life, Sports Illustrated, Vogue, and Good Housekeeping magazines portrayed African American models generally as average. While Newsweek and Fortune magazines portrayed African American models as average and small in the print advertisements.

On the other hand, The New Yorker, Esquire, and Mademoiselle magazines portrayed African American models in print advertisements throughout the period 1970-1990 as average and predominant.

In Harper's Bazaar and Popular Mechanics the African American models were generally not represented.

Percentage of Appearance

The percentage of African American models in comparison with the percentage of white models in print advertisements was examined to determine if the percentage of white models in print advertisements per issue affected the percentage of African American models in print advertisements. The results of these findings are represented in percents. The findings indicate that the percentage of white models remained the same until 1985 and then began to decrease. At the same time, the percentage of African American models began to decrease until 1985. In 1990, the percentage of African American models in

FIGURE 1

Legend

- African American Models
- White Models

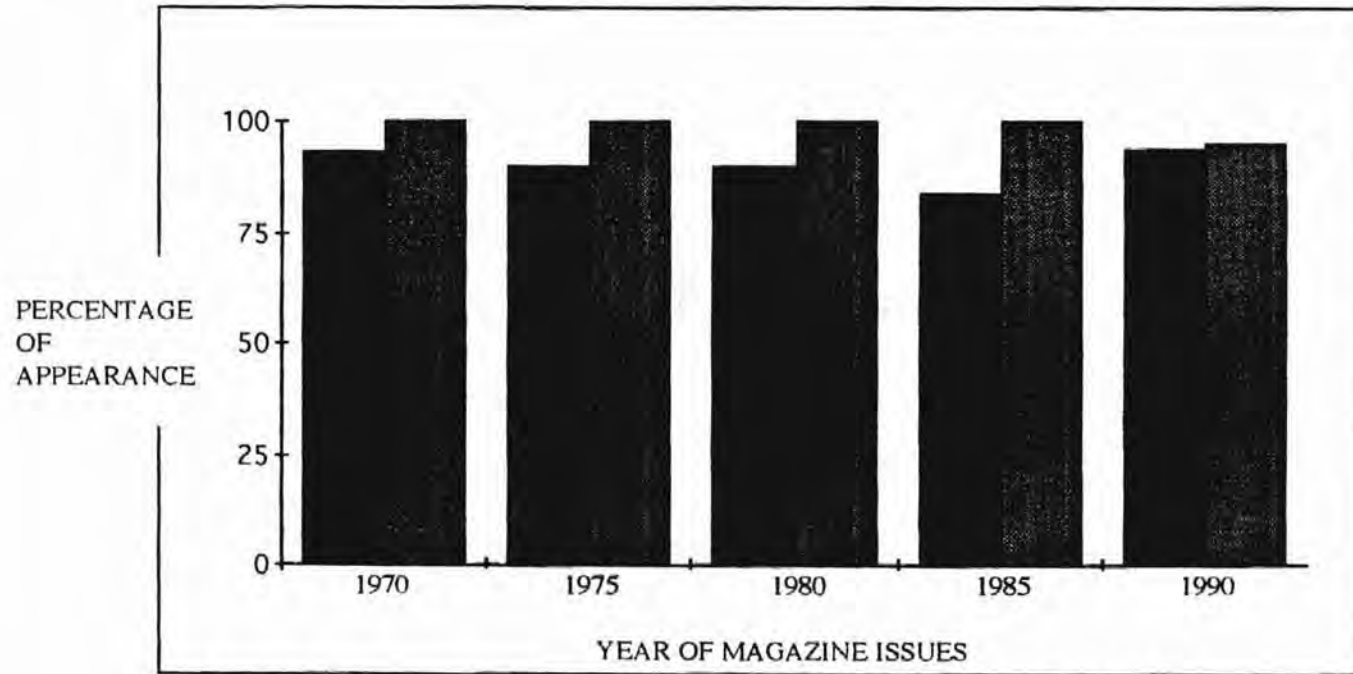


Figure 1. Percentage of appearance of African American models compared with White models

print advertisements began to increase. Overall, the results indicate that while the percentage of white models remained the same, the percentage of African American models in print advertisements began to decrease. In 1990, when the percentage of white models in print advertisements began to decrease the percentage of African American models in print advertisements showed an increase.

Percentage of Advertisements

The number of print advertisements with models in half page and larger advertisements was compared with the number of print advertisements with models in less than half page advertisements to determine if the increase in half page and larger advertisements meant there would be a decrease in less than half page advertisements. The results indicated that the percentage of half page and larger advertisements remained the same throughout the periods, 1970-1990 while the less than half page advertisements showed an increase in 1975, but began to decrease.

