

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S IMAGES
IN MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS:
A FOLLOW-UP STUDY

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This thesis is dedicated to my first love, writing, and my greatest cause, equal treatment for women. While life for women in 1990s America is full of opportunities for growth and advancement, there is still room for many changes in an environment that still often treats traditional "minority groups" in a discriminatory manner.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The mass media are a prominent and powerful force in American society, and due to this power, the media are under continual scrutiny. A special concern of media observers is how the media treats special interest groups. The portrayal of women in the mass media has been subject to both controversy and research in the past. Research surrounds the debated topic of how the images portrayed in the mass media are related to how women are perceived by society as a whole.

Critics claim that women have historically been portrayed in the majority of advertisements filling the mass media as playing the roles of either sex-objects or housewives. Aileen Cowan claims that women are seen by advertisers as having a "two costumed wardrobe: the apron and the low-cut evening dress."¹ While this charge has typically been supported, the image of women in the media has changed over time. This thesis examines current magazine advertisements to determine whether women are

accurately portrayed as performing a variety of roles in society or whether advertising has not changed with reality.

Background

From the inception of American magazine advertising, women have been typically portrayed in the stereotypical roles of sex-objects or housewives. According to Stuart Ewen, advertising in the 1920s portrayed women as restricted to two limited roles, manager of household affairs or objects of beauty.² Regardless of role, women were placed in decorative, voiceless characters, and with the advent of photography in advertising, "Sensuality had been reformulated into something of a cash nexus."³ The copy of one 1920s advertisement even blatantly stated, "The first duty of woman is to attract."⁴ These advertising trends of the 1920s became the stereotypical way of portraying American women throughout the greater part of the century.

In the 1960s, with the advent of the women's movement, attention was suddenly thrust onto the way the mass media portrayed women. In 1963, Betty Friedan published The Feminine Mystique which criticized the way the media under-represented and stereotyped women, and Muriel Cantor credits Friedan's book with inspiring "a series of studies and reports focusing on how women were being portrayed in the media."⁵

Journals published in the late 1960s and early 1970s contain a number of studies on the images of women as portrayed by the mass media. Donald Sexton and Phyllis Haberman examined magazine advertisements printed from 1950 to 1971 concluding that the image "did not appear to have moved very far from a limited picture of women as social people appearing in a predictable environment."⁶ Alice E. Courtney and Sarah Wernick Lockeretz examined the stereotypical ways in which women were portrayed in advertisements in a 1970 study of eight national, general interest magazines. They determined that, despite women's growing presence in the work force, they were being portrayed in an almost entirely domestic light. Women were portrayed as sex-objects and as subordinate and dependent upon men in the magazine advertisements studied.⁷ A follow-up study by Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos in 1973 found that no significant changes had been made in the roles in which women were portrayed by magazine advertisers.⁸ According to a 1978 study by Gaye Tuchman, the mass media is behind in its portrayal of women, exhibiting images out-of-date with current roles.⁹

In journals published since the 1970s, little research on the image of women in the mass media can be found. Advertising portrayals of women still, however, present an area worthy of examination. In Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women, Susan Faludi claims that the mass

media has nullified the progress made by the women's movement and continues to exploit women by showing them as mindless sex objects.¹⁰ Examining current media content measures both the need for change and the progress already made by advertising and its portrayal of women.

Purpose of the Study

The objective of this study is to determine how advertising portrays women today. The focus of this thesis is on the images that advertising give to American women through the products represented and the part the woman or women pictured play in the scheme of the advertisement.

The two primary research questions are: How do the media portray women in advertisements, and have the media changed the images given women in advertisements since the 1970s?

This thesis acts as a follow-up study to the 1971 Courtney and Lockeretz and the 1973 Wagner and Banos studies that examined women in magazine advertisements. This thesis examines the advertisements involving women in eight general interest magazines: *Life*, *People*, *Newsweek*, *The New Yorker*, *Saturday Review*, *Time*, *U.S. News and World Report*, and *Reader's Digest*. The study looks at the occupations the women belong to and the types of roles the advertisements portray the women to be fulfilling. Results of the thesis study are compared to the two earlier studies to determine

what changes were made in roles assigned to women in the advertisements in these magazines.

Importance of the study

Researchers in the areas of sociology, psychology, mass communication, and numerous related fields have long debated the relationship between mediated images and society. Mieke Ceulemans writes:

The question of mass media as mirror versus creator of culture undoubtedly remains one of the most debated issues in the scientific exploration of the relationship between mass media and society.¹¹

Sexton and Haberman, and Matilda Butler and William Paisley claim the media have been criticized for perpetuating the limits put on women by society in their failure to portray women in more diverse roles.¹² According to Janet Wolff, women identify with images of women in the media and gauge their own ability to succeed and measure their current success using these images.¹³ Whether the media reflects or influences society is debatable, but the relationship is an important one to examine and consider.

This thesis attempts to evaluate how the media portray women through advertising in current mass-distributed periodicals. This evaluation leads into a comparison of how the earlier American media portrayed women with current media images.

The analysis of current media advertising plays a greater role than acting just as a collection of facts,

figures and percentages. The analysis lends itself towards an interpretation which compares how the advertising media actually portray women with how they should portray women. The term "should" implies that there is a right and wrong way for the media to represent women. Supporting this claim is the social responsibility theory of the press.

In a 1947 report, the Commission on Freedom of the Press stated that the American media has a responsibility to the people it serves, and this responsibility includes the accurate and unbiased representation of all groups in society.¹⁴ This thesis operates under the assumption that the social responsibility theory is, or should be, a guideline for America's mass media advertisers as well as the media which benefit from their business. These advertisements should project images of women that correspond accurately and thus ethically with the reality of the roles women play in American society. This reality is far more diverse than the two-fold role, sex object and housewife, that early critics claim advertising limits women subjects.

Focusing on magazine advertisements, the ultimate aim of this thesis is to examine the current situation, gauge any progress, and heighten the awareness necessary before change, if needed, is to occur. This study may prompt evaluation of other mass media portrayals as well as an evaluation of society itself.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study limits itself to an analysis of eight magazines and the advertisements featuring women models or spokespersons published within. The eight magazines included are: *Life*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *The New Yorker*, *Time*, *Readers' Digest*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *People*. The first six are the same periodicals used in the 1970 study by Courtney and Lockeretz and in the 1973 Wagner and Banos study. *Saturday Evening Post* and *People* were substituted for *Saturday Review* and *Look*, used by Courtney and Lockeretz, which were no longer in publication in 1993.

The research examines magazines published during January, May and September of 1993. For the weekly magazines, the first issue for that month was used. In their 1973 study, Wagner and Banos used magazines published in January, so January was used as the starting point for the 1993 research. The sample of advertisements for one month in 1993 was less than 100, so three months were selected for increased reliability of the scores.

There are limitations to any research project. One limitation of this study is that it includes only eight of the hundreds of periodicals available for public consumption. The study is further limited by its focus on only advertisements containing photographs of women. Since

the study is modeled after previous research, it is limited by any shortcomings of the earlier research.

Outline of the Following Thesis

I. Chapter II: Literature Review

- A. Examines related research on women's images in American mass media advertisements.
- B. Evaluates the various methods of content analysis.
- C. Briefly studies women's roles in American society.
- D. Determines the media's responsibility.

II. Chapter III: Methodology

- A. Description of the content analysis method.
- B. Outlines the coding criteria.
- C. Details any limitations and assumptions.

III. Chapter IV: Analysis of Data

- A. Tables.
- B. Interpretation of tables and related data.
- C. Summary of results.

IV. Chapter V: Summary

- A. Cohesively summarizes the study and findings.
- B. Draws any conclusions and generalizations.
- C. Offers recommendations for implementing change, if merited.
- D. Makes suggestions for further research.

ENDNOTES

¹Aileen Adams Cowan, "Social Contributions of Advertising," in Advertising's Role in Society, ed. John S. Wright and John E. Mertes (New York: West Publishing Co., 1974), 338.

²Stuart Ewen, Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976).

³Ibid., 180.

⁴Ibid., 182.

⁵Muriel Cantor, "Feminism and the Media," Society (July/August): 78.

⁶Donald E. Sexton and Phyllis Haberman, "Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Advertising Research 14 (August 1974): 45.

⁷Alice Courtney and Sarah Wernick Lockeretz, "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research 8 (February 1971).

⁸Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos, "A Woman's Place: A Follow-up Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research 10 (May 1973).

⁹Gaye Tuchman, Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

⁹Susan Faludi, Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women (New York: Anchor Books, 1991).

¹⁰Mieke Ceulemans Mieke and Guido Fauconnier, Mass Media: The Image, Role, and Social Conditions of Women. A Collection and Analysis of Research Materials (New York: UNESCO, 1979), 5.

¹¹Matilda Butler and William Paisley, Woman and the Mass Media (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1980).

¹²Janet Wolff, What Makes Women Buy: A Guide to Understanding and Influencing the New Woman of Today (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1958).

¹³Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1963).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The study of the representation of women in the mass media is a process that involves studying not only media content but history, sociology and psychology as well. Concern for the way women are portrayed by the mass media in America is a direct result of the women's movement which heightened an awareness of how mass culture as a whole treats and portrays women. This concern is ongoing as it remains important to monitor all aspects of the media.

