

MENTIONING THE UNMENTIONABLE: A STUDY OF
ADVERTISEMENTS FOR FEMININE HYGIENE
PRODUCTS IN SIX WOMEN'S MAGAZINES
AS AN AID TO UNDERSTANDING
THE SOCIALIZATION
OF WOMEN

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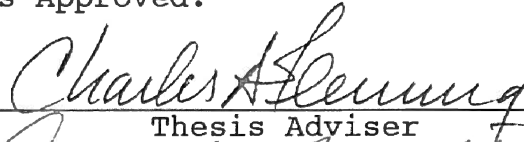
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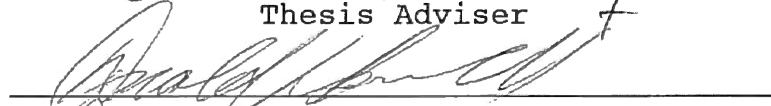
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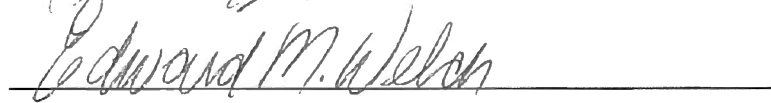
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PREFACE

This is a content analysis of advertisements for feminine hygiene products appearing in six 1991 issues of Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, McCall's, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen. The study sought to assess each advertisement for products advertised, sexism and selected characteristics of models, including genders, groupings, activities and careers. The aim of the study was to determine how advertisements portray menstruation and other processes unique to the female body in particular, and women in general. In doing so, it was hoped that some insight might be gained into how these advertisements might work as agents of socialization.

As with any project of this size, much of the credit for its completion must go to a support network of very important people. I would like first to extend my gratitude to my thesis adviser, Dr. Charles A. Fleming, for his wisdom and patience throughout this program and this project. I appreciate his help and admire his courage in agreeing to tackle this very touchy topic.

I also wish to express my appreciation to the other members of my committee, Dr. Donald Boswell and Dr. Edward Welch, for their participation in this project.

Thanks also go to my colleagues in Education Extension, who have supported me from the genesis of this thesis as an oral presentation through the final, hectic weeks of this study. Their day-to-day interest and forbearance have helped me more than they know.

To my parents, Carole and James Lavish, I extend my love and appreciation for a lifetime of support and encouragement. I could not have asked for better teachers, or for a stronger foundation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

General

If the power of a word can be measured by the number of euphemisms existing for that word, menstruation is a very powerful word indeed. On the rag...the curse...that time of the month...female troubles...the ways in which people talk about menstruation without ever saying the word are nearly as numerous and varied as the people who use these expressions.

Advertisements for feminine hygiene products seem to reflect our society's discomfort with the word and the process of menstruation and other functions of the female body. In advertisements filled with innuendo and euphemism, menstruation is, according to researchers Beverly Havens and Ingrid Swenson, depicted as a "hygienic crisis" that is best managed by an effective "security system" affording protection and peace of mind (Havens & Swenson 1988, 95). These ostensibly positive images of regularity and manageability are counteracted by a darker sub-text: failure of the security system, or failure to choose the correct one, places a woman at risk of soiling, staining,

odor and humiliation (Havens & Swenson 1988, 95).

Other feminine hygiene product advertisements depict menstruating women as smilingly confident, actively participating in sports, careers and other activities, oblivious and, indeed, impervious to menstruation's physical side effects. Again, the message is clear: choosing the right protection will enable women to function at their optimal level. Choose another, and someone will know their secret.

Results of previous studies indicate that many advertisements give little or no information about the emotional, psychological and physiological aspects of menstruation. Similar deficiencies have been found in educational materials about menstruation prepared for adolescents. Nearly 80 percent of these materials are prepared by manufacturers of feminine hygiene products (Whisnant, Brett and Zegans 1975, 815), and the messages they send are strikingly similar to those contained in the manufacturers' advertisements. By producing these materials, manufacturers have taken on the responsibility for educating young men and women. By not providing important information, these manufacturers leave gaps in education and knowledge, gaps which leave room for the formation of expectations based on superstition and innuendo, rather than on experience, reasoned discourse and empirical fact.

Background

Interest in advertising as a social force is widespread and interdisciplinary. It has been poked and prodded by researchers from within the ranks of its propagators and from scientists and scholars from nearly every academic discipline. It has been called "the most potent influence in adapting and changing habits and modes of life, affecting what we eat, what we wear and the work and play of the whole nation (Lazier-Smith 1989, 248)."

On average, we are exposed to 1,800 advertising messages each day (Lazier-Smith 1989, 247), from sources as diverse as television commercials, product labels, magazine advertisements and T-shirt logos. These messages are part of a \$100 billion-a-year communication industry, the messages from which have been described as "pervasive and persuasive, environmental in nature, persistently encountered and involuntarily experienced (Lazier-Smith 1989, 247)."

Portrayals of menstruation in advertisements for feminine hygiene products serve both as a force in shaping social norms and expectations and as a reflection of those same societal expectations. Put simply, these advertisements first help to establish, then work to reinforce (with the aim of selling products), what we believe and how we feel about menstruation and related processes specifically, and about women in general.

Social Expectations Theory

Social expectations theory provides a useful framework for understanding potential effects of portrayals of menstruation in advertisements on women and men in the real world. Although advertisements are only one part of an individual's total socialization, they are certainly one of the most pervasive social agents in existence.

Advertising combines the transmittal of roles and norms into a kind of cultural shorthand. In 30 to 60 seconds, or in a page or less of space, advertisements manage not only to communicate "acceptable" roles, but also to clarify what norms or expected behaviors accompany these roles.

As the media has become increasingly omnipresent, likewise has it become ever more omnipotent. Its role in guiding and reflecting social changes has become more visible and pronounced. As traditional family and social structures have weakened, the media has gained increased power as social forecaster and societal director.

To some extent, the media has taken over, in the guise of fashion magazines, advice columns and product advertisements, the role of confidante and adviser. Women's magazines in particular, according to author Naomi Wolf, seem to offer the wise advice, tested by experience, of an admirable older female relative (Wolf 1991, 74). What was once discussed in the coffee klatch or sewing circle is now laid out on the pages of magazines. Nowhere else can women

(and men) participate in women's culture in so broad a way (Wolf 1991, 75).

No one will experience all of the roles he or she will read about in the pages of popular magazines. He or she will, however, likely enter or have contact with at least some groups or situations for which media portrayals have provided his or her primary socialization (DeFleur 1989, 224). If menstruation is, as it seems to be, a topic about which there is scant education and little open discussion, advertising portrayals may play a central role in socializing men and women about this topic.

Effects of Advertising Portrayals

The study of the effects of advertising, or of any mediated message, under social expectations theory, is problematic. Social expectations theory is, by its nature, an account of long-range and indirect influences of the media (DeFleur 1989, 225). Because of this, demonstrating the effects of the media on socialization in a laboratory or other controlled setting is difficult. Proving a causal relationship with role and norm formation or with shaping beliefs or overt behavior is impossible.

Media researcher Jean Kilbourne proposed, in the 1987 motion picture, Still Killing Us Softly, that stereotypical images of women cause men -- and women -- to devalue the qualities within themselves which are considered "feminine." By trivializing, and even developing contempt for, such

traditionally female attributes as caring, nurturing, loving, intuition and emotion -- attributes equally present in men and women -- men are cut off from an important part of themselves and of the women in their lives (Kilbourne 1987).

Psychological theory provides support for Kilbourne's assertions. Psychoanalyst Jessica Benjamin wrote that within the framework of psychoanalytic theory women's desire to emulate men was deemed illness, while men's fear of being like women was deemed universal. "Current theories of gender identity," Benjamin wrote, "seem to confirm that the rejection of femininity is central to masculinity" (Benjamin 1988, 160).

Benjamin concludes that men have generally not recognized women as equal, independent subjects, but rather perceived them as sexual objects or maternal helpmeets (Benjamin 1988, 165). Although advertisements cannot be blamed exclusively for this phenomenon, they are among the most persistent of a range of societal forces shaping these stereotypical role expectations.

Statement of the Problem

Therefore, if advertising images shape and reflect social expectations, a study of feminine hygiene product advertisements should yield insight into how our society forms and maintains its beliefs about menstruation and other functions, such as pregnancy, exclusive to the female body

specifically, and about women in general.

Research Objectives and Methodology

Overall Research Goal

Feminine hygiene product advertisements appearing in six women's magazines, Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, McCall's, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen, were examined to determine how these advertisements portray women in general and menstruation and related processes in particular, and how these portrayals vary between magazines. The objectives below were designed to gather data to reach this goal.

Research Objectives

1. In what proportions do advertisements for various types of products appear?
2. Do the proportions of advertisements for various products vary among magazines?
3. In what proportion and combination (alone or in groups) do models of various genders appear in the advertisements?
4. Do the genders and groups of models vary among magazines?
5. In what activities are the models in the advertisements depicted as being engaged?
6. Do the activities portrayed vary among magazines?
7. In what careers are the models in the

advertisements

8. advertisements depicted as being engaged?
9. Do the careers portrayed vary among magazines?
10. To what extent are the advertisements sexist?
Does the degree of sexism vary among magazines?

Methodology

Advertisements appearing in a randomly selected sample of six 1991 issues of Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, McCall's, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen were selected for analysis. A team of three coders evaluated each advertisement for type of product advertised, sexism and selected model characteristics, including gender, grouping, activity and occupation.

Significance of the Research

If the media are, as researcher Melvin L. DeFleur suggested, "a major source of patterned social expectations about the social organization of specific groups in modern society" (DeFleur 1989, 223), the messages appearing in popular large-circulation magazines could have long-range and far-reaching effects.

Advertisements for feminine hygiene products can be seen not only as affecting readers' attitudes toward menstruation, but also as shaping society's attitudes toward women. If advertisements for feminine hygiene products -- in fact, depend on -- negative images of women reinforce products, readers need be aware of this. to sell

This study may be useful to advertisers and to magazine editors as an assessment of the power and immediacy of the messages contained in their advertisements or magazines. It may also be of interest to consumers, both men and women, as a tool for consciousness-raising and self-assessment about attitudes toward menstruation in specific, and women in general. Finally, as no study of this type has been done before, the data gathered here may be useful to students and scholars both as an informational tool and as a basis for future research efforts.

Limitations of the Research

This study is limited in that the scope of the magazines studied necessitated the inclusion of only those issues appearing within a very limited time frame. Because of this, the results found here cannot be generalized to the population of magazines, nor do they examine changes in portrayals over time.

This study is also limited because of its examination of only those advertisements appearing in women's magazines. Similar advertisements in general interest and other magazine categories were not included in this analysis.

Also, in providing only a "snapshot" of the type and quality of existing advertisements, this study does not address the larger questions about the long-range and cumulative effects of viewing these advertisements. The results then, cannot be seen as an end or solution in

themselves, but as a starting point for further research.

Organization of the Research

Chapter II includes a review of relevant essays and research studies.

Chapter III explains the research design and methodology used in this study.

Research data gathered in this study are presented and analyzed in Chapter IV.

A summary, conclusions and recommendations for further research are presented in Chapter V.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This thesis examines the products, characteristics of models, degree of sexism and themes in advertisements for feminine hygiene products appearing in two contemporary women's magazines (Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle), two traditional women's magazines (Good Housekeeping and McCall's) and two adolescent women's magazines (Seventeen and Teen). Using content analysis methodology, it measures the occurrence of these factors and whether or not they vary among magazines.

This chapter first examines the role played by women's magazines in the socialization of women. Next, the results of several studies analyzing advertising effects are presented. Third, previous studies examining sexism in advertising are discussed, along with two scales designed to measure sexism in advertisements. Fourth, cultural attitudes toward menstruation are examined. Finally, the results of several studies analyzing media portrayals of menstruation are presented.