FIGURE 2

Legend

- Less than Half Page Advertisements
- Half Page and Larger Advertisements

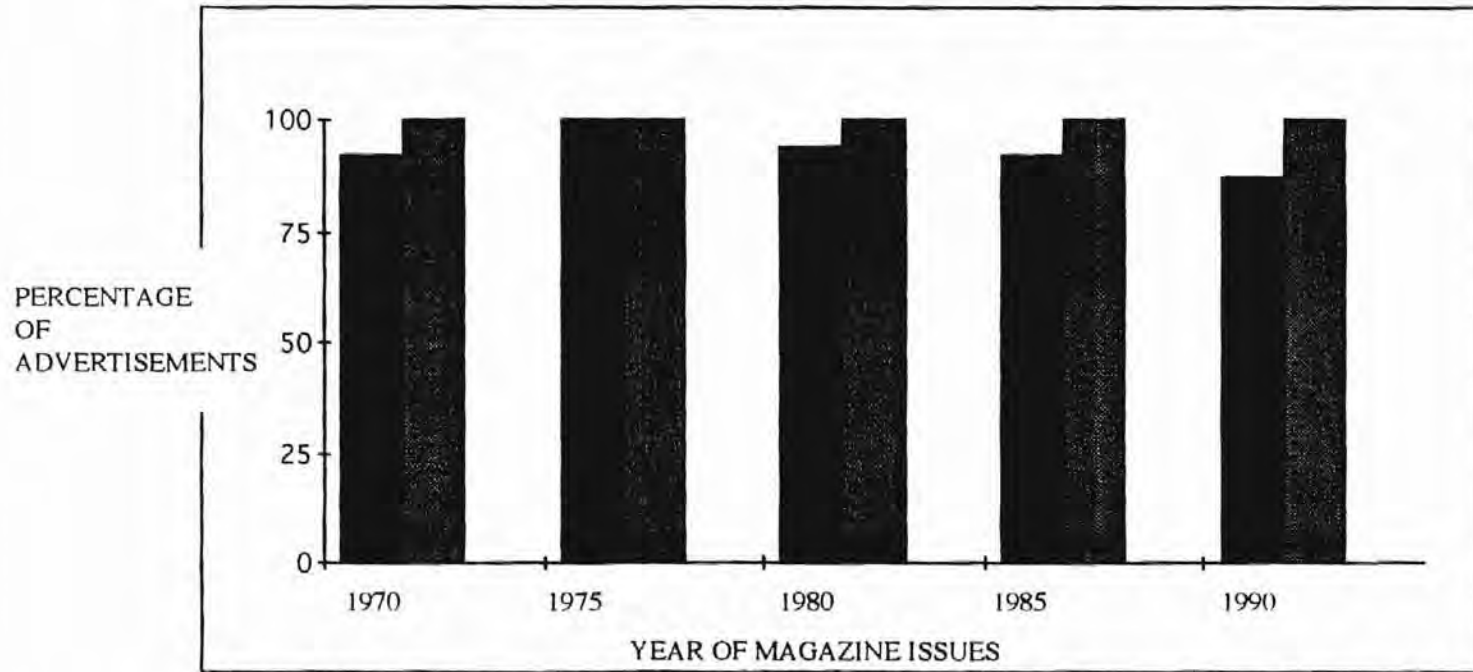


Figure 2. Percentage of Less than half page advertisements compared with half page and larger advertisements

ENDNOTES

¹Harold H. Kassarian, "The Negro and American Advertising, 1946-1965," Journal of Marketing Research, (February 1969): 29.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Methodology

A content analysis of various magazines was done on the portrayals of African Americans in print magazines during the period, 1970-1990. Harold Kassarian's 1969 study on the portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements during the period, 1945-1965 was replicated.

Findings

Hypothesis 1: there is no change in the occupational status of African American models in print advertisements over the period, 1970-1990.

In more than half of the magazines examined during the period, 1970-1990 the hypothesis was not supported. The change in occupational status of African American models in print advertisements over time changed from "no

occupation" to entertainer and service.

Hypothesis 2: there is no change in the skin tone of African Americans models in print advertisements over the period, 1970-1990.

In more than half of the magazines examined during the period, 1970-1990 the hypothesis was not supported. The change in the skin tone of African American models in print advertisements over time changed from brown skinned models to dark skinned models.

Hypothesis 3: there is no change in the types of products depicted with African Americans models in print advertisements over the period, 1970-1990.