The mass media are a powerful force in the daily lives of Americans. According to Matilda Butler and William Paisley, each day the mass media provide over half the communication an individual receives.¹ William McGuire notes the profound influence of television; the average American spends 20 percent of his or her life, more than three hours a day, watching television.² Advertising is of particular concern to researchers because the intention of advertising is to influence. For example, a single advertisement is crucial in itself because the image "may be exposed hundreds of times a year to the same audience."³

The key term for this particular study is "image." The media are credited with maintaining some degree of power over the receiving audiences; therefore, it is only both natural and necessary to scrutinize the content of the messages these audiences are receiving. This study examines the content of magazine advertisements that contain photographs of women. The focus of this study is on the images that these advertisements have created for and about women.

Mass Media and the Women's Movement

According to Janet Wolff, the first recorded minutes for a women's club, written in 1848, still have a familiar ring to them. The subject of the meeting was a debate, which was entitled: "Resolved: it is better to be beautiful than good."⁴ Advertising has long been, and continues to be, criticized for portraying women as having only one duty, to be beautiful. Portrayed in this manner, women are objects of beauty and little else.

The most frequent criticism of advertising is the stereotypical manner in which women are portrayed. Rosemary Betterton defines stereotypes as "one common way of describing how groups of people are labelled with defining and often derogatory characteristics."⁵ The media are not entirely to blame. The media do not invent these characteristics on their own; they "draw upon and mobilize

existing social and cultural knowledge."⁶ According to Betterton, research has historically concluded that "Women are most frequently stereotyped in terms of sexual characteristics."⁷

The objectification of women in the mass media advertising has been traced back to the 1920s when advertising first enjoyed mass circulation. Stuart Ewen writes about the advertisements of the time:

The women in the ads were constantly observing themselves, ever self-critical. Throughout the twenties, a noticeable proportion of magazine ads directed at women depicted them looking into mirrors. Even in the midst of efficient home management women were reminded that it was their appearance more than their organizational capacities which would ensure fidelity and home security.⁸

The beautiful, homebound women of advertising in the 1920s were the prototypes for the 1950s women. According to Wolf, "Women's expected role in society (was) a good wife, a good mother, and an efficient home maker."⁹ Despite the fact that in post-World War II America 31.8 percent of women held full-time jobs, Betty Friedan writes that "the Career Woman was 'unhealthy' from the advertiser's point of view," and advertisers considered "that it would be to their advantage not to let this group get any larger."¹⁰ Studies examining the image of women in the mass media consistently find that advertising of that time stereotyped women as housewives and used them merely for decoration.

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy formed the Commission on the Status of Women. The purpose of this

commission was to "identify in quantitative terms those areas in which discrimination was still practiced against women."¹¹ The discrimination examined by the Commission included sexism. Boddewyn defines sexism as "distinctions which diminish or demean one sex in comparison with the other -- particularly through the use of sex-role stereotypes."¹² Politics, businesses, educational systems, and the media were examined either by the Commission or by the corresponding attention given to women's rights.

Historians mark 1963 as the birth of the 20th Century women's movement. In 1963, Betty Friedan published The Feminine Mystique which drew attention to the various ways women were being exploited, treated as less than equal, by American society. Friedan's book became a best-seller, and through the book, many women became activists.¹³ Also in 1963, the third President's Commission on the Status of Women met. At this meeting, Friedan spoke, urging women to unite as a political force, and as a result, the National Organization for Women was formed.¹⁴ The Commission criticized the mass media for what it claimed was a continual "projecting, intentionally or unintentionally, an image (of women) that contains old myths, misconceptions, and even distortions of true images."¹⁵

During the 1960s, the media came under close scrutiny by both women's groups and government-formed commissions. Members of the feminist movement:

paid close attention to the fairness shown women by the media. Underlying the feminist political agenda of the time, in addition to guaranteeing equality in economic and social roles, was the demand for a cultural change in the ways women were depicted.¹⁶

Women's rights advocate Friedan accused women's magazines and the advertising found within them of forcing "the narrow one-role world on American women with their 'happy housewife' image."¹⁷ In 1968, the Kerner Commission "proposed the media recognize their responsibility in considering the effects their stories and portrayals might have on society and events."¹⁸ By the decade's end, the women's movement was in full stride, and on August 11, 1970, the Equal Rights Amendment was passed in the House of Representatives, though it was never made into law.

The media continued to be criticized in the 1970s for their narrow portrayal of women, but the media's portrayal of women as wives and mothers was not entirely inaccurate. Lovelle Ray wrote in 1972, "In our society, the role of wife and mother is still the expected -- indeed the only 'true' occupation for a female." Ray writes that jobs dare not be careers. Jobs were to serve as "an interim activity until (the woman) fulfills her biological destiny."¹⁹

During the latter part of the 1970s, the women's movement lost momentum even though a key victory was won in 1977, when the National Organization for Women prevailed in a case against the Federal Communications Commission. The Supreme Court ruled that broadcasters could not use the

First Amendment, which guarantees freedom of speech, as a defense for biased portrayals of women and minorities.²⁰ According to a number of sources, the 1977 case is the last on record for the women's movement to question the discriminatory nature of the media.

Some long-term gains were made by the attention that the women's movement focused on the media's portrayal of women, but for every step forward in one area, there seemed to be a loss in another. Muriel Cantor claims that women's presence in the media has changed:

The changes may not mirror the extent of changes in the real world, but, nonetheless, viewers today see women in more varied roles that were thought possible by the industry 20 years previously.²¹

While there have been changes in the ways women are portrayed by the media, the changes have not been without sacrifice. Susan Faludi writes that gains are almost always counter-balanced by "a backlash, an attempt to retract the handful of small and hard-won victories that the feminist movement did manage to win for women."²² Kathryn Weibel writes that the traditional portrayal of American women as "housewifely, passive, wholesome, and pretty" has changed, but these changes are only "numerous minor variations on these standard images ... there has been little outright deviation from them."²³

Deviations from the traditional housewife imagery have proceeded in two directions. First, products advertised to women and with women spokespersons have diversified. This

diversification is the result of the growing power of women in the marketplace. The second major change is part of what Faludi would call a backlash. According to research done by Linda Busby and Greg Leichty, studies consistently show, "Women's roles as decorative objects in advertising have continued to increase over time."²⁴ Part of this decorative function is more body exposure. In advertising, "Sex as an eye-stopper, of course, has gotten bolder, as the society has gotten more sexually permissive."²⁵

In recent years, there has been a renewed interest in how the media treats various "minority" groups. Attentive eyes are slowly returning to scrutinize media portrayals of gender, ethnic, and social groups. According to Wolf, women are still discriminated against both economically and socially. The Humphry Institute of Public Affairs reports:

While women represent 50 percent of the world population, they perform nearly two-thirds of all working hours, receive only one-tenth of the world income and own less than one percent of world property.²⁶

In gauging any progress, the media is a practical scale. The mass media reach millions of individuals on a daily basis with thousands of messages that "reflect this society's values," and since this power is recognized, "our mass media have become targets for heavy scrutiny by feminists and by researchers interested in the effects of the women's movement on the media."²⁷

The majority of research on the portrayal of women's images in the mass media fall into set patterns. The research tends to focus on advertising, and print advertisements are the most frequently studied due to both the availability of material and the concreteness of the images. Research of media content invariably compares advertisements across time. With respect to the study of images of women in the media, this gives a perspective from which to measure changes and compare them to changes in society.

Related Research

Linda Busby and Greg Leichty theorize in a 1993 article that the majority of research on sex roles as portrayed by the mass media can be grouped into three distinct time frames. The first involves the study of the media in the 1950s, the pre-feminist era. Mass media of the 1960s comprises the second group which reflects the developing feminist movement. The third area of research involves the examination of media images from the 1970s onward. The media of this period reflects the "social implementation of feminism."²⁸ The influence was minimal at first. According to Busby and Leichty, by the early 1970s, "The feminist movement had made inroads in altering textual content in women's magazines, but significant changes had not been observed in advertising content."²⁹

Because the mass media of the 1970s reflected only limited changes in the traditional portrayals of women, research further into the 1980s and 1990s was needed in order to gauge any other progressions.

In 1971, Alice Courtney and Sarah Lockeretz published a landmark study on women's images in advertising. In their study, "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of Roles Portrayed by Women in the Mass Media," Courtney and Lockeretz examined the advertising content of eight mass circulation magazines: *Life*, *Look*, *Newsweek*, *The New Yorker*, *Saturday Review*, *Time*, *U.S. News and World Report*, and *Readers' Digest*. The study examined only advertisements which contained photographs of women. Researchers compiled data on 312 advertisements, rating the perceived occupation of the female model, the activity of the model, and the type of product represented.

Courtney and Lockeretz used general interest magazines, purposefully avoided using women's magazines because "they are directed primarily toward women as housewives, whatever their other roles."³⁰ By sampling general interest magazines, they believed that the advertising would reflect women in a wider variety of roles than those represented in women's magazines. Their theory was proven wrong. Courtney and Lockeretz found, "The picture as a whole does fail to show the true range of women's roles within our society."³¹ In their study, the

picture of advertising, they found, defined women by four distinct stereotypes:

1. "A woman's place is in the home." Working women were underrepresented, only nine percent were shown as being employed even though almost 50 percent of women worked.
2. "Women do not make important decisions or do important things." Women were portrayed in ads for inexpensive, household images, and they were limited to mundane household activities.
3. "Women are dependent and need men's protection." In ads featuring men and women together, women acted passively, and women were never featured in roles implying power.
4. "Men regard women primarily as sexual objects; they are not interested in women as people." The women featured most often played decorative roles.³²

Courtney and Lockeretz set the standard for the majority of the subsequent research on the portrayal of women in the mass media. They urged advertisers to consider the ways in which they portrayed women and to update their images by showing women in more than the traditional roles of housewife and mother. Courtney and Lockeretz also encouraged researchers to continue examining the roles assigned to women by the mass media.³³

Numerous research reports on women's images in the mass media appear in marketing, psychology and communication journals published throughout the 1970s. This research stemmed from the attention given the Courtney and Lockeretz study and the resulting scrutinization of the mass media. According to Rosemary Betterton, feminist groups asked the media to change their stereotypical depiction of women.