Women's Magazines and Socialization

Changes in women's status can be traced in the pages of women's magazines, but it is less easy to see the role these magazines have played in determining, as well as reflecting change. As a result, little empirical evidence exists of women's magazines as social catalysts, but many theorists have speculated on their effects.

Sociologist Marjorie Ferguson wrote that women's magazines are:

one of the most significant yet least studied social institutions of our time. Alongside other social institutions such as the family, the school, the church and other media, they contribute to the wider processes which define the position of women in a given society at a given point in time (Ferguson 1985, 1).

What people read and view defines, in part, their lives as women and men. Gender roles, both in the culture and in the media, are defined and depicted in radically different ways. In the case of magazines, a gender gap appears to exist. Men's magazines, according to Ferguson, are aimed at particular groups of males and cater to parts of a man's life not for the totality of his masculinity, nor his male role as such (Ferguson 1985, 2). Part of the reason for this may be the nature of our society. Women, according to author Janice Winship, have no culture or world other than that which is controlled and mediated by men (Winship 1987, 6). Author Naomi Wolf wrote, "A man reading Popular Mechanics or Newsweek is browsing through just one perspective among countless others of general male-oriented

culture. A woman reading Glamour is holding women-oriented mass culture between her two hands (Wolf 1991, 70)."

Women's magazines, according to Helen Woodward, are trade papers for women, just as Publishers' Weekly is for the book trade, and Iron Age for heavy industry (Woodward 1960, 8). The "trade" in question here is that of becoming a woman and sustaining that femininity, and women's magazines offer a ready schema to an eager audience.

Part of the reason for the increasing importance of the media in the lives of both men and women can be seen in the structure of our modern society. In The Mechanical Bride, Marshall McLuhan wrote, "A commercial society whose members are essentially ascetic and indifferent in social ritual has to be provided with blueprints and specifications for evoking the right tone for every occasion (McLuhan 1967, 51)." Magazines may, at least for some people, provide a means of obtaining this information. "A magazine," said one editor, "is like a club. Its function is to provide readers with a comfortable sense of community and pride in their identity (Wolf 1991, 74)."

Feminist theorists, including Wolf, Susan Faludi and Jean Kilbourne, speculate that, through the media, women are isolated from other women by messages encouraging them to view other women as both competition and untrustworthy. According to Wolf, women's magazines fill important gaps for readers by "bringing out of the closet women's lust for chat across the barriers of potential jealousy and prejudgment

(Wolf 1991, 76)." The magazines, Wolf wrote, "offer the electrifying feeling that women are too seldom granted, though men in their groups feel it continually, of being plugged in without hostility to a million like-minded people of the same sex (Wolf 1991, 76)."

Women's and girls' magazines occupy a privileged position. According to author Angela McRobbie, "They define and shape the woman's world, spanning every stage from childhood to old age (McRobbie 1991, 83)." The world these magazines represent is created precisely because it does not exist outside their pages (Winship 1987, 7).

Although magazines, according to Wolf, "may project the intimate atmosphere of clubs, guilds, or extended families...they have to act like businesses (Wolf 1991, 77). According to Winship, "Market pressures have...decisively shaped not only the available range of magazines but also, in highly significant ways, the contents of any given magazine (Winship 1987, 39)."

Advertisers are cited by Wolf, Faludi and others as being among those market pressures working to shape magazine content. If this is true, it may be important to examine what kinds of messages are being sent, as well as the possible outcomes or effects of these messages.

Effects of Advertising

While most people dismiss the idea that they are susceptible to advertising (Pollay 1986, 23), it is

precisely this feeling of immunity, experts say, that makes advertising so effective.

According to researcher Herbert R. Krugman, the public lets down its guard to repeated use of the media. "(It) easily changes its ways of perceiving products and brands and its purchasing behavior without thinking very much about it," Krugman wrote, calling this process "learning without involvement (Rowe 1987, 14)."

In his article, "The Distorted Mirror," researcher Richard W. Pollay cited a National Science Foundation review of the effects of advertising on children. Some of the possible outcomes of viewing advertisements included encouragement of unsafe behavior, confused assessment of products, encouragement of inappropriate standards for choice, promotion of parent-child conflict, modeling of hazardous behavior and reinforcement of sex role stereotypes, cynicism and selfishness (Pollay 1986, 21).

Pollay also set forth several possible reasons to explain advertising's effect. It is, he wrote, pervasive, repetitive, professionally developed and transmitted to an audience that is increasingly detached from traditional sources of cultural influence (Pollay 1986, 21).

Direct Effects of Advertising

As mentioned elsewhere in this study, the study of advertising effects is somewhat problematic as it is suggested that their effects may be long-term and

cumulative. Several studies utilizing an experimental design, however, can be seen to indicate at least some immediate and direct influences of viewing advertisements on participants' attitudes toward women.

Researcher William E. Kilbourne found that sex role stereotypes in magazine advertisements do affect women's perceptions of managerial attributes in women (Kilbourne 1984, 84). In his study, 77 subjects were exposed to one of two versions of each of three product advertisements. One version of each advertisement portrayed a female model in the traditional "housewife" role, while the other portrayed a female model in a professional or executive role. Subjects were then asked to complete four items of a scale designed to assess perception of managerial attributes of men and women. Surprisingly, women who viewed female models in less traditional roles were more likely to rate males as being more possessed of managerial attributes than did subjects who viewed female models in traditional roles (Kilbourne 1984, 86). To explain these somewhat surprising results, Kilbourne offers the possibility of a "boomerang" effect, in which women do not see the situations portrayed in the advertisements (i.e, women in executive or managerial roles) as congruent with their own realities and thus react negatively to such portrayals (Kilbourne 1984, 87).

Another study by Kilbourne assessed the effects of advertising portrayals of women on male and female perceptions of leadership. In this study, 103 men and 70

women viewed three advertisements featuring a female model in either a traditional (housewife) or professional role, after which they viewed and evaluated women in "neutral" photographs as possessing managerial attributes. Overall, subjects exposed to the professional role models evaluated the neutral photographs higher in managerial attributes than did those who viewed models in traditional roles (Kilbourne 1990, 29). When broken down by gender, however, this effect was found to be significant for male subjects only. Evaluations of managerial attributes by female subjects were not affected by the role portrayed in the advertisement (Kilbourne 1990, 30).

Gender and Perceptions of Gender Role Portrayals

Although it may be difficult to provide a clear answer to the question of whether and how men and women are directly and immediately influenced by advertising content, it is somewhat easier to find a link between gender and perception of these female role portrayals. Several studies seem to indicate a clear, gender-based difference in the way men and women perceive the roles portrayed in advertisements.

A 1980 study found that, when asked to evaluate their satisfaction with sex-role portrayals in advertisements, women were less satisfied than men (Lammers and Wilkinson 1980, 690). In another study, 137 subjects evaluated

10 target or sexist advertisements and 10 control advertisements for appeal and perceived sexism. While men did not differ in their ratings of target and control advertisement appeal, women rated target advertisements as less appealing than control advertisements and gave target advertisements lower appeal ratings than did men (Rossi and Rossi 1985, 1038). Women also rated target advertisements as more sexist than did men, although both sexes rated target advertisements as more sexist than control advertisements (Rossi and Rossi 1985, 1037).

A third study seems to confirm this "gender gap" in perceptions of portrayals of women in advertisements. One-hundred fifty women and 114 men completed a questionnaire containing 17 attitudinal statements dealing with advertising role portrayals of men and women, the company image of firms using sex role portrayals and intentions to buy from these firms. The researchers found that women, more than men, held critical attitudes toward sex role portrayals (Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia 1977, 75). Researchers also found that, while the use of sexist portrayals of women are likely to engender a negative image of the company using such images among women than among men, no significant differences were found between male and female intent to buy (Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia 1977, 75). This seems to indicate that, even when subjects found a particular advertising portrayal offensive, they were still likely to purchase the product advertised.

Advertising Portrayals of Women

Many analyses of advertising portrayals of women were conducted in the early 1970s, a time, perhaps not coincidentally, of tremendous activity in the women's movement. In general, numerous studies executed between 1971 and 1979 focused on one or more of approximately twelve aspects of advertisements. These aspects, compiled by researchers Geraldine Fennell and Susan Weber, include:

1. a woman's place is in the home
2. women do not make important decisions or do important things
3. women are dependent on men and need their protection
4. men regard women primarily as sex objects
5. women are rarely shown interacting with other women
6. women are frequently shown in decorative roles, i.e., with no legitimate relation to the advertised product
7. women shown working outside the home are shown in "low level" occupations, i.e., secretary, stewardess, cook-domestic
8. men are mainly used as spokespersons (on-camera and voiceovers)
9. women are not shown in dual roles, i.e., working inside and outside the home
10. women are depicted as passive social companions of

men

11. women are less knowledgeable than men

12. gender differences exist in the nature of promised rewards for product use (Fennell and Weber 1984, 88).

Perhaps the earliest of these studies, conducted by Alice E. Courtney and Sarah Wernick Lockeretz in 1971 examined 312 advertisements appearing in selected 1970 issues of seven general interest magazines. At the time, 33 percent of the United States work force was comprised of women, but only 12 percent of workers shown in advertisements were female (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971, 93).

Courtney and Lockeretz constructed several occupational categories into which portrayals could be classified. These categories, with some modifications, were used to classify occupational portrayals in this study. They are:

1. high-level business
2. professional
3. entertainment, sports
4. middle level business
5. secretarial, clerical
6. blue collar
7. soldiers, police (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971, 93)

Courtney and Lockeretz also developed three categories, family, recreational and decorative (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971, 94), also used in this study, for classifying non-working portrayals.

Overall, 45 percent men and 9 percent of women pictured were shown in working roles (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971, 93). Of these, 10 percent of men were portrayed as high-level business executives and 9 percent as professionals and 12 percent as soldiers or police. No women were shown in any of these categories (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971, 93). Twenty percent of men were portrayed as entertainers or professional athletes, as were an overwhelming 58 percent of women (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971, 93). A similarly large difference was found between male and female blue collar portrayals (40 percent and 17 percent, respectively), and smaller differences were found in sales, mid-level business and semi-professional portrayals (7 percent and 8 percent, respectively) and non-professional white collar portrayals, with 2 percent and 17 percent, respectively (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971, 93).

Courtney and Lockeretz also found differences in non-working portrayals of men. Of these, the largest by far occurred in the category of decorative portrayals. Thirty-one percent of women and 11 percent of men were portrayed as being engaged in purely decorative functions (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971, 94).

Types of products advertised by male and female models were also found to vary, with women dominating in areas such as cleaning products, food products, clothing and other products designed for use in the home, while portrayals of men dominated in such product areas as cars, banks and

industrial products (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971, 94).

Later studies found some differences in occupational portrayals of women. These portrayals did not, however, consistently differ in what might be considered a positive or progressive direction. A 1973 study by Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos replicated the Courtney and Lockeretz study, using similar occupational categories to examine 1972 advertising portrayals of women. Wagner and Banos found that 21 percent of women were shown as working (Wagner and Banos 1973, 214). Of these, 4 percent were portrayed as professionals, 23 percent as entertainers or professional athletes, 15 percent in sales, mid-level business or semi-professional occupations, 46 percent in non-professional white-collar occupations and 12 percent in blue-collar occupations (Wagner and Banos 1973, 214). As in the 1970 advertisements, no women were depicted in high-level business or executive roles (Wagner and Banos 1973, 214).

Wagner and Banos noted marked changes from the 1970 advertisements in all categories of non-working portrayals. Of the 1972 non-working portrayals, 8 percent showed women in a family setting, compared to 23 percent in 1970 (Wagner and Banos 1973, 214). Likewise, 36 percent of 1972 non-working portrayals showed women in recreational roles, a decrease from 46 percent in the previous study (Wagner and Banos 1973, 214). Fully 56 percent of 1972 non-working portrayals showed women fulfilling a decorative function, an increase from 31 percent in 1970 (Wagner and Banos 1973,

214).