In more than half of the magazines examined during the period, 1970-1990 the hypothesis was not supported. African American models in print advertisements were depicted in service advertisements, miscellaneous product advertisements, and personal care products, which decreased over time.

Hypothesis 4: there is no change in the frequency of appearance of African American models in print advertisements over the period, 1970-1990.

In more than half of the magazines examined during the period, 1970-1990 the hypothesis was not supported. The change in the frequency of appearance of African American models in print advertisements over time changed from two models to only one model pictured in print advertisements.

Hypothesis 5: there is no difference in the frequency of appearance and occupational roles of African American models in print advertisements between the periods, 1970-1990 and Kassarian's 1969 study covering the period, 1946-1965.

In comparison with Harold Kassarian's 1969 study the hypothesis was supported when examining the frequency of appearance. Some of the magazines studied in 1995 had not changed since the 1969 study. On the other hand, the hypothesis was not supported when examining the occupational status of African American models in print advertisements. In comparison with the occupational status, Kassarian's study indicated that many of the African American models were portrayed as entertainers while this study indicated that while some African American models were portrayed as entertainers others were portrayed in service positions and with "no occupation apparent."

Hypothesis 6: there is no difference between the frequency of appearance, occupational status, types of products, and skin tone of African American models in Ebony magazine compared with the other magazines, 1970-1990.

In comparison with Ebony magazine the hypothesis was supported when examining the frequency of appearance of African American models in over half of the other magazines examined. The frequency of African American models in Ebony and in over half of the other magazines showed an increase in 1975, decrease in 1980, and increased again in 1985. It could be hypothesized that the decrease in 1980 could be attributed to the recession in the 1980's and that advertisers were using less models in their advertisements.

In comparison to the occupational status, Ebony magazine had a higher percentage of African American models in the "no occupation" category. The other magazines had a higher percentage of African Americans portrayed in the service and entertainer occupation, as well as in the "no occupation" category.

In comparison to the type of products, Ebony magazine had a higher

percentage of African American models depicted in service advertisements, with personal care products, food/alcohol and miscellaneous product advertisements. The other magazines also portrayed African American models in service advertisements, with miscellaneous products and personal care products.

In comparison to the skin tone of African American models, Ebony magazine had a higher percentage of dark skinned and brown skinned models as did the other magazines.

CONCLUSIONS

General

After completing this study on the portrayals of African Americans in print advertisements during the periods, 1970-1990 it seemed as though the portrayals of African Americans had not showed a "tremendous" change. Tremendous, in this sense, is defined as more than three or four advertisements per magazine issue. It would have been somewhat expected to find only one or two African American models pictured in print advertisements in 1970 and 1975, but when that did not change in the 1990 issues it was quite shocking. Considering that some of the misconceptions of African Americans have changed some over a twenty year period, it is disturbing to see that the portrayals and the frequency of African American models had not showed a "tremendous" increase.

Comparison with Kassarian's 1969 Study

In Harold Kassarian's 1969 study, he sought to "determine the frequency in which Negroes appeared in mass circulation magazine advertising," and the "depiction of the Negro's role in print advertising...."¹ His results indicated that more advertisements with African American models appeared in 1965, then in 1946 and 1956. As for each magazine, The New Yorker and Vogue showed no decline in 1956, but increased in 1965. In Fortune magazine there was a decrease over the twenty years. Esquire magazine showed a few African Americans in 1946, increased in 1956 and decreased in 1965. Popular Mechanics and Good Housekeeping showed only a few advertisements with African American models. Mademoiselle, Vogue, and Harper's Bazaar showed a few advertisements with African American advertisements, but increased in 1965 and Sports Illustrated only showed a few African Americans although its African American readership was quite high. The results of the depiction of African Americans in print advertisements indicated that more African Americans were portrayed as entertainers and in the unskilled labor category.

He also examined the types of products depicted with African American models during 1946, 1956, and 1965. His findings indicated that there was an increase in the amount of travel, tourism, and airline and in clothing, banks and insurance companies advertisements while there was a lack of African Americans in medicines, automobiles, and personal care products. There was also a decrease in the number of African Americans in industrial equipment and supplies advertisements.

In comparison with Kassarian's study, the results of the present study

indicated that in the frequency of appearance of African Americans there was a higher percentage of advertisements with African Americans in 1980 and 1990 than in 1970, 1975 and 1985 in some of the magazines examined. As for each magazine, Sports Illustrated, Time, and Newsweek showed increase in the 1970's, a decrease in the 1980's and an increase in 1990. Life, and Fortune showed a decrease then continued to increase over time. Harper's Bazaar remained the same and only increased in 1990. Of the magazines examined the results of The New Yorker, Vogue, and Harper's Bazaar, and Esquire remained close to Kassarian's 1969 results.