"Women should be presented in more realistic and more positive roles than were offered by the usual dichotomy of housewife or whore."³⁴ The scientific research of the decade quantified the belief of many women's rights activists that claimed advertising "underpinned the sexist assumption that a woman's place was really in the kitchen or in bed."³⁵ Working women, if represented, were "regularly stereotyped" according to Lovelle Ray. Married women did not work, and "Spinsters were office workers or librarians (color me drab), divorcees were usually actresses (color me scarlet) and widows were teachers (color me respectable)."³⁶

In 1971, Joseph Dominick and Gail Rauch examined another arena of mass media advertising, television commercials. According to Linda Busby, Dominick and Rauch began their research in an effort to "examine the criticisms made by the feminist writers in the light of systematic content analysis."³⁷ Their analysis examined network prime-time advertisements for the products advertised with women characters and the role these women played in the advertisements. Dominick and Rauch's findings support the research of Courtney and Lockeretz that formed a consistent stereotype implying that a woman's place was in the home. In 75 percent of the advertisements examined, females were shown in advertisements for kitchen and bathroom products."³⁸ Women were rarely featured as employed, "Although there are nearly 20 million working wives in this

country, a commercial is seldom shown featuring a working wife, or is even geared to appeal to this segment."³⁹

Dominick and Rauch found support in the advertisements used in their study for the claim that women were used abundantly as sex objects. They found that advertisers customized this imagery to the intended audience. According to their data, "The frequency with which women are portrayed as sex objects or for decorative purposes varied according to what sex generally buys the advertised product." In 54 percent of the advertisements for products geared toward men, women were merely used as decorations, but in only 25 percent of the ads geared towards women were women used as sex objects.⁴⁰

Louis Wagner and Janis Banos published a follow-up study to the research done by Courtney and Lockeretz in the May 1973 issue of the Journal of Marketing Research, the same journal that published the Courtney and Lockeretz study. Wagner and Banos sought to determine if advertisers had "responded to many critics who have claimed that many advertisers overemphasized the role of women as mere housewives in our society."⁴¹ They replicated the methods used by Courtney and Lockeretz with one substitution, the *New York Times Magazine*, used in place of *Look* which was no longer in circulation.

Wagner and Banos found that the images of women portrayed by magazine advertisements had changed somewhat in

the 20 months since the Courtney and Lockeretz study. One noticeable difference was an increase in the presence of working women. Working women were represented in 21 percent of the advertisements sampled in 1973, as compared with only nine percent in 1971, and their roles were more diverse. They found, "There were increases in the percentage of female workers shown in professional, sales, middle-level business, semi-professional, and in other white collar occupations."⁴² The second significant change in the advertised images of women was an increase in the use of women as sex objects. A larger proportion of women in the advertisements studied by Wagner and Banos were featured in purely decorative roles.⁴³

While women were being featured more frequently in the workplace, Wagner and Banos found that this change and the increase in the objectification of women were the only significant differences when the study was compared to the Courtney and Lockeretz study. Women were rarely shown interacting with other women in work place scenarios, and women were rarely pictured in advertisements for institutions such as banks and industrial firms. Large ticket items such as automobiles and major appliances were not advertised with women as models or spokespersons.⁴⁴

Magazine advertisements were the subject of numerous studies throughout the mid-to-late 1970s. In 1974, the Journal of Advertising Research published a study by Donald

Sexton and Phyllis Haberman of women's images in categorized product advertisements. Sexton and Haberman examined advertisements for tobacco, non-alcoholic beverages, automobiles, home appliances, office equipment, and airlines in five magazines, *Look*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Newsweek*, *Sports Illustrated*, and *TV Guide*. A total of 1,827 advertisements were included in the study which included issues from 1950, 1960, and 1970.⁴⁵

Sexton and Haberman's research found some changes in the images of women portrayed by the advertisements, but they also concluded that the stereotypes outlined by Courtney and Lockeretz were present in ads from all three decades. While women's roles in advertisements became less traditional over time as more women were pictured as employed, they found, as did Wagner and Banos, that women were being used more frequently as sex-objects and simply decorations for the layout.⁴⁶ While women were featured in advertisements for an increasing variety of products, their roles were more often that of passive observers, holding cigarettes while men were lighting them, riding in automobiles as men drove, and posing as stewardesses.⁴⁷

In 1975, Linda Busby wrote an overview of current research on the portrayal of women in the mass media. Busby's report, published in the Journal of Communication, detailed a study by Alice Courtney and Thomas Whipple. Courtney and Whipple compared four studies, Hennessee and

Nicholson, Dominick and Rauch, National Capitol Area Chapter N.O.W., and Toronto Women's Media Committee, to draw conclusions about the images of women in advertising. Courtney and Whipple found that all four studies drew the same conclusions about women in the media. Women were consistently stereotyped and trivialized.⁴⁸ According to Busby, Courtney and Whipple concluded:

The results of the four studies provide evidence that women are not portrayed as autonomous, independent human beings, but are primarily sex-typed ... Women's roles continued to change and expand at a faster rate than the advertiser's responses during that time period.⁴⁹

The stereotypical portrayal of women as outlined by Courtney and Lockeretz was further supported by three other studies published in the 1970s. Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier cite a 1975 study by Venkatesan and Losco that analyzed females in magazine advertisements from 1959 to 1971. Women in the advertisements were found to be consistently portrayed as physically beautiful and played passive roles as sex-objects.⁵⁰ Busby and Leichty cite Venkatesan and Losco as categorizing the images in three ways, similar to Courtney and Lockeretz. They:

found that women's images in the ads fell primarily into three categories: women as sexual objects, women as beautiful foreground or background for selling a product, and women as dependent on men.⁵¹

In 1975, Kathryn Weibel published Mirror, Mirror: Images of Women Reflected in Popular Culture. In the book, Weibel analyzes advertisements from five popular magazines,

Life, Look, Time, Newsweek, and Readers' Digest, finding the same results as earlier researchers. In her study, "Women in advertisements are continually portrayed as insecure and needing approval from men and children."⁵² Gaye Tuchman writes in her 1978 book Hearth and Home:

Those working women who are portrayed (in magazine advertisements) are condemned. Others are trivialized ... symbolized as child-like adornments who need to be protected, or they are dismissed to the protective confines of the home. In sum, they are subject to symbolic annihilation.⁵³

In 1979, Ceulemans and Fauconnier published a general synopsis of advertising studies. According to the studies examined by their research, women in advertisements during the 1970s were most frequently portrayed in domestic roles, passively doing housework. They write, "Housewives are often shown as stupid, incapable of performing simple tasks and dependent on male advice."⁵⁴ Butler and Paisley concur that women in advertisements were "greatly concerned with the sight and smell of their bathrooms and kitchens, waiting for the 'Man from Glad' or 'Mr.Muscle'" to show them how to get it right.⁵⁵ Ceulemans and Fauconnier acknowledge that the portrayal of women in domestic situations "is not objectionable per se. The endless repetition of such portrayal suggests however that a woman's place is only in the home."⁵⁶ Ceulemans and Fauconnier surveyed men and women for their reactions to the image of women in advertisements. They found:

Women, more than men, increasingly found that advertising suggests women do not do important things, portrays women in a manner that is offensive, and implies that a woman's place is in the home.⁵⁷

The amount of research published in the 1980s on women in advertising was markedly less than that of the 1970s, but the conclusions drawn by the researchers show a continuation of the stereotypes found in the 1970s with some improvement. Michael Schudson wrote in 1984 that women are stereotyped in advertising by being "depicted as subordinate to men, childlike in both their charm and dependence."⁵⁸ Busby and Leichty cite a 1988 study by Sullivan and O'Connor that found "a marked increase in the employment status of women" and "a significant increase in the purely decorative roles for women" as well.⁵⁹ This gain on one front mirrored with a decline on another is a typical finding of studies in the 1980s.

Anthony Synnott compared men and women in advertising by studying 183 full-page ads in six issues of *The New York Times Magazine* in 1988. Synnott found consistent stereotypes for portraying women. Women "are without exception, portrayed as young and beautiful"⁶⁰ while men vary in both "physical attractiveness and age."⁶¹ Not only are the models themselves stereotyped, but the roles they are given are stereotyped based on gender. Synnott found that 60 percent of the men were portrayed in physically active scenes or as working. Ninety-one percent of women were shown "doing nothing," and only nine percent of the

women were portrayed as working even though over 50 percent of women in America were in the work force at that time.⁶²

In 1989, Rosemary Betterton edited a compilation of studies on images in the media. Betterton claims that any change in the portrayal of women is a purely economical move:

In some respects, advertisers have recognized women's changing roles over the last decade, although this has been prompted more by commercial interests in developing new and potentially profitable markets than by feminist concerns.⁶³

One of the studies cited by Betterton was an examination by Janice Winship of hand placement in magazine advertisements. Winship found that men and women were consistently type-cast for products. Women were used in ads for household products, like silverware and packaged foods, or decorations, such as jewelry and makeup, and men were used in ads for office supplies or equipment and sporting goods.⁶⁴ Betterton also cites a study by Kathy Myers that examined print advertisements and found that women are used as "accessible images" that rely on "straightforward audience identification" and lead the audience to think "I want to be like that."⁶⁵ According to Myers, advertising uses images of women in ideal situations, beautiful and surrounded by men for example, to equate the product with this type of success.