A 1976 study by Ahmed Belakoui and Janice M. Belakoui again replicated Courtney and Lockeretz's study, comparing the 1970 results with both the 1972 sample of Wagner and Banos and a new sample of 1958 advertisements for a pre-women's movement comparison.

Belakoui and Belakoui found that thirteen percent of 1958 portrayals depicted working women, a higher percentage than the 9 percent depicted in 1970. By 1972, the figure had risen to 21 percent (Belakoui and Belakoui 1976, 171). In all three samples, no women were portrayed in high-level business or executive occupations, and both the 1958 and 1970 samples also contained no professional portrayals (Belakoui and Belakoui 1976, 171).

In some respects, however, the 1972 sample was proportionately more similar to the 1958 sample than to the 1970 sample, representing, perhaps, what can be viewed as a somewhat surprising retrogressive change. Slightly more than 11 percent of 1958 portrayals depicted women in entertainment or sports occupations, in contrast to 58 percent of 1970 and 23 percent of 1972 portrayals (Belakoui and Belakoui 1976, 170). Another large difference was found in the category of secretarial or clerical portrayals, which were found to comprise 74.4 percent of 1968 portrayals, compared with 17 percent of 1970 and 46 percent of 1972 portrayals (Belakoui and Belakoui 1976, 170).

The overall percentage of women shown in decorative

roles remained fairly steady in 1958 and 1970, with 47.5 and 31 percent respectively, but increased to 56 percent in 1972 (Belakoui and Belakoui 1976, 171). Family and recreational portrayals also changed over the three sample periods. Family portrayals remained fairly constant between 1958 and 1970 at 24.2 and 23 percent of non-working portrayals, but decreased to 8 percent in 1972, while recreational portrayals rose from 28.3 to 46 percent between 1958 and 1970 and fell to 36 percent in 1972 (Belakoui and Belakoui 1976, 171).

Types of products advertised by male and female models remained fairly constant between 1958 and 1970, with women shown advertising products connected with home and personal appearance and men advertising big-ticket items such as automobiles and electronics (Belakoui and Belakoui 1976, 172).

Some five years after Courtney and Lockeretz commented that advertisements reflected "some cliches about women's roles that are considered by feminists to be highly unflattering (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971, 95)," Belakoui and Belakoui concluded, "Overall, advertisements have not kept up with the times in portraying women in the wide variety of roles they play in today's world (Belakoui and Belakoui 1976, 168.)"

Another study of 364 advertisements in selected 1983 issues of eight general interest magazines showed what researchers termed a "marked increase (Sullivan and O'Connor

1988, 184)" in the number of women shown as employed in the 1983 advertisements, a proportion that rose to 23 percent from the 1970 low of 9 percent (Sullivan and O'Connor 1988, 186). The largest progressive 1983 changes were found in the occupational categories of sales and mid-level business occupations, which to 33 percent in 1983, and professional occupations, which rose to 15 percent of 1983 working portrayals (Sullivan and O'Connor 1988, 184).

At the same time, however, there was a significant increase in portrayals of women in decorative roles from the other samples, with 60 percent of non-working women in 1983 advertisements shown performing in this function (Sullivan and O'Connor 1988, 186). The researchers also noted some shifts in product category portrayals, with increased representation of men in advertisements for home-related products and of females in advertisements for travel and alcoholic beverages. For the most part, however, male and female models still tended to dominate in more traditional product categories (Sullivan and O'Connor 1988, 186).

A 1989 study applied the categories developed by Courtney and Lockeretz to advertising portrayals of working women in Ms. and Working Woman in 1979 and 1988. The researcher found few differences between occupations portrayed between the two years (Tuznik 1989, 59). However, what is perhaps most interesting about the 1989 study is the difference in proportions of occupational portrayals in what are commonly considered feminist or progressive women's

magazines to those in general interest magazines included in the earlier studies. While high-level business executive portrayals remained steady at 3 percent in both the 1979 and 1988 samples (Tuznik 1989, 58), representing a slight decrease from the 1983 general interest sample high of 4 percent (Sullivan and O'Connor 1988, 184), professional portrayals increased sharply, from 15 percent (Sullivan and O'Connor 1988, 184) to a 1988 high of 37 percent (Tuznik 1989, 58). The 1989 study revealed other differences in proportions of occupational portrayals between the 1979 and 1988 samples of the two women's magazines and the earlier general interest samples, although none so pronounced as in the professional portrayal category.

Analyses of Sexism

Consciousness Scale for Sexism

This study uses the Consciousness Scale for Sexism, developed by researchers Matilda Butler and William Paisley in 1974. Designed to measure the extent of sexism in advertising, the scale consists of five levels. These are:

Level One: Put Her Down. At this level, typical portrayals of women include dumb blondes, sex objects and whimpering victims (Butler and Paisley 1980, 149). Examples of Level One portrayals include Playboy bunnies, women pictured solely as decorative objects and women who allow men to do their thinking for them.

Level Two: Keep Her in Her Place. These portrayals acknowledge women's traditional strengths, but only within such "womanly" roles as wife, mother and housekeeper. Negative Level Two portrayals show women struggling with roles "beyond" them or in which they develop masculine traits (Butler and Paisley 1980, 154). Examples of these negative portrayals include the frazzled "supermom," the female physician unable to sustain both a career and a relationship and the "macho" female construction worker.

Level Three: Give Her Two Places. At Level Three, women are shown breaking out of traditional work roles while maintaining their roles inside the home. A career is often depicted as superfluous to her "true" traditionally feminine role. Thus, women in Level Three portrayals are depicted as being responsible for both home and office (Butler and Paisley 1980, 158). Examples of Level Three portrayals include the dynamic female architect who also fixes dinner for her family and the female executive who leaves work early to care for a sick child.

Level Four: Acknowledge That She is Fully Equal. Level Four portrayals show women in roles equivalent to those of men (Butler and Paisley 1980, 160). Often, the advertisements will call attention to their portrayal of women's equality.

Level Five: Nonstereotypic. Level Five portrayals

show individual women and men as superior to each other in some respects, inferior in other respects. Level Five portrayals include role reversals and unusual roles, in which women are portrayed performing competently in occupations or situations usually reserved for men, and men are portrayed as functioning well in traditionally feminine roles (Butler and Paisley 1980, 164).

Goffman's Sexism Scale

A second scale has also been used to measure stereotypical advertising portrayals of women. Developed by sociologist Irving Goffman, the scale includes six categories in which he felt women are weakened (Lazier-Smith 1989, 253) by advertising portrayals. These are:

Relative Size. Women are shown as being smaller or lower, relative to men. According to Goffman, "So thoroughly is it assumed that differences in size will correlate with differences in social weight that relative size can be routinely used as a means of ensuring that the picture's story will be understandable at a glance (Goffman 1979, 28)."

Feminine Touch. Women are pictured using their fingers, hands or faces to outline, display or caress objects. "This ritualistic touching," Goffman wrote, "is to be distinguished from the utilitarian kind that grasps, manipulates or holds (Goffman 1979, 29)."

Alternately, women can be shown as touching themselves, which, according to Goffman, can be understood as "conveying a sense of one's body being a delicate and precious thing (Goffman 1979, 31)."

Function Ranking. Women are shown in occupations inferior to those of men depicted in the same advertisement (Goffman, 1979, 32) or as being engaged in recreational or other activities in a position subordinate to that of the male shown, such as helper or student (Goffman 1979, 33-36).

Family Scenes. Women are depicted as being close to or in tune with their daughters while fathers bond with sons (Goffman, 1979, 38). Sometimes, the father or other male figure will stand slightly apart from the family group scene (Goffman 1979, 39).

Ritualization of Subordination. Women are depicted in stereotypically submissive postures such as lying down, bending or ducking, exhibiting expansive smiles or childish behavior and as recipients of mock violence or, alternately protection, from men (Goffman 1979, 40-56).

Licensed Withdrawal. Women are pictured as not being completely a part of the scene. This withdrawal can take on a variety of forms, including the act of a woman covering her face to hide emotion or engaging in far-off gazes or exaggerated emotional displays (Goffman 1979, 57).

A 1976 study applied the Consciousness Scale for Sexism

to advertising portrayals of women in selected 1973 and 1974 issues of Ms., Time, Newsweek and Playboy. Overall, the researchers found that 27 percent of portrayals fell at the most sexist level, Level One, while Level Two comprised 48 percent of portrayals (Pingree and others 1976, 197). Only 4 percent of portrayals fell at Level Three, and portrayals at the "best" levels, Levels Four and Five, comprised only 19 and 2 percent, respectively, of all portrayals (Pingree and others 1976, 197).

A 1988 study compared advertising portrayals of women in the 1973 sample with a sample drawn from 1986 issues of the same magazines. Researchers applying the Consciousness Scale of Sexism found that portrayals of women in 1986 advertisements did not significantly change from those found in 1973 advertisements. In fact, taken as a whole, the 1986 advertisements were slightly more sexist than those in the 1973 sample (Lazier-Smith 1989, 254).

Specifically, the 1986 advertisements showed a 10 percent increase, from 27 to 37 percent, in the number of advertisements at Level One, the most sexist level. Level Two portrayals decreased marginally, from 48 to 35 percent, while levels Three and Four decreased, from 4 to 3 and 19 to 15 percent, respectively. According to researcher Linda Lazier-Smith, improvements, such as a higher percentage of portrayals at Level Five, which rose to 11 percent in 1986 (Lazier-Smith 1989, 255), were offset by the large increase in Level One portrayals (Lazier-Smith 1989, 254).

The same study also coded the appearance of Goffman's traits in the 1986 sample. Although Goffman, in his study, provided no frequency counts or percentages with which to compare later results, the 1988 study revealed that three of Goffman's categories, relative size, function ranking and family scenes, appeared so infrequently that, according to researcher Linda Lazier-Smith, they could be considered to no longer apply (Lazier-Smith 1989, 254). However, the most frequently coded 1986 category, ritual of subordination, could also, according to Lazier-Smith, be considered the most limiting or trivializing (Lazier-Smith 1989, 254).

Attitudes and Expectations About Menstruation

Menstruation, according to researcher Patricia McKeever, is imbued with complex, largely negative meanings (McKeever 1984, 33). Sixty-six percent of adults polled, in a 1983 survey cited by McKeever, believed that menstruation should not be discussed in the office or socially and 25 percent felt it should not even be discussed within the family (McKeever 1984, 33). Similarly, a study of 74 adolescent girls revealed that the majority of these girls felt that menstruation was not a suitable subject for discussion in public, with boys or even with their fathers (McKeever 1984, 34).

It is interesting to note that many of the studies cited in this section were performed by individuals from the health fields, especially nursing. Indeed, as McKeever

wrote, "The powerful taboos also seem to have stifled the questions of social scientists. Little is known about how women subjectively experience the phenomenon of menstruation (McKeever 1984, 34)."

The existence of dozens, perhaps hundreds, of menstrual euphemisms indicates that the topic is still an embarrassing one (Ernster 1975, 3). A 1975 study of these euphemisms revealed a gender gap in the usage of these expressions. Girls explained that a menstrual euphemism was for use among other girls, or as a secret form of communication between girls when boys were around (Ernster 1975, 8). Men however, tended to use menstrual euphemisms to indicate a woman's sexual unavailability (Ernster, 1975, 9) or as a form of derogation (Ernster 1975, 10).

These euphemisms, concluded the researcher, "convey attitudes about menstruation which serve to perpetuate stereotypes of doubtful validity while encouraging, through social expectations, the very behavior they suggest, and, in the process, maintaining social distance between the sexes (Ernster 1975, 13)."

Results of previous studies seem to indicate a link between attitude, belief and behavior formation toward menstruation and one or more of three basic factors. These factors include cultural beliefs, socialization and personal experience. While one or more of these three variables appeared in each of the studies surveyed for this section, researchers seem to disagree somewhat about the amount of

importance that should be placed on each factor.