In the occupational category, a higher percentage of African American models were portrayed in the "no occupation apparent" category. Many of the models were portrayed in the role of a parent, a customer or an unidentified models, which were not well-known enough to fit into the entertainer category. Many of the models were also portrayed as entertainers or in the service category.

Of the types of products depicted with African American models there was a higher percentage of African American models depicted in the service, personal care and miscellaneous product advertisements. The results of this study differed from Kassarian's 1969 results.

Comparison with Ebony

In comparing Ebony magazine with the other magazines examined Ebony showed an increase in the frequency of appearance of African

Americans in print advertisements in 1975, a decrease in 1980 and then increased again in 1990. Like Ebony magazine, Time, Sports Illustrated, and Newsweek showed similar results.

In the occupational status of African Americans, Ebony showed a higher percentage of African Americans in the "no occupation apparent" category than in any of the other occupational status categories while the other magazines portrayed African Americans in the "no occupation" category, as well as in the entertainer and service occupational category.

In the products category, Ebony depicted African Americans with more service oriented, miscellaneous, food/alcohol, and personal care products, although the percentage of personal care products decreased over time.

In the skin tone category, Ebony portrayed a higher percentage of African Americans as dark skinned and brown skinned while the percentage of dark skinned and brown skinned models in the other magazines was also quite high.

Theoretical Basis

On a theoretical basis, some theories of mass communications can be applied to the results found in this study. As seen in the results, there have been some changes in the portrayals of African Americans over time, but not as significant of change that one would think.

Like in the other facets of mass media advertisers can be called gatekeepers. Gatekeepers, as it relates to this study, means that advertisers are able to determine what types of images of products or people they want the public to encounter.

As gatekeepers, do advertisers have a responsibility to the public as to

what images they choose to reveal? Journalist have the responsibility to report the truth, and like journalist, advertisers have the responsibility to portray the truth, but the question of who will be the first to live up to that responsibility?

The prolonged use of stereotypes in mass media has been an issue long argued. As seen in the research, the perpetual portrayals of African Americans as entertainers and athletes is one perpetual stereotype that has continued over time. In order to curtail these stereotypes someone must take a stand regardless of the repercussions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations for Advertising Professionals

A recommendation for advertising professionals would be not to limit African Americans or other minorities, but show them in all areas.

To show more accurate depictions of African Americans and minorities as professionals and not just as entertainers and in service oriented professions and to stop portraying minorities in stereotypical roles because all minorities are not the same.

Recommendations for Faculty and Students of Advertising

To faculty teaching courses in Advertising, their job is to educate and to teach students the truth so they will perpetuate what they have learned and not demonstrate what they have not learned.

To students of advertising, as it relates to African Americans and other

minorities, they should be willing to utilize their positions to destroy or pull down walls, barriers and stereotypes.

Recommendations for Further Research

Further research on the portrayals of African American models in print advertisements should be conducted. A study examining more magazines than were examined in this study will further show if the portrayals of African Americans in a larger margin of magazines have changed overtime. Examining different magazines and comparing them with each other will determine if African American models in business magazines are portrayed differently than African American models in entertainment or family magazines.

A study examining the portrayals of African Americans in film, television and print would show if the portrayals of African Americans in other mass media have showed changes over time.

Further research on this study needs to be done on the portrayals of African Americans in the present to determine if there have been any changes in the portrayals, occupational status, product depiction and skin tone of African Americans in the last five years.

A study to examine the portrayals of white models in magazines targeted toward African Americans would show if white models were portrayed in the same roles as African American models.

A study on the number of advertisements with models compared with the number of advertisements with only products pictured would show if the use of models in advertisements decreased or increased over time.

Concluding Comment

Advertisers can create stereotypes and can destroy them. They created Aunt Jemima and Rastus and now everyone wants to "be like Mike."

ENDNOTES

¹Harold K. Kassarian, "The Negro and American Advertising, 1946-1965," Journal of Marketing Research, (February 1969): 29.

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APPENDIX A
CODING FORMS

APPENDIX

Please complete this questionnaire for any advertisements with African American model(s). One questionnaire per advertisement with an African American model(s).

- Include the front and back covers of the magazine as ad pages.
- No three page or larger layout advertisements will be included.
- No cassette/CD, book order form or mini multi-advertisements per page advertisements.
- The end of the questionnaire asks how many total half-page and larger advertisements with models are in each magazines, how less than half page and smaller advertisements with models, and how many advertisements have white model(s).