In 1989 Charles Heatwole examined the images of women in the advertising found in travel magazines. He refers to

the photographs of women he studied as "body shots," explaining, "The term is intended to be slightly crude and vulgar because in many instances that is precisely how the women are presented."⁶⁶ Heatwole found that the photographs for travel and tourism regularly include as their central focus, not the location itself, but instead female models who are "well-shy of their 30th birthdays, have a splendid physique, and are wearing something to prove it."⁶⁷ In 200 ads, no men were featured alone, even though women regularly were, and he found no justification for the discrepancy nor for the continual use of bikini-clad models. He concluded that these "body shots" are "an attempt to appeal to women's desires to be good-looking and attractive to men" and nothing else.⁶⁸

Research in the 1990s has found some changes in the representation of women in advertisements. William Kilbourne found an increased representation of women in working roles, but the proportion still lagged well behind real-life figures.⁶⁹ In 1992 William Rudman and Akiko Hagiwara examined the portrayal of women in advertisements for health and fitness products in five health and fitness oriented magazines. They found that in two-thirds of the 191 ads studied women were in "sexually exploitive curves inappropriate for exercise (that was being demonstrated)" and 80 percent were in submissive positions to men in the same ads.⁷⁰ In *Men's Fitness* magazine, 95 percent of the

women were shown "in inappropriate exercise apparel or with an overuse of cosmetics" while 50 percent were featured this way in the other magazines.⁷¹ In line with a number of other studies, Rudman and Hagiwara found that the products were not the focus of the advertisements:

Exercise and wellness per se was not promoted in the sale of health and exercise products in most advertisements analyzed in this study. What is being sold, through use of the female body, is an image of sexual attractiveness. Emphasis is placed on developing an image that will attract members of the opposite sex regardless of the unhealthy nature of that image.⁷²

Studies as recently as 1993 support earlier research that found women's portrayal in advertising stereotypical. These stereotypes portray women as sex-objects or as housewives more often than as employed. Working women have consistently increased in representation in advertisements, but the increase has not been parallel to the increase of women in the labor force.

Studies have also found the images of women vary with the type of magazine considered as well as the product demonstrated. Michael Klassen, Cynthia Jasper and Anne Schwartz found a significant difference in the way different types of magazines portrayed women in their advertisements. They examined 3,550 advertisements in 213 issues of *Ms.*, *Newsweek*, and *Playboy* that featured men and women together. The focus of the study was to examine the relations between men and women and the roles each played in the advertisements. Klassen, Jasper and Schwartz found that

advertisements in *Playboy* and *Newsweek* featured men and women in a significantly higher percentage of traditional role (stereotyped) advertisements while *Ms.* featured more modern views of men and women.⁷³ While both *Playboy* and *Newsweek* offered an abundance of stereotyped images -- 85 percent of the ads showed women in traditional domestic roles -- there had been a decrease of stereotyping women over time with women increasingly being shown in more varied roles.⁷⁴ In compiling data for their literature review, Klassen, Jasper and Schwartz determined that advertisements in general interest magazines tend to show a more realistic view of women than either male or female targeted magazines.⁷⁵ Gender-targeted magazines, such as *Sports Illustrated* and *Glamour*, were more likely to have ads that showed women as "alluring and decorative, performing traditional housewife role, dependent on men, and especially in men's magazines, as sex-objects."⁷⁶

A number of other studies from 1993 examined the portrayal of women in mass media advertising. Daniel Riffe, Patricia Place and Charles Mayo published a study of women in television advertisements in *Journalism Quarterly*. They found sex to be "an advertising truism" used by equating the product with sexual desirability.⁷⁷ Wanda Leppard, Shirley Ogletree and Emily Wallen studied 440 advertisements in three medical journals to determine if there was gender-bias in medical advertising. They found that women were

characterized as suffering from emotional and psychiatric disorders while men were portrayed as having "legitimate" physical disorders.⁷⁸ J. W. Hawkins and C. S. Aber studied 12 percent of the American medical journals in print. They found that women had a greater chance of being caricatured and photographed naked than men did. Hawkins and Aber also found that working women were shown "as waitresses or secretaries. Few women were shown as physicians, no men as nurses."⁷⁹

Linda Busby and Greg Leichty compared photographs of women in advertisements in *Redbook* and *McCalls*, traditional women's magazines, with advertisements in *Ms.* and *Working Woman*, nontraditional magazines. They found that women in the two traditional magazines were twice as likely to be portrayed in family and household settings,⁸⁰ and women in the nontraditional magazines were three times as likely to be shown in employment situations.⁸¹ Products varied with magazine type as well. The traditional magazines featured four times as many ads for household cleaners and three times as many ads for food products. Nontraditional magazines featured six times as many big-ticket advertisements, such as cars or large appliances, yet these ads were more likely to show women as decorative or in family situations than as active buyers.⁸²

There have been numerous studies published on the images of women in advertising over the past three decades.

Research has found consistent stereotypes: women as sex-objects, women as housewives, women as submissive to men. While these stereotypes are continually supported, there have been significant changes over time. Women are more likely to be portrayed in working roles, and women are featured in more big-ticket product advertisements than they were 30 years ago. There is, however, room for improvement in terms of making the representation of women in advertising more reflective of the various ways women participate in society.

Effect of Advertising on Audiences

The mass media are continually analyzed and dissected to determine what effect, if any, they have on their receiving audiences. An intrinsic part of the debate is whether the media reflect society or invent an image of society that audiences model. Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier write:

The question of mass media as mirror versus creator of culture undoubtedly remains one of the most debated issues in the scientific exploration of the relationship between mass media and society.⁸³

Journalists, psychologists and sociologists argue both sides of the issue. William McGuire claims in "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Media?" that the empirical research has not backed the claim that the media has a direct impact on the public audience⁸⁴ while other authors have analyzed various empirical data and conclude the opposite.

The majority of published studies examined in the process of this research claim that the media have an effect on their audiences. The degree of influence is highly debated. Some conclude the effects are limited while others claim the messages in the mass media cause profound, long-term effects. In extreme support of the claim that the media have great influence, Gaye Tuchman cites a 1976 study done by Gerbner and Gross that concluded, "The mass media in general, and television in particular have replaced religion as a source of social control in American life."⁸⁵

Research on the effects of stereotyping women have concluded that negative stereotypes have a corresponding negative relationship with attitudes and behavior. In a 1975 *Journal of Communication* article, Linda Busby discusses two studies, Reeves and Miller and Atkin and Miller, that found a relationship between media stereotypes and behavior. Busby summarizes the studies:

The experimental evidence seems to confirm the conclusions drawn from the content studies: the majority of job roles on television are sex stereotypical, and an expansion of job roles for both sexes on television would make youngsters more comfortable with males and females in non-stereotypical job roles.⁸⁶

In particular, the Miller and Reeves study showed two groups of children two different sets of videos, one featuring women in stereotyped roles and one featuring women in typically male professions. They found, "exposure to female counter-stereotypical roles correspondingly altered real-life perceptions."⁸⁷

According to one study published in the December 1993 issue of *Sex Roles*, stereotyping in advertising can affect things as serious as health care. Wanda Leppard, Shirley Ogletree, and Emily Wallen studied 440 advertisements in three medical journals for the different representations of women and men. They claimed, "Gender bias in medical advertising may be one factor contributing to differential treatment of men and women by physicians."⁸⁸ Leppard, Ogletree, and Wallen cite data that show women are treated for heart disease less frequently than men even though the incidence of heart disease is more frequent in women. They also cite articles that claim women consistently complain that their doctors do not take their health concerns seriously. In their study, Leppard, Ogletree, and Wallen hypothesize that women being stereotyped as emotional and over-anxious leads doctors to dismiss many of their physical complaints as psychological and take men's complaints more seriously as they are portrayed as more serious.⁸⁹ They found that women were continually featured in advertisements for mental health treatments and support centers, and males were most frequently featured in advertisements for cancer treatments, heart medicines, and similar physical disorders. They believe that this discrepancy causes women to be treated "less seriously and less aggressively" by health professionals than men are treated.⁹⁰

William Kilbourne examined how traditional female stereotypes in magazine advertisements affect the perception of women as possessing various managerial qualities such as leadership skills, aggressiveness, and analytic ability. He found that when women were shown in more professional roles in advertisements, they were rated higher in terms of possessing managerial attributes.⁹¹ Kilbourne claims, "Substantial evidence exists which suggests that sex role stereotyping of women is an inhibiting factor in their assumption of managerial roles."⁹² Kilbourne found that stereotyping by the mass media leads to real-life generalizations:

While it is not suggested that advertising engenders stereotyping and, thereby, sex discrimination in the workplace, it appears that there may be contributory influence so long as stereotypical sex roles are used in advertising and the media in general.⁹³

The strength of advertising in magazines is the imagery provided by the photograph. Photographs are reflections of reality, true to daily life or true only to the studio. If the viewer interprets the situation as a message in itself, the influence can be detrimental when stereotypes are involved. Michael Klassen, Cynthia Jasper, and Anne Schwartz write in their study of gender roles in magazine advertisements:

The subtle and sometimes blatant messages communicated by advertisers contribute to the definition of what is considered appropriate behavior for men and women in the United States.⁹⁴

These messages are not the invention of the advertisers. They are selective representations of reality. Klassen, Jasper, and Schwartz cite Vivian Gornick, who writes in Gender Advertisements:

Advertisements depict how we *think* men and women behave. This depiction serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how men and women are, or want to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves but in relation to each other.⁹⁵

Advertising is slow to reflect changes in society, waiting until the changes, such as women in the workplace, are accepted in mass as absolutes. For this reason, advertising is criticized for failing to promote change, remaining static in its representation of gender roles until economically forced to do otherwise. Donald Sexton and Phyllis Haberman claim the failure to "show the diverse capabilities and personalities possessed by women" perpetuates discrimination in the workplace and exploitation of women.⁹⁶ Images are an important part of advertisements' selling ability.