According to Nancy Fugate Woods, "The cognitive definitions women apply to their situations are influenced by the culture which conveys to women, through socialization processes, what to expect about menstruation and related symptoms (Woods 1986, 117). A study conducted by Woods seems to confirm this link between socialization and attitudes toward menstruation. Woods found that women who have been socialized to traditional views about women's roles and place in society see menstruation as more debilitating than their nontraditional counterparts (Woods 1986, 126).

According to researcher Arlene McGrory, attitudes toward menstruation come from personal experience and cultural conditioning, and affect how a female thinks about herself overall and what she thinks about her body (McGrory 1990, 265). The results of McGrory's study of 95 pre- and post-menarcheal girls seem to emphasize the effects of personal experience. Pre-menarcheal girls were found to believe that menstruation was significantly more debilitating than did post-menarcheal girls (McGrory 1990, 267). Respondents' length of first-hand experience also seemed to effect their attitudes and experiences, as girls who had been menstruating the longest had the highest scores on viewing menstruation as a natural event, anticipation of the onset of menstruation and denial of any effect of menstruation (McGrory 1990, 267).

According to researchers Jeanne Brooks-Gunn and Diane Ruble, "The development of menstrual attitudes and behaviors is a complex interplay of cultural beliefs, socialization and personal experience (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1982, 1567). In a study of 639 girls in grades five through twelve, Brooks-Gunn and Ruble found evidence to indicate that attitudes toward menstruation are linked to the source of information about menstruation and that the use of various sources differed with the age of the respondent.

As young women get older, they may turn increasingly to the media for information about menstruation. Increases in usage corresponding with grade level were found for impersonal sources, including the media, particularly from junior to senior high school, and health sources (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1982, 1573). At the same time, the amount girls reported that they learned from parents and doctors decreased with grade level (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1982, 1573).

When girls indicated how positive or negative the feelings of their informational sources were, male sources were seen as negative, female and media sources as somewhat positive and health sources as quite positive (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1982, 1573). Respondents' perceived feelings of female sources were less positive with age, while health and media sources were perceived as more positive with increasing grade level (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1982, 1574).

This study also indicated increased positive feelings

associated with increased use of interpersonal, rather than impersonal, information sources. Comfort talking to others about menstruation and perceiving menstruation as a natural event were found to be positively related to the amount learned from parents and doctors (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1982, 1574). Menstruation was perceived as more negative by girls who learned less from their parents (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1982, 1574).

The type of information given, as well as the source from which it is received, seems also to affect girls' experiences of menstruation. Brooks-Gunn and Ruble found that earlier attitudes and knowledge about menstruation do affect reported menstrual experience. Prior negative attitudes and symptom expectations were found to be related to more severe menstrual symptoms (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1982, 1576).

Several studies of attitudes toward and perceptions of menstruation also point to differences in responses based on gender and age. A 1986 study of the menstrual attitudes, beliefs and symptom experiences of adolescent women and their mothers, close girlfriends and girlfriends' mothers found that menstruation was seen as a slightly bothersome, debilitating and negative event by all groups surveyed (Stoltzman 1986, 106).

In general, menstruation was not viewed as very unsanitary and participants reported that they did not alter their daily activities or routines while menstruating

(Stoltzman 1986, 106). All groups were slightly more concerned about personal hygiene during their menstrual periods. The women, in general, reported neutral to positive feelings about discussing their menstrual periods with others, but reported engaging in open communication about menstruation with members of the same sex of similar ages (Stoltzman 1986, 106).

Adolescents were generally found to be more likely to view menstruation as debilitating, bothersome and unsanitary, and less likely to view it as a positive event than their mothers. They were less likely to be concerned about menstrual hygiene practices, but more likely to engage in open communication with others about menstruation than their mothers (Stoltzman 1986, 106).

Another study by Brooks-Gunn and Ruble of 345 undergraduate women, 82 undergraduate men and 72 adolescent girls seems also to indicate differences in attitudes along the lines of age. Not surprisingly, some differences in attitudes were also found between respondents of different genders.

Women were found to perceive menstruation as natural, somewhat bothersome and not very debilitating or predictable, although they did not deny that menstruation had some effects (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1980, 506). Men also perceived menstruation as natural and bothersome. They did, however, view menstruation as somewhat debilitating, as well as quite predictable, and also did not deny the effects

of menstruation (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1980, 506). Adolescent girls perceived menstruation as natural, not very debilitating, bothersome or predictive, but as having some effect (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1980, 507). College men perceived menstruation as more debilitating and were less likely to deny the effects of menstruation than were college women, while women saw menstruation as more bothersome (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1980, 507). Adolescent women perceived menstruation as more debilitating, less bothersome and more as an event that should not affect one's behavior (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1980, 507). Menstruation was seen as more bothersome by the college women than by the other two groups (Brooks-Gunn and Ruble 1980, 508).

According to McKeever, "It appears that female children commonly approach puberty in a disadvantageous position. They usually have little or no knowledge of menstruation and are poorly equipped conceptually and perceptually about their genital structures (McKeever 1984, 36)."

A survey measuring conceptions of the menstrual cycle among 80 college women about their conceptions of the menstrual cycle seems to support McKeever's statement. Only 41 percent of subjects were able to correctly answer a question about the cause of menstruation. Another 25 percent gave partially correct answers, while 24 percent gave incorrect or irrelevant information (Koff, Rierdan and Stubbs 1990, 124). Respondents were also poorly informed about hormonal changes across the cycle, as 33 percent

reported that they "didn't know" how hormones fluctuated across the cycle or left the question blank. In fact, only one response to this question could be classified as even marginally correct (Koff, Rierdan and Stubbs 1990, 131). In fact, only one response to this question could be classified as even marginally correct.

A study of 97 college women's recollections of menarche pointed out some gaps between what young women wanted to learn about menstruation and what knowledge they actually acquired from educational materials. The study found that young women wanted to know about menstrual physiology and hygiene -- the facts usually included in menstrual education materials -- but they also wanted information about menstruation as a personal event. Subjects said that girls need to know about the normality of menstruation and it must be distinguished from disease, injury and uncleanness (Golub 1983, 33). They suggested that the feelings of fright and embarrassment girls experience at menarche be acknowledged as normal and the negative aspects of the menstrual experience need to be discussed in order to provide a balanced view of menstruation (Golub 1983, 34).

"Educationally," wrote McKeever, "menstruation is approached with attempts at hygienic mastery and the sexual aspects of reproductive maturity are ignored are barely mentioned (McKeever 1984, 39)." "The problem of inappropriate medical management," she wrote, "is often compounded by educational materials and commercial

advertisements that implore young women to act charming and keep clean during discomfort (McKeever 1984, 42)." Results of analyses of educational materials and advertisements about menstruation, presented in the following section, shed further light on the actual content of menstrual education, both formal and informal.

Menstruation in the Media

A successful advertising image is one that does what it sets out to do: sell products. To do this, advertisements, wrote author Ann Treneman, "prey upon our stock of previous knowledge in order to allow their constructed meanings to flow unimpeded into our consciousness (Treneman 1989, 156)."

An event as deeply shrouded in ritual, symbolism and taboo as menstruation provides a wealth of imagery with which the admakers can work. In her essay, "Cashing in on the Curse," Treneman wrote, "The ad industry listened to our mother's whispers (about menstruation) and transformed them into fact and then used its imagery to create a palliative message designed to sell (Treneman 1989, 156)."

Manufacturers, according to Treneman, make their sales presentations to women by co-opting the ideology and vocabulary of the women's movement. The advertisements, she wrote, exploit key concepts of the women's movement to convince women that there is an easy, purchasable cure for what is, in fact, a broad, societally-based stigma against menstruation (Treneman 1989, 159). Treneman wrote, "The

woman of the eighties may be portrayed as roller-skating into freedom, but in reality she's probably heading to the nearest store to buy some more protection (Treneman 1989, 157)."

Treneman's assertion that manufacturers promote their product as the remedy for the "problem" of menstruation finds support in content analyses of feminine hygiene product advertisements in publications targeted to adolescent women. Writing in 1988, researchers Beverly Havens and Ingrid Swenson found that the advertisements portray menstruation primarily as a "'hygienic crisis' that is best managed by an effective 'security system (Havens and Swenson 1988, 95).'" Accompanying this was the insinuation that failure of the security system, or failure to choose the correct one, places a woman at risk of soiling, staining, embarrassment and odor (Havens and Swenson 1988, 95).

Havens and Swenson found that the advertisements frequently counteract positive aspects of the menstrual process, such as pride and naturalness, with darker subtexts of secrecy and stringent hygienic demands (Havens and Swenson 1988, 95). Again, the advertisers provided a ready cure for all of these problems in the form of their product.

Overall, the advertisements portrayed little maternal or teacher influence, even though previous studies found that these are the dominant sources of information about menstruation for adolescent women (Havens and Swenson 1988,

96). The emphasis was, instead, on peer support and the guidance of slightly older peers. Males, either as peers or as paternal figures, were almost totally absent (Havens and Swenson 1988, 96).

The products advertised could, according to the advertisements, help women "carry out even the most glamorous roles, free of worry about soiling and embarrassment (Havens and Swenson 1988, 95)." Indeed, many of the advertisements analyzed showed young, vibrant women (who were, implicitly, menstruating) involved in a variety of athletic pursuits (Havens and Swenson 1988, 91). The activities portrayed were often carried out by models dressed in white, tight-fitting clothes affording a clear view of the buttocks and perineal area (Havens and Swenson 1988, 91).

These messages, although ostensibly positive, may, according to Havens and Swenson, negatively affect women's self-esteem. They wrote, "The disadvantage of such imagery is its potential for conveying to the adolescent that the female role must always be glamorous and dynamic, free of any expressed discomfort, ambivalence about femininity or negativity. Such imagery may encourage guilt and diminished self-esteem (Havens and Swenson 1988, 96)."

A 1989 analysis, also by Havens and Swenson, of 31 audiovisual educational materials about menstruation, showed that most of the materials provided information about the physical signs and symptoms of development, but only four

discussed the physiological basis of these changes (Havens and Swenson 1989, 903). Variations in physical and emotional symptoms were described as normal and often the subject of concern and discussion among adolescent girls (Havens and Swenson 1989, 903).

All of the educational materials acknowledged the fear and embarrassment of the menstrual process, especially the fear of embarrassing situations (Havens and Swenson 1989, 903). The fears were portrayed as being easily allayed once the young woman knew how to correctly use the various sanitary products (Havens and Swenson 1989, 903).

Support from parents, peers, teachers and other adults was portrayed as a significant component of the girl's ability to accept physical and emotional changes. Openness of discussion among peers and with adults (usually female) also was emphasized as a factor that significantly influenced the girl's adaptation (Havens and Swenson 1989, 904). Only three films showed interaction between the young woman and a significant male figure. In these cases, the girls were portrayed as confident and competent and male and female peers as well-adjusted and unembarrassed (Havens and Swenson 1989, 904-905). In general, the materials portrayed menstruation as a normal developmental milestone rather than as an isolated physical process and hygienic crisis. Hygienic issues, when they did occur, were shown being resolved in a non-traumatic manner because adults responded in a matter-of-fact way (Havens and Swenson 1989, 906).

Here again in these materials, several subthemes may counteract otherwise positive messages. Although menstruation was portrayed as a hygienic crisis to a lesser degree than in advertisements, an emphasis on the necessity for a specific security system to manage or heal the problem was still prevalent. This emphasis on product use is not surprising. An earlier study cited in Havens and Swenson's 1988 article, found that 77 percent of educational materials about menstruation were developed by feminine hygiene product manufacturers (Havens and Swenson 1988, 90).

Advertisements and educational materials seem to portray menstruation largely as a problem in need of fixing. This view of menstruation as a pathological abnormality rather than as a routine physiological occurrence seems to have ample, and even exaggerated, support in the general media. According to Faludi:

Female crises have had their origins not in the actual conditions of women's lives but rather in a closed system that starts and ends in the media, popular culture and advertising -- an endless feedback loop that perpetuates and exaggerates its own false images of womanhood (Faludi 1991, xv).