Please count only advertisements with models and products. **DO NOT count advertisements that only portray a product with no model(s).**

•In the case, of more than one model in the advertisement, please count models from left to right and top to bottom.

Thank You for your time!

Magazine: _____ **Month:** _____ **Year:** _____ **Page#:** _____

1. Number of African Americans in the advertisements? (fill in the blank)

2. Racial Makeup (fill in the blank)

- a. Model is African American
- b. Model is white.
- c. Model is Asian
- d. Model is Native American
- e. Models race cant not be determined.

Model #1 _____ **Model #2** _____ **Model #3** _____ **Model #4** _____

Continue to next page

3. Type of Relationship between models.

- a. Model is alone, indicating no peer relationship.
- b. Non-peer relationship between two different races. (African American secretary with a white executive).
- c. Peer relationship between two different races. (two children of different races playing together)
- d. Non-peer relationship between same races. (African American secretary with a African American executive).
- e. Peer relationship between same races. (two African American children playing together).

Model #1____ **Model #2**____ **Model #3**____ **Model #4**____

4. Importance of African American in advertisement? (Fill in the blank)

- a. Small (hard to distinguish, not important to message).
- b. Average (equally distinguishable).
- c. Predominant (not hard to distinguish, important to message).

Model #1____ **Model #2**____ **Model #3**____ **Model #4**____

5. Occupational Status (fill in blank and include occupation).

- a. Professional ("...reflecting the results of education , training and experience...")
Examples: executive, designer, physician, dentist, or an attorney.
- b. Entertainer (one who entertains public)
Examples: actor/actress, model, athlete, comedian, or a musician.
- c. Clerical ("...one who does clerical work for an office or business...")
Examples: secretary, receptionists, or a file clerk.
- d. Service (person who provides a service).
Examples: waiter/waitress, postal worker, fireman, policeman, flight attendant, or a plumber.
- e. Occupation not apparent.

Model #1____ **Model #2**____ **Model #3**____ **Model #4**____

Continue to next page

6. Type of Product (fill in blank).

- a. Furniture, home furnishings/appliances
- b. Toys, recreational and entertainment
- c. Home electronics, such as cameras, VCR's, Televisions, etc.
- d. Business electronics such as computers, fax and calculators
- e. Clothing
- f. Car/car products
- g. Food, drink, alcohol and tobacco
- h. Personal care products (shampoo, soap, body lotion, women's sanitary pads, toothpaste, and cosmetics).
- i. Non-personal care products (detergent, fabric rinse and dishwashing liquid).
- j. Medicine
- k. Service, activities, benefits or satisfactions that are offered for sale such as dental care, hair dressing, banking, transportation, and travel services.
- l. Public services- non-profit public services announcements, by organizations that want to build identities in public mind.
- m. Miscellaneous, such as pillows, jewelry, eye glasses, watches, and so on.
- n. No product distinguished.

Model #1___ **Model #2**___ **Model #3**___ **Model #4**___

7. Skin tone of models (use illustrations)

- a. Fair
- b. Light
- c. Brown
- d. Dark

Model#1___ **Model #2**___ **Model #3**___ **Model #4**___

**Once ALL advertisements have been coded
continue to the next page**

Remember:

- Include the front and back covers of the magazine as ad pages.
- No three page or larger layout advertisements will be included.
- Do not include cassette/CD, book order form advertisements, or mini multi-advertisements.
- Count only the advertisements with models.

8. Total number of half-page and larger ads. _____

9. Total number of ads less than a half-page. _____

10. Total number of ads with white models in half-page and larger ads . _____

**Stop! This is the end of this questionnaire.
Thank You for your time!**

A



B



C



D



VITA

Gina Adrain Clements

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: THE PORTRAYALS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN PRINT
ADVERTISEMENTS, 1970-1990

Major Field: Mass Communications

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Atlanta, Georgia, On October 10, 1969, the daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Kirby Clements, Sr.

Education: Graduated from Woodward Academy, College Park, Georgia in May, 1987; received Bachelor of Science degree in Telecommunications with an emphasis in Advertising and Public Relations from Oral Roberts University, Tulsa, Oklahoma in May, 1991. Completed the requirements for the Master of Science degree with a major in Mass Communications at Oklahoma State University in May 1995.

Experience: Intern, The Cable News Network, Atlanta, Georgia; Intern, Mid-South Communications, Decatur, Georgia; Freelance Advertiser, Gina Clements Consulting, Decatur, Georgia; and Graduate Assistant, Education Extension, College of Education, Oklahoma State University.

Professional Membership: The Mass Communications Graduate Association.