Advertisers frequently attempt to equate their products with an image and a lifestyle. According to Kenneth Schneider, "The consumer, not the product, gets the chief attention. The product is presented as a counterpart to personality, a part of one's style of life."⁹⁷ More importantly, advertisers often attempt to assign social values to the use of their products. Marshall McLuhan claims, "The steady trend is to manifest the product as an

integral part of large social purposes and processes."⁹⁸
The image is an important part of this process. According to Kathy Myers, "For the image to fulfill its advertising function, it must not offer satisfaction in its own right."⁹⁹ Satisfaction follows the purchase, and it may be in the implied beauty, glamour or popularity the image promises.

Magazine advertising is most often criticized for its treatment of women as sex objects and the subsequent use of women for decorative purposes. This use and stereotyping of women is part of the sell. According to William Capitan:

Advertising does in fact connect products and their consumption with those things that the advertiser considers typical and desirable in modern life. Advertisers have assumptions about what is good and beautiful, and it is that society to which we are continually exposed.¹⁰⁰

The emphasis on "what is good and beautiful" manipulates reality by making all women seem beautiful which plays upon the self-image of the viewing public.

Advertising that portrays women as sex-objects is criticized continually for distorting reality and attacking women's self-images. Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier claim that advertising is ineffective without this manipulation of self-images; it is the key to persuading women to buy.¹⁰¹ Naomi Wolf supports this viewpoint; she writes in The Beauty Myth:

The advertisers who make women's mass culture possible depend on making women feel bad enough about their faces and bodies to spend more money on

worthless or pain-inducing products than they would if they felt innately beautiful.¹⁰²

Susan Faludi claims that women have "more negative feelings about their bodies than women in any other culture studied".¹⁰³ She contends that this negative image is due to advertising's "aggravating women's low self-esteem" by telling them the way to be more beautiful and more desirable is by using the product the model uses; they cannot be all these things without it.¹⁰⁴

The problem with this bombardment of youth and beauty is that it is not realistic. Wolf writes that the growth of computer imaging makes women in advertisements younger and more beautiful than they are in reality. This manipulation creates images even more difficult for the average, and even exceptionally pretty, viewer to obtain.¹⁰⁵ The emphasis on youth and beauty by advertisers results in a disproportionate number of young women to be photographed, resulting in alienation of older women.

According to a number of writers, advertising has such a great effect on women because women readily identify with the women in advertisements. Women use the media to live life vicariously. An earlier study claims the woman viewer "uses identification to lead an outer life as well as an inner life -- a life where more exciting things happen."¹⁰⁶ While women have changed since that study, finding lives outside the home, the media has changed to manipulate the new woman according to Wolf. Wolf writes:

Recent research consistently shows that inside the majority of the West's controlled, attractive, successful working women, there is a secret underlife poisoning our freedom; infused with notions of beauty, it is a dark vein of self-hatred, physical obsessions, terror of aging, and dread of lost control.¹⁰⁷

Faludi claims that beauty advertisers have found a new target for image annihilation with the advent of the career woman. Advertisements focus on curing work-related ailments, such as dandruff, hair loss, weight gain, and worry lines. They attribute hectic work schedules to "a general lack of attractiveness" and "spoiling complexions"¹⁰⁸ and claim that their products will reclaim lost beauty.

Advertisers are frequently criticized for using sex to sell products. Taste is not the issue as much as the damaging manipulation of women's images. Researchers claim that the portrayal of women as sex-objects is harmful to self-esteem and promotes a discriminatory atmosphere in society as well.

Responsibility for Advertising

The responsibility for the stereotypical portrayal of women in advertising is as debatable as whether the media creates or reflects reality. The most difficult part of assigning responsibility is that the portrayals discussed here are photographs, whose interpretations can be debated as highly subjective.

According to Rosemary Betterton, "Meaning depends upon the kind of knowledge and expectations which the viewer brings to the image as well as on the context in which it is seen."¹⁰⁹ The photographs "generate meaning in their own right, but only so far as they draw upon knowledge of other cultural texts and familiar assumptions about women's sexuality and intellect."¹¹⁰ The responsibility falls on the media as a result of its power and its selectivity.

According to Denis McQuail, the media have the power to shape ideas about individuals and groups. "The mass media reflect society selectively," creating a world all their own. "This world consists typically of stereotypes which underlie beliefs and opinions about the social world."¹¹¹

Stereotypes are damaging to the groups they represent but offer a secure image to advertisers. Michael Klassen, Cynthia Jasper, and Anne Schwartz caution advertisers to be wary of stereotyping the roles women and men play in society because it can perpetuate the stereotype's acceptance and deny acceptance of change.¹¹² Taking a leadership role and reversing stereotypes could prove harmful to the advertiser. According to Griselda Pollock, creating images of men as sex-objects to the extent women are shown would not work. The objectification of men would prove to be comical and ultimately a failure, simply because it has never been that way before.¹¹³ Linda Busby writes that changing the traditional imagery is costly and risky for advertisers:

Many advertisers argue that viewers will not accept major alterations in traditional sex roles, and that programmers and advertisers cannot afford to use expensive media time to promulgate social changes that might be offensive to the "average viewer."¹¹⁴

The mass media are dependent upon advertising and are unlikely to challenge the industry to change. As early as 1898, the power of advertising was being acknowledged by media leaders. Edward Bok, then publisher of *Ladies Home Journal*, wrote, "No magazine publisher in the United States could give what it is giving to the reader each month if it were not for the revenue which the advertiser brings to the magazine."¹¹⁵ Advertising revenue keeps the cover price low which contributes to keeping circulation high. Without advertising, costs overrun profitability. The media are unlikely to challenge advertisers to change the way they portray women.

The American government is not meant to intervene either. While the Commission on the Freedom of the Press, organized by the government to evaluate the media, placed the burden of responsibility on the press, it did not relate its rulings to advertising. Besides, as Jean Boddewyn writes, control and regulation of sexism in advertising, "raises troubling questions about the freedom of commercial communication, the role and impact of advertising, and the nature and origin of controls."¹¹⁶

Control is one thing to be avoided in a country such as the United States where Freedom of Speech is considered

an absolute right and any regulation poses a potential threat to that freedom. Joseph Dominick and Gail Rauch point clearly to the eventual solution. Citing Marya Mannes, they predict that advertisers "will have to stop selling products by showing women only as teenage playgirls whose sole function is sex or as saw-voiced matrons whose only purpose is housekeeping."¹¹⁷ Eventually, society will change what it does not wish to accept through vocal criticism and economical pressure.

Summary

A variety of studies have been done on the portrayal of women in the mass media. The majority of studies reflect a change in the images assigned to women in mass media advertisements over time. Women have been liberated, freed from the confines of mopping and dusting, slowly integrated into the workplace. Just as they have been liberated from the confines of the home, they have been liberated from the confines of their clothing. Women are featured more often as sex objects than ever before.

The place of advertising in society is continually debated. As Gaye Tuchman writes, the media both reflect "dominant values and attitudes in society" and influence them by acting as "agents of socialization," teaching these values and attitudes to the audience at hand.¹¹⁸ The

relationship between advertising and society is not clear;
nonetheless, it is an important relationship to examine.

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This research was modeled after the 1971 study by Alice E. Courtney and Sarah Wernick Lockeretz entitled "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements."¹ Further information used for the comparison of data was compiled from "A Woman's Place: A Follow-up Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," a 1973 study by Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos.²

A content analysis was used in this study to examine the images of women in magazine advertisements. Eight general interest magazines were sampled in this study, and the advertisements featuring photographs of women contained within these magazines were analyzed to determine how women are portrayed in this particular media sample. For the analysis of product representation, advertisements featuring pictures of men were included to determine the male-to-female ratio.

Research Method

Content analysis is used to determine the ways in which women are portrayed in the magazine advertisements sampled. Content analysis is generally used when the subject being examined concerns itself with abstract imagery rather than concrete experiments. Since this research centered around the examination of media messages, content analysis was the logical foundation for research. Fred Kirlinger's describes content analysis:

Content analysis is considered as primarily a method of observation and measurement. Instead of observing people's behavior directly, or asking them to respond to scales, or interviewing them, the investigator takes communication that people have produced and asks questions of the communication.³

The content analysis method involves the study of media messages and imagery, produced communication. In the case of this research, the content examined was photographic advertisements of women.

Earl Babbie explains content analysis as the method of research "well suited to the study of communications and to answering the classic question of communications research: 'Who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect?'"⁴ The content analysis provides a valuable check on media content. It is often used to examine how the media portray various social groups and cover important issues, and the assumption prevalent in most content analyses is that the

messages in the media have an effect on the audiences they serve.

Scope of the Study

This research targeted the images of women as portrayed in magazine advertisements. The magazines sampled were all general interest magazines that target men and women of various backgrounds and interests. General interest magazines may individually have greater circulation within one age group or with one social group, but the subjects are aimed to appeal to as differentiated an audience as possible.