Importance of This Study

Although the studies presented here lend valuable insight into attitudes toward and portrayals of menstruation in our society, none of the studies examined these items in a manner both systematic and broad in scope. This study is

an attempt to quantify occurrences of several variables, including product advertised, model gender and grouping, model activity, model career, and sexism, in six popular women's magazines in order to provide some basis for understanding how menstruation and related processes are portrayed in advertising. Through the insights gained therein, this study will also address the larger question of how women and men are socialized into gender-related roles and expectations.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

General

This study uses content analysis methodology. The focus of the analysis is on advertisements for feminine hygiene products appearing in two contemporary women's magazines (Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle), two traditional women's magazines (Good Housekeeping and McCall's) and two adolescent women's magazines (Seventeen and Teen). These magazines were chosen because of their high circulations and their appeal to a wide spectrum of age groups.

Content analysis may be applied to almost any form of communication (Babbie 1992, 313), and this methodology lends itself especially well to the analysis of media content. Babbie described content analysis as "...particularly well suited...to answering the classic question of communications research: 'Who says what, to whom, why, how and with what effect (Babbie 1992, 313)'"?

Content analysis is not solely the province of mass communications researchers, or even researchers in general. By analyzing media content, researchers and audiences alike can detect the positive or negative attitudes toward women

communicated in advertisements, and the degree of sexism contained in all advertisements. By becoming sensitized to these subtleties, audiences can work to effect desired changes in advertising content and portrayals.

Magazine Profiles

Cosmopolitan

Launched in 1886 as a news magazine for the well-educated, affluent reader (Peterson 1964, 213), Cosmopolitan was acquired by the Hearst media empire in 1905 (Peterson 1964, 213). It is, however, the Cosmopolitan of Helen Gurley Brown, who began her tenure as editor in 1964 (Winship 1987, 106), that is familiar to most readers. Boasting a circulation of 3,022,790 million (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-103) according to a 1992 report, Cosmopolitan targets a reader -- the "single girl" -- largely ignored prior to its 1964 rejuvenation. Cosmo titillates its audience of young "career women" (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-103) with articles on relationships, careers, self-improvement, fashion, beauty and, especially, sex.

Mademoiselle

Mademoiselle, the second contemporary women's magazine used for this study, reported a circulation of 1,100,000 in 1992 (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-104). Featuring

articles on beauty, health, fashion and current affairs, Mademoiselle is edited for a reader who is "well educated, successfully employed...affluent (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-104). Mademoiselle was established in 1935 (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-104).

Seventeen

Seventeen lists among its objectives "to entertain, educate, enlighten and advise our readers" (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-15). Begun in 1944 as a magazine for young women under age 20 (Peterson 1964, 71), the magazine boasted a readership of 1,900,000 young women ages 12 to 24 in 1992 (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-15). Topics covered in Seventeen include such standard fare as beauty, fashion and entertainment, as well as information on sex, careers, school, books, social problems, health, money and the world (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-15).

Teen

Teen, the second largest magazine for adolescent women included in this study, had a circulation of 1,100,000 million in 1992 (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-15). Begun in 1957 (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-15) as one of a number of specialty magazines published by a company headed by former motion picture publicist Robert Peterson and his partner, Robert Lindsay, in 1948 (Peterson 1964, 364), Teen caters to a readership of adolescent women ages

12 to 19 (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-15). Teen features a adolescent-oriented version of many of the topics included in traditional women's magazines, including fashions, entertainment, beauty and food (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-15).

Good Housekeeping

Good Housekeeping was established in 1885 as "A Family Journal Conducted in the Interests of the Higher Life of the Household (Tebbel and Zuckerman 1991, 102)." More than 100 years later, Good Housekeeping still offers its circulation of 5 million women (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-104) articles on a variety of traditional topics, including home decorating, crafts and parenting.

McCall's

From a rather innocuous beginning as a fashion and service magazine in 1876 (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-104), McCall's, with attractive advertising rates and an accomplished cadre of contributing writers including John Steinbeck and Herman Wouk, managed by the late 1950s to surpass its rivals in both circulation and amount of advertising (Wood 1971, 120). Today, McCall's expands on the focus of other women's magazines by addressing "the constant changes that affect American women (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-104)." McCall's had a circulation of 5 million in 1992 (National Research Bureau 1992, 6-104).

Research Questions and Null Hypotheses

This study was intended to answer these questions about the advertisements for feminine hygiene products appearing in the magazines:

1. In what proportions do advertisements for various types of products appear?
2. Do the proportions of advertisements for various products vary among magazines?
3. In what groupings do models of various genders appear?
4. Do the genders and groupings of models vary among magazines?
5. In what activities are the models depicted as being engaged?
6. Do the activities portrayed vary among magazines?
7. In what careers are the models depicted as being engaged?
8. Do the careers portrayed vary among magazines?
9. To what extent are the advertisements sexist?
10. Does the degree of sexism vary among magazines?

From these research questions, the following null hypotheses were generated:

1. There is no difference among magazines in the proportion of advertisements for various types of products.
2. There is no difference in the proportions of advertisements for various products among magazines.

3. There is no difference in the percentage of advertisements picturing models of various genders and groupings.
4. There is no difference among magazines in the genders and groups of models pictured.
5. There is no difference in the proportion of activities represented among the advertisements.
6. There is no difference in activities portrayed vary among magazines
7. There is no difference in careers portrayed among the advertisements.
8. There is no difference in careers portrayed among magazines.
9. There is no difference in extent of sexism among advertisements.
10. There is no difference in extent of sexism among magazines.

Definition of Terms

1. "Feminine Hygiene Products" were defined as any advertisements for sanitary pads, tampons, panty liners, medication specifically designed or marketed for menstrual-related symptoms, birth control devices, pregnancy and ovulation detection and prediction kits, medications designed or marketed for yeast infections and similar disorders, diuretics, bladder control pads marketed specifically for women and other related products.

Categories for these products were condensed to include the following: pads, tampons, shields, medications, cleansers, fertility-related products and other products.

2. "Magazines" were the six magazines, Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, McCall's, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen studied.

3. "Contemporary Women's Magazines" were women's magazines addressing a wide range of women's concerns apart from, as well as including, home, family, relationships, beauty, food and fashion. The concerns addressed by these magazines, as well as their classification as women's magazines in general, were determined by each magazine's listing in the 1992 edition of The Working Press of the Nation. The women's magazines classified as contemporary in this study were Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle.

4. "Traditional Women's Magazines" were magazines that primarily addressed women's issues within the traditional areas of home, family, relationships, beauty, food and fashion. As was the case for contemporary women's magazines, the concerns addressed by these magazines, as well as their classification as women's magazines in general, were determined by each magazine's listing in the 1992 edition of The Working Press of the Nation. The women's magazines classified as traditional in this study were Good Housekeeping and McCall's.

5. "Adolescent Women's Magazines" were those magazines classified as "children's and youth magazines" in

the 1992 edition of The Working Press of the Nation that described their readers as young women (ages 12 to 24, in the case of the magazines included in this study) or teenagers. The adolescent women's magazines included in this study were Seventeen and Teen.

6. "Models" were the individual or individuals pictured in the advertisements.

7. "Gender" of models referred to the gender of those pictured in the advertisements.

8. "Grouping" of models referred to the combination (alone or together) of those pictured in the advertisements.

9. "Activity" was the undertaking in which the model was depicted as being engaged. Categories included stationary/posing, conversation, physical activity, romance, interaction with children, other and could not be coded.

10. "Occupation" was the profession in which the model was portrayed as being engaged. Categories for these occupations were adapted from those established by Alice Courtney and Sarah Wernick Lockeretz in 1971. They were: high-level business, professional, entertainment or sports, middle level business, secretarial or clerical, blue collar, family, recreational, decorative, other and could not be coded.

11. "Sexism" referred to the five levels of portrayals of women in advertising delineated in the Consciousness Scale for Sexism developed in 1974 by Matilda Butler and William Paisley.

The levels of portrayals in this scale are: Level One, Put Her Down; Level Two, Keep Her in Her Place; Level Three, Give Her Two Places; Level Four, Acknowledge that She is Fully Equal and Level Five, Nonstereotypic.

Sampling

Two contemporary women's magazines (Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle), two traditional women's magazines (Good Housekeeping and McCall's) and two adolescent women's magazines (Seventeen and Teen) were selected for analysis. The magazine categories were defined in the 1992 edition of The Working Press of the Nation. Because this reference guide did not differentiate between contemporary and traditional women's magazines, nor did it break down children's and youth magazines by reader gender and age, the researcher developed parameters for these categories, which are explained above. Selection criteria for each magazine included a circulation of greater than 1 million and accessibility of all necessary issues from which to select advertisements for this study.

Six 1991 issues of each magazine were selected for analysis. These issues were: January, March, May, July, September and November. All display advertisements appearing within each magazine were analyzed, regardless of size or placement. Classified advertisements and advertisements appearing within editorial copy, such as product reviews, were excluded.

Unit of Analysis

Each individual display advertisement, regardless of size, was the basic unit of analysis.

Categories of Analysis

Product

Products advertised were classified into one of seven categories. These categories are:

1. Pads -- sanitary pads.
2. Tampons
3. Shields -- panty shields or liners.
4. Medication -- products designed to alleviate symptoms associated with menstruation, yeast infections and genital itching.
5. Cleansers -- douches and soaps, rinses and towelettes designed for use in the genital area.
6. Fertility-related Products -- female contraceptives and pregnancy and ovulation detection kits.
7. Other -- advertisements that could not be classified into any category listed above.

Models

Models appearing in the advertisements were coded by gender and grouping. Possible combinations were:

1. Male Alone
2. Female Alone

3. Female With Male
4. Female With Female
5. Female With Children
6. Male With Children
7. Female and Male With Children
8. Product -- advertisements featuring a photograph or drawing of the advertised product as the dominant image.
9. Other -- advertisements that could not be classified into any category listed above.

Activity

Models pictured in the advertisements were classified according to the activity in which they were depicted as being engaged. Activity was divided into the following categories:

1. Stationary/Posing
2. Conversation -- dialogue with another individual, either in person or by telephone.
3. Physical Activity -- running, walking or other sports.
4. Romance -- embrace or other close physical contact with a member of the opposite sex.
5. Interaction With Children -- playing, holding or talking with children younger than 10 years of age.
6. Other -- any other depicted activities.
7. Could Not be Coded -- advertisements that did not contain a photograph of a model or those that included

multiple photographic images with no one dominant image.

Occupation

Models were also coded by professional occupation, which was classified into categories first defined by Courtney and Lockeretz. These categories are cited and explained in Chapter II.

One of the original Courtney and Lockeretz categories, police and military, was omitted from this study. This study used the additional categories of "Other" for those occupations not included in the categories listed above and "Could Not be Coded" for those advertisements, such as those featuring a photograph of the product, that contained no photographs of models and thus could not be coded for model occupation and those advertisements that included no one dominant image.

Sexism

Advertisements were evaluated for sexist content according to the five categories or "levels" of the Consciousness Scale for Sexism developed by Matilda Butler and William Paisley in 1974. The Consciousness Scale for Sexism is cited and Explained in Chapter II.

This study used the additional category of "Could Not be Coded" for those advertisements that contained no photographs of models and thus could not be evaluated for sexism and for those advertisements in which no one dominant

image appeared.

Quantification System

Items analyzed were counted and listed by magazine. The number of advertisements for various types of feminine hygiene products were counted. Model gender, grouping, activity and career were noted with a frequency count of the number of instances in each subdivision of these variables. Instances of sexism were also counted in this way, with the number of occurrences at each level as defined by the Butler-Paisley scale being noted. The data collected were nominal data or frequency count.

Coding

The author and two other mass communication graduate students, Alan Byrd and Gayle Desmuke, were coders. Working as a group, coders evaluated advertisements for product type, model gender, grouping, activity, career and sexism. Coders discussed disagreements and doubts about appropriate classification until they reached a consensus.

To assess inter-coder reliability, a pre-test was conducted that analyzed advertisements for feminine hygiene products appearing in magazines other than those used for the study. This pre-test was followed by an inter-coder reliability test.

Statistical Analysis

Simple chi-square analysis was used to examine differences among levels or classifications of product type, model gender, grouping, activity, career and sexism among advertisements and among the various levels of each variable. Simple chi-square analysis was also used to determine differences among pairs of magazines at each level of each of these variables. Complex chi-square analysis was used to determine differences in proportions of advertisements at each level or classification of product type, model gender, grouping, activity, career, sexism and themes. The 95 percent level of confidence was used to determine the statistical significance of differences. Whenever possible, significance was determined at levels of confidence above 95 percent.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Review of Methodology

For this study, feminine hygiene product advertisements from six 1991 issues of Cosmopolitan, Glamour, McCall's, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen. The advertisements were coded for product advertised, sexism and selected model characteristics including gender, grouping, activity and occupation.

Only one response was possible among the categories. Advertisements were coded according to the dominant image depicted within them.

Intercoder Reliability

An intercoder reliability test was conducted using feminine hygiene products appearing in magazines other than those included in this study. Between Coder 1 and Coder 2, the reliability equaled .81. Between Coder 2 and Coder 3, the reliability equaled .77. Between Coder 1 and Coder 3, the reliability equaled .72. Overall, coder reliability equaled .76. This indicates a moderately high reliability among the coders.

Products

Table I illustrates the percentage of advertisements for various products, for all magazines.

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS
FOR VARIOUS PRODUCTS,
FOR ALL MAGAZINES

N = 153

Product	
Pads	19.61%
Tampons	20.26
Shields	12.42
Medication	14.38
Cleansers	9.80
Fertility	12.42
Other	11.11
	100.00%

* $\chi^2 = 10.2$ with 6 df; $p < .05$

The percentages in Table I appear to indicate that advertisements for tampons comprise the bulk of advertisements for feminine hygiene products (20.26 percent), followed closely by advertisements for sanitary pads (19.61 percent).

All Categories Simple Chi-Square Analysis

The simple chi-square with 6 df is 10.2, which is not

significant at the 95 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 6 df is 12.6. This indicates that there is no significant difference between the categories considered. Therefore, the null hypothesis is supported.

Table II illustrates the percentage of advertisements for products by magazine and examines the relationship between magazine and type of product advertised.

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS
FOR VARIOUS PRODUCTS,
BY MAGAZINE

N = 153

Legend

1 = Cosmopolitan, 2 = Good Housekeeping, 3 = McCall's, 4 = Mademoiselle,
5 = Seventeen, 6 = Teen

A = Pads, B = Tampons, C = Shields, D = Medication, E = Cleansers, F =
Fertility, G = Other

Product	1	2	3	4	5	6
A	17.95%	13.64%	20.83%	22.22%	13.04%	29.63%
B	.00	.00	8.33	22.22	39.13	59.26
C	12.82	22.73	4.17	11.11	13.04	11.11
D	25.64	18.18	16.67	22.22	.00	.00
E	7.69	9.09	8.33	.00	34.78	.00
F	28.21	18.18	8.33	11.11	.00	.00
G	7.69	18.18	33.33	11.11	.00	.00
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

* $\chi^2 = 107.678$ with 30 df; $p < .05$

The percentages in Table II appear to indicate a

substantial difference between magazines in the types of products advertised. It appears that Teen contained a greater proportion of advertisements for sanitary pads (29.63 percent) and tampons (59.26 percent) than did any of the other magazines. Good Housekeeping contained the highest proportion of advertisements for panty shields (22.73 percent) and Cosmopolitan contained the highest proportion of advertisements for medications (25.64 percent) and for fertility-related products (28.21 percent). Seventeen contained a much higher proportion of advertisements for cleansers (34.78 percent), than did the other magazines. McCall's contained the highest proportion of feminine hygiene products other than those in the categories listed above (33.33 percent). Seventeen and Teen contained no advertisements for medications or fertility-related products. Neither Mademoiselle nor Teen contained advertisements for cleansers.

Between Magazines Complex

Chi-Square Analysis

The complex chi-square with 30 df is 107.678, exceeds the tabled value of 59.7 at the 99.999 percent confidence level. This indicates that there is a significant difference between magazines in terms of the proportions of various products advertised. Therefore, the null hypothesis is not supported. However, because more than one-fifth of the fitted cells used to compute this chi-square were sparse

(with a frequency of less than five), significance tests are suspect.

Between Magazines Simple

Chi-Square Analysis

Pads. No significant difference was found between magazines in terms of the proportion of advertisements for sanitary pads. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 6.41, which is not significant at the 95 percent confidence level.

Tampons. Simple chi-square analysis revealed that there is a significant difference between magazines in the proportion of advertisements for tampons. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 58.18, which is significant at the 99.999 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 20.5.

Significant differences in the proportion of advertisements for tampons were found at the 99.999 percent confidence level between Cosmopolitan and Seventeen, Cosmopolitan and Teen, Good Housekeeping and Seventeen, Good Housekeeping and Teen, McCall's and Teen, Mademoiselle and Teen and Seventeen and Teen.

At the 99.995 percent confidence level, the simple chi-square showed significant differences in the proportion of advertisements for tampons between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, McCall's and Seventeen and Mademoiselle and Teen.

Simple chi-square analysis revealed significant differences in the proportion of advertisements for tampons at the 99.975 confidence level between Cosmopolitan and McCall's and Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle.

Simple chi-square analysis revealed a significant difference in the proportion of advertisements for tampons between Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle at the 95 percent confidence level.

No significant differences were found in the proportion of advertisements for tampons between Good Housekeeping and McCall's and McCall's and Mademoiselle.

Panty Shields. No significant difference was found between magazines in terms of the proportion of advertisements for panty shields. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 3.21, which is not significant at the 95 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 11.1.

Medications. Simple chi-square analysis revealed that there is a significant difference between magazines in terms of the proportion of advertisements for medications. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 11.79, which is significant at the 95 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 11.1.

Simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences in terms of the proportion of advertisements for medications at the 99.99 percent confidence level between

Cosmopolitan and Seventeen, Cosmopolitan and Teen and Seventeen and Teen.

At the 95 percent confidence level, simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences in the proportion of advertisements for medications between Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle, Good Housekeeping and Teen, McCall's and Teen, Mademoiselle and Seventeen and Mademoiselle and Teen.

No significant differences were found in the proportion of advertisements for medications between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle, Good Housekeeping and Seventeen, McCall's and Mademoiselle and McCall's and Seventeen.

Cleansers. Simple chi-square analysis showed that there is a significant difference between magazines in the proportion of advertisements for cleansers. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 15.35, which is significant at the 99.99 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 15.1.

Simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences in the proportion of advertisements for cleansers at the 99.995 percent confidence level between Cosmopolitan and Seventeen, Mademoiselle and Seventeen and Seventeen and Teen.

At the 99.975 percent confidence level, simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences in the

proportion of advertisements for cleansers between Cosmopolitan and Teen and Mademoiselle and Teen.

Simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences in the proportion of advertisements for cleansers at the 99.99 percent confidence level between Good Housekeeping and Seventeen and McCall's and Seventeen.

At the 95 percent confidence level, simple chi-square analysis showed a significant difference in the proportion of advertisements for cleansers between Good Housekeeping and Teen.

No significant differences were found in the proportion of advertisements for cleansers between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan and McCall's, Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle, Good Housekeeping and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle and McCall's and Mademoiselle.

Fertility-Related Products. Simple chi-square analysis showed that there is a significant difference between magazines in the proportion of advertisements for fertility-related products. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 13.4, which is significant at the 99.975 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 12.8.

Simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences in the proportion of advertisements for fertility-related products at the 99.995 percent confidence level between Cosmopolitan and Seventeen and Cosmopolitan and Teen.

At the 99.975 percent confidence level, significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan and McCall's and Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle.

Simple chi-square analysis showed a significant difference at the 99.99 percent confidence level between Seventeen and Teen.

At the 95 percent confidence level, simple chi-square analysis showed a significant difference between Good Housekeeping and Teen, McCall's and Seventeen, McCall's and Teen and Mademoiselle and Teen.

No significant differences were found between Good Housekeeping and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle, Good Housekeeping and Seventeen, McCall's and Mademoiselle and Mademoiselle and Seventeen.

Other Products. Simple chi-square analysis showed that there is a significant difference between magazines in the proportion of advertisements for other feminine hygiene products. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 14.78, which is significant at the 99.975 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 12.8.

Simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences in the proportion of advertisements for other products at the 99.995 percent confidence level between McCall's and Seventeen and McCall's and Teen.

At the 99.975 percent confidence level, significant

differences were found between Cosmopolitan and Teen and McCall's and Mademoiselle.

Simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences at the 99.99 percent confidence level between Cosmopolitan and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and McCall's and Seventeen and Teen.

At the 95 percent confidence level, significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and Seventeen, Good Housekeeping and Teen and Mademoiselle and Teen.

No significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle, Good Housekeeping and Seventeen and Mademoiselle and Seventeen.

McQuitty's Elementary Linkage

McQuitty's Elementary Linkage showed that magazines fell into two groups with respect to the types of products advertised within the magazines. Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping formed one group, while McCall's, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen formed another. Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping appear to be similar to each other in that they contain a somewhat lower proportion of advertisements for pads and tampons than do the other magazines and a somewhat higher proportion of advertisements for fertility-related products.

Models

Table III shows the percentage of advertisements featuring model genders and groupings for all magazines. Images could also be classified as featuring the product itself and as "Other" for images not fitting into any of the explicit categories.

TABLE III
 PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS DEPICTING
 VARIOUS MODEL GENDERS AND GROUPINGS,
 FOR ALL MAGAZINES

N = 153

Models	
Male Alone	.00%
Female Alone	46.41
Female/Male	1.96
Female/Female	5.88
Female/Child	5.23
Male/Child	.00
Both/Child	.00
Product	24.84
Other	15.69
	100.00%

* $\chi^2 = 220.8$ with 8 df; $p < .05$

The percentages in Table III appear to indicate that advertisements featuring female models alone are far more prevalent than are advertisements featuring other types of models. Advertisements featuring female models alone

comprise 46.41 percent of all advertisements. No advertisements featured male models alone, male models with children or male and female models together with children.

All Categories Simple Chi-Square Analysis

The simple chi-square with 8 df is 220.8, which is significant at the 99.999 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 8 df is 26.1. This indicates that there is a significant difference between the categories considered. Therefore, the null hypothesis is not supported.

Between Categories Simple Chi-Square Analysis

Significant differences were found at the 99.995 percent confidence level between advertisements featuring a female models with children and "Other" advertisements. At the 99.99 percent confidence level, a significant difference was found between advertisements featuring female models with other female models and those classified as "Other." Significant differences were found at the 99.999 percent confidence level between all other models shown.

Table IV shows the percentage of advertisements depicting model genders and groupings by magazine and examines the relationship between magazines and advertisement content.