Eight magazines were examined in this study: *Life*, *Newsweek*, *The New Yorker*, *Time*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *Reader's Digest*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *People Weekly*. (See Appendix A for the editorial policies of these periodicals.) The first six periodicals were included in the Courtney and Lockeretz study. Courtney and Lockeretz did, however, include *Look* and *Saturday Review*, both of which are no longer in circulation. For this study, *People Weekly* was substituted for *Look*, and *Saturday Evening Post* was substituted for *Saturday Review*.

Issues were selected from January, May, and September 1993. The weekly periodicals, *Newsweek*, *People Weekly*, *Time*, and *U.S. News and World Report*, were sampled with the issues dated the first week of the month. January was

selected because it was the month selected by the Wagner and Banos study and, as such, replicates their study. May and September were selected because, inclusive of January, it evenly divided the year into four-month intervals.

Selection of Advertisements

Only advertisements containing photographs of women were included in the study. All advertisements one-half page in size or larger were sampled. Smaller advertisements and classified advertisements were not considered. Each advertisement had to contain at least one woman, and advertisements with both men and women or two or more women were also used in the study.

It was originally decided that only one issue for each of the eight magazines was to be analyzed, but the original sample yielded only 69 advertisements. The sample of issues was expanded, and a total of 262 advertisements was analyzed for the product categories. For the other tables, 153 advertisements were sampled. Product category analysis involved more advertisements because advertisements featuring men alone were included while the occupation and activity studies focused on women alone.

Coding by Judges

Three judges coded the advertisements. Two of the judges were graduate students, and one of the judges was an

undergraduate student. The panel looked at each of the advertisements, selecting the type of product represented by each man and woman and the working status of any woman pictured.

Judges were provided with a checklist for each advertisement analyzed. The list included categories from which the coder checked the most applicable type of product or service being represented in the advertisement. The checklist also asked whether the woman was in a work situation or not. If the woman was featured in a work environment, the coder supplied the type of occupation, and if the woman was in a non-working environment, the type of activity and locale was asked to be supplied.

Inter-coder reliability was checked at the beginning of the research, and any discrepancies were discussed for coder cohesion. Between Coder A and Coder B the reliability equaled .90. Between Coder A and Coder C the reliability equaled .925. Between Coder B and Coder C the reliability equaled a .875. This demonstrated a high level of reliability among the ratings by the three coders.

Categories for Analysis

This study used categories of analysis patterned after those used by Courtney and Lockeretz in "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of the Role's Portrayed by Women in

Magazine Advertisements."⁵ The categories are also similar to those used in the follow-up study by Wagner and Banos.⁶

Table I indicates the categories used in this research.

TABLE I
CATEGORIES FOR ANALYSIS

Product Types

Cleaning products	Beauty Products
Food products	Drugs
Furniture	Clothing
Home Appliances	Travel
Charity, Public service	Automotive
Alcoholic beverages	Tobacco
Banks and finance	Office Equipment
Entertainment and Media	

Occupational Roles

High-level business executives
Professional
Entertainers, sports personalities
Sales, middle-level management, semi-professional
Nonprofessional, white collar
Blue collar, service sector
Domestic

Non-working Roles

Family setting
Recreational setting
Decorative setting

Definition of Categories

Determining the behavior of the model or spokesperson in an advertisement as working or non-working and the type of behavior can be a subjective judgement if the scene is

not clear cut. For improved reliability, the working and non-working roles were discussed with the coders. Working situations were determined by the background, for example, office, sales floor or kitchen. The activity involved in by the woman was the determinant of the occupation as well. The classification of non-working means that the female character in the advertisement appears to be posing in a non-paid, non-employed role such as a housewife.

Occupational categories are modeled after the categories used by the Courtney and Lockeretz study and the research done by Wagner and Banos. Modeling the categories after these two studies establishes a grounds for the comparison of data. Comparing the results allows some judgements to be made about the changes in women's images in advertisements over time.

Similarly, the categories for the women in nonworking roles were modeled after the two previous studies. Women who were in nonworking roles were classified in one of three ways: family situation, recreational setting, or decorative role. The family situation involves domestic portrayals such as car pooling or cooking. Recreational settings include walking on the beach or working out in an aerobics class. A woman in a decorative role is passive and uninvolved with actual demonstration of the product. They are merely pretty background.

Data Collection

Data was collected through the analysis of each individual advertisement by three coders. The results of all three codings are compared, and the scores averaged if discrepancies existed. Data collected in this study is presented in table form, and the data from the two previous studies of women in advertising used by this study are included in tables for convenient comparison.

Hypothesis of the Study

The hypothesis predicts that there will be no difference in the portrayal of women in magazine advertisements in 1971, 1973, and 1993. Despite the changes in the roles played by women in society, the null hypothesis predicts that there will be no difference in how advertisements portray women. As a result, there will be no difference in the percentage of women assigned to the different categories offered in this study.

Statistical Method

Coders marked the appropriate categories for each of the advertisement and then submitted the checklists for all the advertisements. The data for each advertisement was compared, and any major discrepancies were discussed in order to achieve agreement. The data was then averaged to establish percentages for comparison. Both the Courtney and

Lockeretz study and the Wagner and Banos study presented their data in the form of percentages, and this study used percentages in order to make the comparison of the three studies possible.

The comparison of the advertisements of 1971, 1973 and 1993 was made using the complex chi square. According to Babbie, the complex chi square tests whether any differences in the data is due to sampling error and not legitimate differences.⁷ On the surface alone, the data may show differences in the percentage assigned to each category, but the differences may not be significant enough to assume a real, not by chance, difference. For all statistical tests, a 95 percent confidence level was used.

Methodological Assumptions

There are several assumptions underlying the research. The general assumption of this researcher was that the media operates according to the Social Responsibility theory of the press. Under this theory, the media is expected to preserve the rights of the individual and to accurately reflect and portray reality.⁸

This research also assumed that the three coders acted with fairness and impartiality in rating the sampled magazine advertisements. All three have a background in mass communications fields, and their education played a role in this analysis.

Another assumption was that the sample taken from the eight magazines for this study was a legitimate reflection of all the magazine advertisements found in these magazines.

Limitations of the Research

There are obvious limitations to any study that uses limited samples. Sampling just eight of the thousands of publications in print limits the generalization of findings to the media as a whole. Sampling only advertisements limits the applicability of the results to the media as a whole, and because only magazine advertisements are used, the results can not be legitimately applied to the images of advertising as a whole.

Individual research on the mass media is always limited because it measures a limited number of instances while the media bombards society with millions of messages daily, and any judgement of media content is subjective, finding the basis for results in an individual's personal experience, education, and biases.

If research is considered with these limits in mind, it is, however, possible to use the results as an indication of what may be taking place on a larger scale.

Summary

This research examined the images of women in magazine advertisements. The study used as its basis the 1971

research done by Courtney and Lockeretz and the 1973 research published by Wagner and Banos. The advertisements found in three issues of eight magazines published in 1993 were analyzed to gauge how women are portrayed by the media today as compared with the images found in magazine advertisements of the two earlier studies.

ENDNOTES

¹Alice E. Courtney and Sarah Wernick Lockeretz, "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research 8 (February 1971): 92-95.

²Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos, "A Woman's Place: A Follow-up Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research 10 (May 1973): 213-214.

³Fred Kirlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1986), 477.

⁴Earl Babbie, The Practice of Social Research (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1992), 314.

⁵Courtney and Lockeretz, 94.

⁶Wagner and Banos, 214.

⁷Babbie, 454.

⁸Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 74.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Hypothesis of the Study

This study examined how women are portrayed in magazine advertisements. Advertisements in eight general interest magazines, *Life*, *The New Yorker*, *Newsweek*, *People Weekly*, *The Readers' Digest*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Time*, and *U.S. News and World Report*, were sampled. To establish a basis for comparison, advertisements found in three issues published in 1993 were compared with advertisements sampled in 1971 and 1973.

The null hypothesis predicted that despite the changes in the roles played by women in society since 1971 and 1973 there is no difference in how advertisements portray women. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the types of products using women spokespersons and the occupations of the women in advertisements from the three different years.

Data Collection

The coders examined women in magazine advertisements selected from three issues, one from January, May, and September, for the eight magazines. Only photographic

advertisements containing women were evaluated. The two main categories in which the advertisements were analyzed were the type of product being sold and the occupation of the women. Specific categories for the products and the occupations are listed in Table I found in Chapter III.

Table II indicates the percentage of women spokespersons for each of the categories of products considered in the study. The percentage was established by counting both men and women spokespersons in the advertisements sampled and establishing a male-to-female ratio. The results of the 1971 Courtney and Lockeretz study are included for comparison. The 1973 study by Wagner and Banos did not evaluate the presence of women in advertisements for different products.

Table III indicates the percentage of women in the advertisements sampled who were portrayed in working roles and nonworking roles. The data found in the Courtney and Lockeretz study and in the Wagner and Banos study are included.

The percentage of women found in each of the working roles is found in Table IV. The distribution of occupational categories in this study is compared with those of the Courtney and Lockeretz study and the Wagner and Banos study.

Table V indicates the percentage of women found in each of the three nonworking roles in this sample and compared with the two earlier studies.

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS
USING WOMEN SPOKESPERSONS
FOR DIFFERENT TYPES
OF PRODUCTS

Product	1971 ¹	1993
Cleaning	100%	100%
Food	69%	58%
Furniture	48%	80%
Beauty Aids	62%	83%
Drugs and health care	60%	53%
Clothing and Jewelry	57%	54%
Home Appliances	54%	53%
Charity, public service	50%	50%
Travel	43%	41%
Automotive	42%	40%
Cigarettes	35%	55%
Alcohol	39%	40%
Banks, investments	32%	38%
Entertainment, media	30%	53%

There are essentially two areas of interest within the larger hypothesis that there is no difference between the types of products represented by women in 1971 and 1993. First, it is important to examine the differences in the types of products represented by women as found by the two studies. Second, an examination of whether there is a difference between the percentage of men and women representing each type of product is important.

Statistical comparison of the product categories was not feasible. The published results of the 1971 study by Courtney and Lockeretz do not include any numerical data used to establish the percents. Without the actual frequency counts, a comparison across time was not statistically possible. The percentages alone allow for some comparisons without any generalizations.

In comparing the percentage of women in advertisements from 1971 and 1993, there was no significant difference in advertisements for seven of the 14 categories. The percentage of women in advertisements for cleaning products, clothing, home appliances, charity organizations, travel, automobiles, and alcohol differed little or not at all in the 1971 and 1993 samples. There was an increase in the percentage of women featured in advertisements for beauty products, furniture, cigarettes, and entertainment. There was a decrease in the percentage of women featured in food advertisements and health aids and drugs.

In evaluating the representation of women as compared to men in different product advertisements, 1993 advertisements showed a more even distribution of men and women spokespersons for the categories overall. Seven of the 14 categories had a near 50-50 ratio of men to women in advertisements.

TABLE III
ROLES OF WOMEN IN ADVERTISEMENTS
(N=100% FOR EACH YEAR)

Role	1971	1973 ²	1993
Working	9%	21%	19%
Nonworking	91%	79%	81%

$\chi^2 = 6.07$ with 2df

A complex chi square was used to analyze the data. The chi square for 95 percent confidence level was calculated as 6.07 with 2 degrees of freedom (df). The critical value at 2df is 6. As a whole, the null hypothesis was not substantiated. There was a significant difference in the number of women portrayed as working and as nonworking in the study.

There was a significant difference between the number of women portrayed as working and as nonworking for all three years examined. Women were more frequently portrayed as nonworking in all three samples of advertisements.

There was a significant difference in the percentage of women portrayed as working in the advertisements sampled across time. The numbers of women portrayed as working in 1973 (21 percent) and 1993 (19 percent) were significantly higher than the 9 percent portrayed as working in 1971. There was, however, no significant difference between the number of women portrayed as working in 1973 and in 1993.

The results were similar for the women portrayed as nonworking. The number of women portrayed in nonworking roles was significantly lower in both 1973 and 1993 than in 1971. There was, however, no real difference between the number of women in nonworking roles in the 1973 and 1993 samples.

TABLE IV
OCCUPATIONS OF WORKING WOMEN
IN ADVERTISEMENTS
AS A PERCENT
(N=100% FOR EACH
YEAR)

Category of occupation	1971	1973	1993
High level professional	0%	0%	0%
Professional	0%	4%	30%
Entertainer	58%	23%	30%
Sales, middle management	8%	15%	12%
Nonprofessional white collar	17%	46%	14%
Blue collar	17%	12%	14%

$\chi^2 = 92.85$ with 10df

A complex chi square was used to analyze the data acquired by the coding of the occupational roles portrayed in the magazine advertisements sampled. The chi square was determined to be 92.85 with 10df. The critical value at 95 percent confidence level is 18.3. There are significant differences within the distribution of occupations and the samples from the three years.

For the individual occupations, there are differences in three of the categories. There was a significant increase in the percentage of women shown in professional roles in the magazine advertisements sampled. There was no

difference in the samples from 1971 and 1973, but there was a significant increase, from 4 percent to 30 percent, in the 1993 sample. The percentage of women portrayed as entertainers decreased from 1971 (58 percent) to 1973 (23 percent). The percentage of women in non-professional white collar roles increased significantly from 1971 to 1973, but it decreased significantly from 1973 to 1993. There were no significant differences in the percentage of women portrayed in each of the three other occupational categories over time.

Within the three individual years, there were a few notable differences within the occupational categories. In 1973, women were portrayed significantly more often as entertainers than as occupying any other occupational role. In 1973, women were portrayed more often as non-professional white collar workers than in any other role. In 1993, there were not any significant differences in the occupational roles portrayed by the working women, except the significant difference between the professionals and the entertainers (30 percent each) and the high level executives, of which, there were no women featured.

TABLE V
NONWORKING ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN
IN ADVERTISEMENTS
AS A PERCENT
(N=100% FOR EACH YEAR)

Category of activity	1971	1973	1993
Family oriented	23%	8%	24%
Recreational	46%	36%	22%
Decorative	31%	56%	54%
$\chi^2 = 31.48$ with 4df			

A complex chi square was used to determine the significance of the results of the study. The chi square with 4df is 31.48, which is significant at the 95% confidence level. The critical value is 9.5, and there are significant differences within the nonworking roles portrayed by women in the three samples.

In 1971 and 1973, there were significant differences within all the three different activity categories. In 1971, women were shown most often in recreational activities and least often in family activities. In 1973, the most frequent role for nonworking women was decorative, and the least frequent was in a family situation. In 1993, women were most often featured as decorative. In the last sample, there was no difference between the percentage of women in family and recreational roles.

Within the separate categories, there were significant changes in the nonworking roles portrayed by women over time. Women were featured significantly less often in family roles in the 1973 sample than in both the 1971 and 1993 samples. Women were portrayed increasingly less often in recreational settings over the three years sampled. The percentage of women featured in decorative portrayals increased from 1971 to 1973 but remained stable from 1973 to 1993.

Evaluation of Data

Overall, the image of women in magazine advertisements has changed since 1971, but the sweeping changes found between the 1971 and 1973 studies were not of the trend-setting nature. While there were still some changes from 1973 to 1993, they were not as abundant or extreme in most cases as those between the Courtney and Lockeretz study and the Wagner and Banos study.

The roles that women were portrayed as occupying have changed significantly since the 1971 study. Women are more frequently portrayed in working roles as opposed to nonworking roles, but the percentage of women in working roles is far below the real-life figures. Well over 50 percent of adult women work³, yet the average percent of women portrayed as employed in the advertisements sampled was only 19 percent. The discrepancy has been recognized in

other studies. In 1979, Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier found, "Compared to the actual female employment status, working women are under-represented in both print and broadcast advertisements."⁴

The percentage of women portrayed as decorative increased from 1971 to 1973, 31 percent to 56 percent of all nonworking portrayals. This increase coincided with a decrease in the portrayal of women in family situations. Naomi Wolf wrote, "As women released themselves from the feminine mystique of domesticity, the beauty myth took over its lost ground."⁵ The data accumulated by this study is supported by the findings of Matilda Butler and William Paisley. They found that in nonworking roles, women were most often portrayed as decorative while males were most featured in recreational activities.⁶ There was a significant decrease in the portrayal of women in recreational roles from 1973 to 1993, balanced by an increase in the portrayal of women in family roles.

The roles women play in society are not accurately represented by advertisements. One cause for this may be the types of products that women represent in advertisements. According to Linda Busby:

One important indicator of the roles of males and females in television commercials in the relationship between the sex of the character and the product category advertised.⁷

This can be applied to print advertisements also. Women are featured frequently in advertisements for food products,

beauty products, and clothing. These types of advertisements do not easily cater to a professional image. It is not logical for an advertiser to feature a woman applying lipstick at a board meeting or wearing an evening gown while playing a round of golf. The types of products for which women are featured in advertisements determine the setting which determines the role portrayed more than anything else.

In terms of product representation, assuming a 50-50 ratio is the expected is premature without supporting data. The fact that women are portrayed in 83 percent of the advertisements for beauty products while men are featured in only 17 percent does not necessarily show an imbalance. Women buy the majority of beauty products. In some product areas the discrepancies are not as easy to justify. Women are unequally featured in non-gender specific product advertisements such as investment and banking, travel advertisements, and automobile advertisements.

Summary

The current research supported studies cited earlier that demonstrated a disproportionate portrayal of women as nonworking and an emphasis on the decorative images of women.

The research also found that the null hypothesis was not altogether supported by the sample of advertisements

examined. There were significant differences found within the results of the three studies compared.

ENDNOTES

¹Columns marked 1971, Alice E. Courtney and Sarah Wernick Lockeretz, "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research 8 (February 1971): 92-95.

²Columns marked 1973, Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos, "A Woman's Place: A Follow-up Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research 10 (May 1973): 213-214.

³Naomi Wolf, The Beauty Myth (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991), 66.

⁴Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier, Mass Media: The Image, Role, and Social Conditions of Women. A Collection and Analysis of Research Materials (Paris: UNESCO, 1979), 7.

⁵Wolf, 10.

⁶Matilda Butler and William Paisley, Women and the Mass Media (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1980), 96.

⁷Linda Busby, "Sex-Role Research on the Mass Media," Journal of Communication (Autumn 1975): 110.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Thesis

The portrayal of women in the mass media has been a frequently researched and often debated topic. The women's movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s prompted the evaluation of the media's portrayal of women. Women, critics claimed, were trivialized and inaccurately portrayed by the mass media. Images in the media portrayed women in domestic situations of little importance or as glamorous but mindless beautiful back-drops. The criticisms set the stage for a number of landmark studies pertaining to the images of women in the mass media.