TABLE IV
 PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS DEPICTING
 VARIOUS MODEL GENDERS AND GROUPINGS,
 BY MAGAZINE

N = 153

Legend

1 = Cosmopolitan, 2 = Good Housekeeping, 3 = McCall's, 4 = Mademoiselle,
 5 = Seventeen, 6 = Teen

A = Male, B = Female, C = Female/Male, D = Female/Female, E =
 Female/Children, F = Male/Children, G = Both/Children, H = Product, I =
 Other

Models	1	2	3	4	5	6
A	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%
B	56.41	40.91	33.33	61.11	56.42	29.63
C	2.56	.00	4.17	.00	4.35	.00
D	.00	.00	4.17	.00	4.35	.00
E	2.56	.00	20.83	.00	8.70	.00
F	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
G	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
H	25.64	36.36	20.83	27.78	21.74	18.52
I	12.82	22.73	16.67	11.11	4.35	25.93
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

* $\chi^2 = 53.311$ with 25 df; $p < .05$

The percentages in Table IV appear to indicate a difference between magazines in the type of models portrayed. Portrayals appear to be heavily concentrated in the categories of female alone and product. Mademoiselle had the greatest proportion of advertisements featuring a female model alone (61.11 percent), followed closely by Seventeen (59.26 percent) and Cosmopolitan (56.41 percent) than did any of the other magazines. Seventeen contained

the greatest proportion of advertisements featuring a female and male model pictured together (4.35 percent), but three magazines, Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle and Teen, contained no such advertisements. Teen contained a much higher proportion of advertisements (25.93 percent) featuring female models pictured with other female models than did any other magazine. Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle, contained no such advertisements. Advertisements depicting female models with children comprised 20.83 percent of advertisements appearing in McCall's, a far higher proportion than in any of the other magazines. Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle and Teen featured no advertisements fitting this classification. No advertisements depicting a male model with children or a male and a female model with children were found. Good Housekeeping contained a greater proportion of advertisements featuring the product (36.36 percent) than did the other magazines. Finally, Teen carried a greater proportion of advertisements depicting something other than the images in the categories above (25.93 percent) than did the other magazines.

Between Magazines Complex

Chi-Square Analysis

The complex chi-square with 25 df is 53.311, which is significant at the 99.999 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 25 df is 52.6. This

indicates that there is a significant difference between magazines in terms of the proportions of various models shown. Therefore, the null hypothesis is not supported. However, because more than one-fifth of the fitted cells used to compute this chi-square were sparse, significance tests are suspect.

Between Magazines Simple

Chi-Square Analysis

Male Models Alone. No magazines contained advertisements depicting a male model alone.

Female Models Alone. A significant difference was found between magazines in the proportion of advertisements depicting female models alone. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 158.49, which is significant at the 99.999 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 20.5.

Simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences between magazines in the proportion of advertisements depicting female models alone at the 99.999 percent confidence level between all of the magazines.

Male and Female Models Together. Simple chi-square analysis revealed that there is a significant difference between magazines in the proportion of advertisements featuring male and female models together. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 14.02, which is significant at the

99.975 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 12.8.

Simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences in the proportion of advertisements featuring male and female models together at the 99.975 percent confidence level between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle, Cosmopolitan and Teen, Good Housekeeping and Teen and Mademoiselle and Teen.

At the 95 percent confidence level, significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and McCall's, Cosmopolitan and Seventeen, Good Housekeeping and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle, Good Housekeeping and Seventeen, McCall's and Teen and Seventeen and Teen.

No significant differences were found between McCall's and Mademoiselle, McCall's and Seventeen and Mademoiselle and Seventeen.

Female Models Together. Simple chi-square analysis revealed that there is a significant difference between magazines in the proportion of advertisements featuring female models together. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 16.32, which is significant at the 99.99 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 15.1.

At the 99.995 percent confidence level, a significant difference was found between Cosmopolitan and Teen.

Simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences at the 99.975 percent confidence level between

Cosmopolitan and McCall's, Cosmopolitan and Seventeen, McCall's and Teen, Mademoiselle and Teen and Seventeen and Teen.

At the 99.99 percent confidence level, differences were found between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle and Good Housekeeping and Teen.

Significant differences at the 95 percent confidence level were found between Good Housekeeping and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle and Good Housekeeping and Seventeen.

No significant differences were found between McCall's and Mademoiselle, McCall's and Seventeen and Mademoiselle and Seventeen.

Female Models With Children. Simple chi-square analysis revealed that there is a significant difference between magazines in the proportion of advertisements featuring female models with children. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 13.06, which is significant at the 99.975 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 12.8.

Simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences in the proportion of advertisements featuring female models with children at the 99.975 percent confidence level between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle, Cosmopolitan and Teen, Good

Housekeeping and Teen, Mademoiselle and Teen and Seventeen and Teen.

At the 95 percent confidence level, significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle and McCall's and Teen.

No significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and Seventeen, Good Housekeeping and Seventeen, McCall's and Mademoiselle, McCall's and Seventeen and Mademoiselle and Seventeen.

Male Models With Children and Male and Female Models With Children. No advertisements depicting male models with children or male and female models together with children were found in any of the magazines.

Product. Simple chi-square analysis showed a significant difference between magazines in the proportion of advertisements featuring the product itself. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 22.42, which is significant at the 99.999 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 20.5.

Simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences in the proportion of advertisements featuring the product itself at the 99.999 percent confidence level between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, Good Housekeeping and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle and Good Housekeeping and Seventeen.

At the 99.995 percent confidence level, significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle and Good Housekeeping and Teen.

At the 99.99 percent confidence level, simple chi-square analysis showed significant differences between Cosmopolitan and McCall's and Cosmopolitan and Seventeen.

At the 99.975 percent confidence level, a significant difference was found between Cosmopolitan and Teen.

At the 95 percent confidence level, significant differences were found between McCall's and Mademoiselle, Mademoiselle and Seventeen and Mademoiselle and Teen.

No significant differences were found between McCall's and Seventeen, McCall's and Teen and Seventeen and Teen.

Other Images. No significant differences were found between magazines in the proportion of advertisements featuring images other than those listed above. The simple chi-square was 7.31. The tabled value at the 95 percent confidence level with 5 df is 11.1.

McQuitty's Elementary Linkage

McQuitty's Elementary Linkage analysis found that magazines clustered into one group with respect to the types of models portrayed in advertisements within the magazines. This means that all of the magazines are similar in terms of the types of models portrayed in the advertisements contained within them.

Activities

Table V shows the percentage of advertisements depicting model activities for all magazines. "Activities" are those actions or endeavors in which the model is depicted as being engaged. Advertisements could also be classified as "Other," a category for advertisements featuring models engaged in activities other than those listed, and "Could Not be Coded" for those advertisements featuring images other than human models or multiple images of models for which one score could not be assigned.

TABLE V
 PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS DEPICTING
 VARIOUS MODEL ACTIVITIES,
 FOR ALL MAGAZINES

N = 153

Activity	
Posing	48.37%
Conversation	1.31
Sports	.65
Romance	1.96
Children	5.23
Other	2.61
Could not be coded	39.87
	100.00%

* $\chi^2 = 272.04$ with 6 df; $p < .05$

The percentages in Table V appear to indicate that

advertisements featuring models who are posing or stationary comprise the bulk of advertisements for feminine hygiene products (48.37 percent). The second most prevalent category (39.87 percent) was comprised of advertisements that could not be coded for model activity.

All Categories Simple Chi-Square Analysis

The simple chi-square with 6 df is 272.04, which well exceeds the tabled value of 22.5 at the 99.999 percent confidence level. This means that there is a significant difference between the categories considered. Therefore, the null hypothesis is not supported.

Between Categories Simple

Chi-Square Analysis

Simple chi-square analysis revealed significant differences at the 99.999 percent confidence level between all model activities.

Table VI shows the percentage of advertisements depicting various model activities by magazine and examines the relationship between magazine and advertisement content.

TABLE VI
 PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS DEPICTING
 VARIOUS MODEL ACTIVITIES,
 BY MAGAZINE

N = 153

Legend

1 = Cosmopolitan, 2 = Good Housekeeping, 3 = McCall's, 4 = Mademoiselle,
 5 = Seventeen, 6 = Teen

A = Posing, B = Conversation, C = Physical Activity, D = Romance, E =
 Children, F = Other, G = Could Not be Coded

Activity	1	2	3	4	5	6
A	56.41%	40.91%	20.83%	61.11%	56.52%	51.85%
B	.00	.00	4.17	.00	4.35	.00
C	.00	.00	4.17	.00	.00	.00
D	2.56	.00	4.17	.00	4.35	.00
E	2.56	.00	20.83	.00	8.70	.00
F	.00	4.55	8.33	.00	.00	3.70
G	38.46	54.55	37.50	38.89	26.09	44.44
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

* $\chi^2 = 41.816$ with 30 df; $p < .05$

Table II shows a high concentration of advertisements depicting models as stationary or posing and a high concentration of advertisements that could not be coded for model activity. These advertisements included those featuring any image other than a live model and those that featured images, such as multiple models pictured together, that could not be coded for any one activity. Mademoiselle had the highest proportion of advertisements depicting stationary models (61.11 percent), followed by Seventeen

(56.52 percent) and Cosmopolitan (56.41 percent). Only McCall's and Seventeen contained advertisements depicting models engaged in conversation, with 4.17 percent and 4.35 percent, respectively, and only McCall's contained advertisements depicting models engaged in physical activity (4.17 percent). Seventeen contained the highest proportion of advertisements showing models engaged in a romantic embrace (4.35 percent), followed closely by McCall's (4.17 percent). McCall's also had the highest proportion of advertisements showing models with children (20.83 percent) and of advertisements showing models engaged in other activities. Good Housekeeping had the highest proportion of advertisements that could not be coded for model activity (54.55 percent), followed by Teen with 44.44 percent.

Between Magazines Complex

Chi-Square Analysis

Complex chi-square analysis revealed no significant differences in activities depicted in advertisements between magazines. The complex chi-square is 41.816 with 30 df, which does not exceed the tabled value of 43.8 at the 95 percent confidence level. This means that there is no significant difference between magazines in terms of the activities portrayed in the advertisements contained within them. Therefore, the null hypothesis is supported. However, because more than one-fifth of the fitted cells used to compute this chi-square were sparse (with a

frequency of less than five), significance tests are suspect.

McQuitty's Elementary Linkage

McQuitty's Elementary Linkage showed that magazines fell into two groups with respect to the types of activities portrayed in the advertisements. Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen formed one group, while McCall's stood alone. McCall's appears to differ from the other magazines in that it contains a lower proportion of advertisements featuring models depicted posing or stationary and a considerably higher proportion of advertisements featuring models depicted as interacting with children. The advertisements in McCall's also appear to reflect a wider variety of activities than do the other magazines. McCall's was the only magazine that contained advertisements depicting models engaged in athletic activity, and was one of only two magazines containing portrayals of models in conversation.

Careers

Table VII shows the percentage of advertisements depicting various model careers for all magazines. "Careers" refers to the apparent occupational activities in which models are depicted as being engaged. Categories for classifying occupational portrayals were developed by Courtney and Lockeretz. Advertisements could also be

classified into the non-working categories of "Family," "Recreational" and "Decorative," as "Other," a category for advertisements featuring models engaged in careers other than those listed, and as "Could Not be Coded" for those advertisements featuring images other than human models or multiple images of models for which one score could not be assigned.

TABLE VII
 PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS DEPICTING
 VARIOUS MODEL CAREERS,
 FOR ALL MAGAZINES

N = 153

Career	
Executive	.00%
Professional	4.58
Entertainer	.00
Mid-Level	1.31
White Collar	.00
Blue Collar	.00
Family	5.23
Recreational	3.92
Decorative	43.14
Other	1.31
- Could not be coded	40.52
	100.00%

* $\chi^2 = 341.29$ with 10 df; $p < .05$

The percentages in Table VII appear to indicate that

advertisements featuring models engaged in non-working decorative functions comprise the greatest percentage of advertisements (43.14 percent). The second most prevalent category (40.52 percent) was comprised of advertisements that could not be coded for model occupation.

All Categories Simple Chi-Square Analysis

The simple chi-square is 341.29 with 10 df. This value well exceeds the tabled value of 29.6 at the 99.999 percent confidence level with 10 df. This means that there is a significant difference between the categories considered. Therefore, the null hypothesis is not supported.

Between Categories Simple Chi-Square Analysis

Simple chi-square analysis revealed no significant differences between professional and family portrayals, between professional and recreational portrayals and between family and recreational portrayals. All other categories showed significant differences at the 99.999 percent confidence level.

Table VIII shows the percentage of advertisements depicting various careers by magazine and examines the relationship between magazine and advertisement content.