In 1971 Alice Courtney and Sarah Lockeretz examined the images of women in magazine advertisements in "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements." Courtney and Lockeretz selected eight mass circulation magazines and examined advertisements featuring photographs of women and men. The images were evaluated, determining the ratio of women to men in different product categories and the percentage of women in

working and nonworking roles. Working roles were then evaluated as to particular occupation and nonworking roles to the activity involved.¹

Louis Wagner and Janis Banos published a follow-up study in 1973. They evaluated eight magazines, the same ones studied by Courtney and Lockeretz with one substitution. Wagner and Banos evaluated the advertisements in the same manner as Courtney and Lockeretz, but they did not evaluate product categories.²

The Wagner and Banos study compared the sample obtained in 1973 with the data from the 1971 study. They found that there were significant changes in the ways that women were portrayed by the mass media. More women were shown in working roles, increasing from 9 percent to 21 percent. At the same time, women were increasingly being portrayed as decorative in advertisements showing women in nonworking situations.³

Surveying current bibliographies and periodical guides reveals little in the area of research of women's images in the mass media since the late 1970s. While this means of surveying is not all-inclusive, it hints at the lack of availability of current research on this subject. This research was initiated for the purpose of examining whether there is a difference in how women are portrayed in current media advertisements when compared with the earlier two studies.

The research portion of this thesis was modeled after the Courtney and Lockeretz and the Wagner and Banos studies. Like the previous studies it examined the working and nonworking roles of women in magazine advertisements. Eight mass circulation magazines were sampled, using as many as those used by Courtney and Lockeretz as possible, substituting only for those no longer in publication. This research examined the same product categories used by Courtney and Lockeretz.

The data accumulated by the current research was compared with the data found in the two earlier studies. The null hypothesis stated that there was expected to be no difference in the portrayal of women in the magazine advertisements sampled by the three studies. The null hypothesis was not supported by the research. There were changes in the ways in which women are portrayed by mass media advertisements.

The changes were, however, twofold. While women were featured more often in professional and middle-management roles, they were not featured as high level executives in any of the advertisements sampled. The percentage of women in working roles has not significantly changed since 1973, and the percentage of women portrayed in occupational roles is far below the actual percentage of women who occupy working roles in society. This discrepancy is frequently noted and criticized by media evaluators.

Women are most often featured in nonworking roles in the magazine advertisements studied. Of the nonworking roles, there was a resurgence of women in family roles, increasing from eight percent in 1973 to 24 percent in 1993. At the same time, women were found to be featured in decorative roles in 54 percent of the advertisements portraying women in nonworking positions. This supports the most frequent criticism of the media, the objectification of women.

Over time, women have been featured in a larger percentage of some previously male-dominated product advertisements but are under-represented in an equal number of product categories. Males dominate advertisements for automobiles, travel, and banks and investment. Men and women are equally represented in advertisements for health aids, home appliances, and entertainment. Men are now more equally represented in food advertisements, once predominated by women.

Conclusions

There have been some significant changes in the ways in which women are portrayed in magazine advertisements. These changes reflect both positive and negative images. The sample studied substantiates claims related earlier in the text that women are becoming more objectified in advertisements, playing an increasingly decorative role.

The nonworking portrayal of women, of which decorative is a category, is still the predominate image of women in advertising. Working women are under-represented, but women in working roles have been increasingly featured in professional and middle-management occupations.

Women in advertisements project an inaccurate image of women in society. While there have been changes in the portrayal of women in advertisements over time, the changes have not led to a more accurate portrayal of women in society.

Recommendations for Implementation

To claim that there should be a conscious effort to increase the accuracy of the images of women in magazine advertisements implies a sense of responsibility for advertisers. Many writers and researchers claim that advertising has an effect on the audiences that it reaches. Michael Klassen, Cynthia Jasper, and Anne Schwartz summarize the sentiment, "The way men and women are depicted in advertisements will continue to shape societal values, awarding the 'appropriate' roles for men and women in society."⁴ With such power, advertisers need to be cautious and avoid the stereotyping and objectifying any social group. The amount of power that media advertising has is itself debatable. Rosemary Betterton wrote that, arguably, people do not look to photographs in the media

"solely for their accuracy in representing social reality;" people use them "as forms of entertainment and pleasure."⁵

Advertisers should listen to the criticisms of the general public and evaluate the research on the images portrayed by their advertisements, using the information to better serve their audiences. It is a disservice to the media user as well as to the spent advertising dollar to dissatisfy and anger the potential buyer. Part of the disservice could be alleviated by more accurately reflecting reality.

There is, however, a claim that drastically altering the images in advertisements would hurt the advertiser. Critics charge that changing the traditional images by increasing women in working roles and placing them as active participants in product advertisements rather than decorations creates images uncomfortable to the audience. The mass communication receiver is used to seeing the traditional images and changing those images creates unfamiliar messages. Advertisers portray women and other traditional minority groups in stereotypical manners because that is the expected imaging.

Altering the expected is not without its risks, but it is the responsible thing to do. Numerous studies have credited the mass media with influencing their audiences and altering their opinions. By possessing such a power, the media have a responsibility to be wary of discriminatory

stereotypes and their influence on the way the stereotyped groups are treated in society. While it is a risky venture, the benefits on society as a whole will eventually benefit the advertiser as well. Increasing the reach of individual advertisements increases the draw for product sales.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study was admittedly incomplete. The research examined only eight of the thousands of periodicals in publication and none of the hundreds of broadcast stations or cable stations. This research also focused only on advertisements while the media reaches audiences in other ways. All of these areas are open to research on the ways in which women are portrayed.

Research on women's images in the mass media far outnumbers research on the images of men in the mass media, and the evaluation of the images of men in mass media advertising is a timely and little-researched topic. Jean Boddewyn suggests, "There is some evidence that men are portrayed unfavorably now that women have begun to become 'untouchable.'"⁶ Jennifer Foote claims that men are being portrayed as "the bumbling domestics in need of professional advice and kitchen products" and now its "*his* torso, stripped and moist."⁷ There is a lack of research in this area, and research on this topic is justifiable.

Concluding Remarks

The portrayal of women in the mass media is an area that has been studied by a number of researchers in a variety of fields. While further research in this area is possible and pertinent, there is a lack of research on other social groups. In gathering sources, this researcher found few citations for studies on the images of blacks, men, hispanics, homosexuals, and other ethnic and social groups. In a time where no minority is as isolated as the label implies, there should be more research on the treatment of these sorts of groups by the media.

While the effect of the media is debatable, the mass media does undisputably reach millions of people each day in various shapes and forms. The evaluation of media content leads to increased accuracy and a decreased appearance of bias. Research on the media provides an essential check on media power. Correcting injustices and inaccuracies promptly can prevent governmental controls and can preserve the freedom of the American media.

ENDNOTES

¹Alice E. Courtney and Sarah Wernick Lockeretz, "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research 8 (February 1971): 92-95.

²Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos, "A Woman's Place: A Follow-up Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research 10 (May 1973): 213-214.

³Ibid.

⁴Michael Klassen, Cynthia Jasper, and Anne Schwartz, "Men and Women: Images of their Relationships in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Advertising Research 33 (March/April 1993): 38.

⁵Rosemary Betterton, Looking On: Images of Femininity in the Visual Arts and Media (London: Pandora Press, 1989), 11.

⁶Jean Boddewyn, "Controlling Sex and Decency in Advertising Around the World," Journal of Advertising 20 (December 1991), 33.

⁷Jennifer Foote, "The Ad World's New Bimbos," Newsweek, 25 January 1988, 44.

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APPENDIX A
EDITORIAL POLICIES

Life

Life is best known as a general interest photography magazine, appealing to people of all ages and interests. Photography far outweighs writing. The circulation is over 1.5 million.

(From Mark Kissling, ed., 1993 Writer's Market: Where and How to Sell What You Write [Cincinnati, OH: Writer's Digest Books, 1992], 392.)

The New Yorker

The New Yorker contains fiction stories, poetry, and commentaries on current issues. The magazine is noted for its literary quality and arts and entertainment reviews. The design and layout is traditional, varying little throughout the magazine's history.

(From: Bill Katz and Linda Sterling Katz, Magazines for Libraries [New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1986], 484.)

Newsweek

A general news magazine, *Newsweek* has an average weekly circulation of 3.4 million.

(From Katz and Katz, 747.)

People Weekly

People has become one of America's top-selling magazines with a weekly circulation of over 3.2 million. *People* adopted the editorial policy of focusing on the "newsworthy not the news" when the magazine began in 1973. Articles and photographs are exclusively concerned with covering the most notable personalities -- politicians, entertainers, authors, and ordinary people -- of the week. *People* avoids controversial topics, focusing on lighter issues.

(From Katz and Katz, 485.)

The Reader's Digest

The third most popular magazine in the United States, *Reader's Digest* has a circulation of 16.3 million a month. First published in 1922, issues are currently published in 16 languages, braille, and large-type as well as recorded on audio tapes. *The Reader's Digest* is best noted for its condensed articles and humorous anecdotes.

(From Katz and Katz, 485.)

Saturday Evening Post

The *Saturday Evening Post* was first published in 1821. The magazine has a conservative slant, and articles are typically profiles of notable Americans and traditional fiction. The editorial policy released by the magazine states the *Post* is a family-oriented magazine focusing on physical fitness and preventive medicine.
(From Kissling, 395.)

Time

Time has a weekly circulation of over 4 million, ranking it first among newsmagazines. The magazine offers in-depth coverage of the top news stories of the week.
(From Katz and Katz, 750.)

U.S. News and World Report

U.S. News and World Report offers a moderate to conservative editorial slant to the top news stories of the week. Coverage is largely focused on national and international news rather than sports and culture stories. Emphasis is given to business-related issues. The circulation averages just over 2 million.
(From Katz and Katz, 750.)

VITA 7

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