TABLE VIII
 PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS DEPICTING
 VARIOUS MODEL CAREERS,
 BY MAGAZINE

N = 153

Legend

1 = Cosmopolitan, 2 = Good Housekeeping, 3 = McCall's, 4 = Mademoiselle,
 5 = Seventeen, 6 = Teen

A = Executive, B = Professional, C = Entertainer, D = Mid-Level
 Business, E = White Collar, F = Blue Collar, G = Family, H =
 Recreational, I = Decorative, J = Other, K = Could Not be Coded

Career	1	2	3	4	5	6
A	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%	.00%
B	7.69	9.09	.00	11.11	.00	.00
C	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
D	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
E	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
F	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
G	2.56	.00	20.83	.00	8.70	.00
H	2.56	.00	8.33	.00	4.35	.00
I	43.59	22.73	33.33	50.00	60.87	48.15
J	2.56	4.55	.00	.00	.00	.00
K	38.46	59.09	37.50	38.89	26.09	44.44
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$\chi^2 = 21.878$ with 15 df; $p < .05$

Table VIII shows a very high concentration of advertisements with models in decorative roles. No advertisements depicted models in high-level business executive, entertainment or professional sports, white collar or blue collar occupations. Mademoiselle had the highest proportion of advertisements showing models in professional occupations (11.11 percent), while Good

Housekeeping had the highest proportion of advertisements showing models in sales or mid-level business occupations (4.55 percent). McCall's had the highest percentage of models featured in family roles. Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle and Teen featured no advertisements portraying models in this category. McCall's featured the highest percentage of models featured in recreational roles. Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle featured no models in this category. Seventeen had the highest percentage of models portrayed in a decorative role. Good Housekeeping had the highest proportion of advertisements depicting models engaged in other occupations, while McCall's, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen featured no models in this category. Finally, Good Housekeeping featured the highest percentage of advertisements that could not be coded for career.

Between Magazines Complex

Chi-Square Analysis

A complex chi-square analysis revealed no significant differences in careers depicted in advertisements between magazines. The complex chi-square is 41.237 with 30 df, which does not exceed the tabled value of 43.8 at the 95 percent confidence level. This means that there is no significant difference between magazines in careers depicted in advertisements within them. Therefore, the null hypothesis is supported. However, because more than one-fifth of the fitted cells used to compute this chi-square

were sparse (with a frequency of less than five), significance tests are suspect.

McQuitty's Elementary Linkage

McQuitty's Elementary Linkage showed that magazines fell into two groups with respect to the types of careers portrayed in the advertisements. Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle Seventeen and Teen formed one group, while McCall's stood alone. McCall's appears to differ from the other magazines in that it contained a higher percentage of advertisements classified as "Other" and "Could Not be Coded" and a lower percentage of advertisements featuring models in decorative roles than do the other magazines.

Sexism

Table IX shows the percentage of advertisements portraying various levels of sexism for all magazines. "Sexism" refers to the levels of sexism developed by researchers William Paisley and Matilda Butler and explained in Chapter II. Advertisements could also be classified as "Could Not be Coded," a category that included those advertisements that featured images of something other than human models or multiple images of models for which no one score could be assigned.

TABLE IX
 PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS DEPICTING
 VARIOUS LEVELS OF SEXISM,
 FOR ALL MAGAZINES

N = 153

Sexism	
Level One	34.64%
Level Two	9.15
Level Three	.00
Level Four	3.92
Level Five	8.50
Could not be coded	43.79
	100.00%

* $\chi^2 = 140.93$ with 5 df; $p < .05$

The percentages in Table IX appear to indicate that advertisements are concentrated in the categories of "Could Not be Coded" (43.79 percent) and Level One (34.64 percent).

All Categories Simple Chi-Square Analysis

The simple chi-square with 5 df is 140.93. This value well exceeds the tabled value of 22.5 at the 99.999 percent confidence level with 7 df. This means that there is a significant difference between the categories considered. Therefore, the null hypothesis is not supported.

Between Magazines SimpleChi-Square Analysis

Simple-chi square analysis revealed significant differences at the 99.999 percent confidence level between all levels of sexism for all magazines.

Table X shows the percentage of advertisements portraying various levels of sexism by magazine and examines the relationship between magazine and advertisement content.

TABLE X
PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS DEPICTING
VARIOUS LEVELS OF SEXISM,
BY MAGAZINE

N = 153

Legend

1 = Cosmopolitan, 2 = Good Housekeeping, 3 = McCall's, 4 = Mademoiselle,
5 = Seventeen, 6 = Teen

A = Level One, B = Level Two, C = Level Three, D = Level Four, E = Level
Five, F = Could Not be Coded

Level	1	2	3	4	5	6
A	38.46%	22.73%	25.00%	50.00%	43.48%	29.63%
B	5.13	.00	33.33	.00	13.04	3.70
C	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
D	7.69	9.09	.00	11.11	.00	.00
E	10.26	9.09	4.17	.00	17.39	3.70
F	38.46	59.09	37.50	38.89	26.09	62.96
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$\chi^2 = 42.549$ with 20 df; $p < .05$

Table X seems to show a concentration of advertisements

at Level One and a concentration of advertisements that could not be coded for sexism. The advertisements that could not be coded were those that featured images other than live models and those that contained multiple images that showed different levels of sexism within one advertisement and thus could not be given one evaluation for sexism. Mademoiselle had the greatest percentage of advertisements at Level One (50 percent). McCall's had the greatest percentage of advertisements at Level Two (33.33 percent), while two magazines, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle, contained no advertisements at this level. No advertisements were coded at Level Three. Mademoiselle had the greatest percentage of advertisements at Level Four (11.11 percent). Good Housekeeping, Seventeen and Teen contained no advertisements at this level. Seventeen seems to have the greatest percentage of Level Five advertisements (17.39 percent). Mademoiselle contained no advertisements at this level. Finally, Teen was found to contain the greatest percentage of advertisements that could not be coded for sexism (62.96 percent).

Between Magazines Complex

Chi-Square Analysis

A complex chi-square analysis revealed significant differences in levels of sexism depicted in advertisements between magazines. The complex chi-square is 42.549 with 20 df, which exceeds the tabled value of 40.0 at the 99.995

percent confidence level. This means that there is a significant difference between magazines in terms of the levels of sexism depicted in the advertisements contained within them. Therefore, the null hypothesis is not supported. However, because more than one-fifth of the fitted cells used to compute this chi-square were sparse (with a frequency of less than five), significance tests are suspect.

Between Magazines Simple

Chi-Square Analysis

Level One. A simple chi-square analysis revealed that there is a significant difference between magazines and advertisements at Level One. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 37.26, which is significant at the 99.999 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 20.5.

A simple chi-square analysis revealed a significant difference in Level One advertisements at the 99.999 percent confidence level between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan and McCall's, Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle, Cosmopolitan and Seventeen, Cosmopolitan and Teen, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle, McCall's and Mademoiselle, McCall's and Seventeen, Mademoiselle and Seventeen, Mademoiselle and Teen and Seventeen and Teen.

At the 99.995 percent confidence level, a significant difference was found between Good Housekeeping and

Seventeen.

No significant differences were found in Level One advertisements between Good Housekeeping and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and Teen and McCall's and Teen.

Level Two. A simple chi-square analysis revealed that there is a significant difference between magazines in the proportion of Level Two advertisements. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 16.69, which is significant at the 99.99 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 15.1.

Simple chi-square analysis revealed a significant difference in Level Two advertisements at the 99.99 percent confidence level between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle, McCall's and Mademoiselle and McCall's and Teen.

At the 99.975 percent confidence level, significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle, Cosmopolitan and Teen, Good Housekeeping and Teen and Mademoiselle and Teen.

At the 95 percent confidence level, significant differences were found between Good Housekeeping and Seventeen and McCall's and Seventeen.

No significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and Seventeen, Mademoiselle and Seventeen and Seventeen and Teen.

Level Three. No advertisements were coded at Level Three.

Level Four. A simple chi square analysis revealed a significant relationship between magazines in the proportion of advertisements at Level Four. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 16.48, which is significant at the 99.99 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 15.1.

At the 99.995 percent confidence level, significant differences in the proportion of advertisements at Level Four were found between McCall's and Teen and Seventeen and Teen.

Simple chi-square analysis revealed a significant difference at the 99.99 percent confidence level between McCall's and Seventeen.

At the 99.975 percent confidence level, significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and McCall's, Cosmopolitan and Seventeen, Cosmopolitan and Teen, Good Housekeeping and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and Seventeen and Good Housekeeping and Teen.

At the 95 percent confidence level, significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, McCall's and Mademoiselle, Mademoiselle and Seventeen and Mademoiselle and Teen.

No significant differences were found between Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle and Good Housekeeping and

Mademoiselle.

Level Five. A simple chi-square analysis revealed that there is no significant relationship between magazines and advertisements at Level Five. The simple chi-square with 5 df is 9.92, which is not significant at the 95 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 5 df is 11.1.

Could Not Be Coded. Simple chi-square analysis revealed a significant difference between magazines in the percentage of advertisements that could not be coded. The simple chi-square is 82.37, which is significant at the 99.999 percent confidence level. The critical value at this level with 5 df is 20.5.

At the 99.999 percent confidence level, significant differences in the proportion of advertisements that could not be coded were found between Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan and McCall's, Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle, Cosmopolitan and Seventeen, Cosmopolitan and Teen, Good Housekeeping and McCall's, Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle, Good Housekeeping and Seventeen, Good Housekeeping and Teen, McCall's and Mademoiselle, McCall's and Teen, Mademoiselle and Teen and Seventeen and Teen.

Simple chi-square analysis revealed a significant difference at the 99.99 percent confidence level between McCall's and Seventeen.

At the 99.975 percent confidence level, a significant

difference was found between Mademoiselle and Seventeen.

McQuitty's Elementary Linkage

McQuitty's Elementary Linkage showed that magazines fell into two groups with respect to the levels of sexism depicted in the advertisements. Cosmopolitan, Mademoiselle, and Seventeen formed one group, while Good Housekeeping, McCall's and Teen formed another. Cosmopolitan, Mademoiselle, and Seventeen appear to be similar in that they share a markedly higher concentration of advertisements at the most sexist level, Level One, than do the other magazines.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This study examined advertisements for feminine hygiene products appearing in Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, McCall's, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen. The purpose of this analysis was to find out how menstruation and related processes of the female body are portrayed in advertisements and to determine how these portrayals vary among magazines. A secondary purpose was to determine how these advertisements might serve as an agent of the overall socialization of women and of men toward women..

For each of the six magazines, all feminine hygiene product advertisements appearing in six 1991 issues were analyzed. A total of 153 advertisements were selected for analysis. Advertisements were evaluated for type of product advertised, sexism and selected model characteristics, which included gender, grouping, activity and occupation.

A panel of three judges coded each advertisement according to the categories outlined above.

Summary

After coding the 153 advertisements according to the level or classification into which they fell for each of the five variables, the results were examined for each variable, for each magazine and among magazines. The results were used to answer the following research questions:

1. In what proportions do advertisements for various types of products appear?

Advertisements for tampons were found to comprise the greatest proportion of advertisements, followed by pads, medication, shields and fertility-related products, cleansers and other products. However, these differences were not found to be statistically significant.

2. Do the proportions of advertisements for various products vary among magazines?

Teen contained the highest proportion of advertisements for sanitary pads and tampons. Neither Cosmopolitan nor Good Housekeeping contained any advertisements for tampons. Good Housekeeping contained the highest proportion of advertisements for panty shields, while Cosmopolitan contained the highest proportion of advertisements for medications. Neither Seventeen nor Teen contained any advertisements for medications. Seventeen contained the highest proportion of advertisements for cleansers, while neither Mademoiselle nor Teen contained any such advertisements. Cosmopolitan contained the highest

proportion of advertisements for fertility-related products. Seventeen and Teen contained no advertisements for fertility-related products. McCall's contained the highest proportion of advertisements for other products, which included, for all magazines, advertisements for diuretics, bladder control pads and various other feminine hygiene products. Seventeen and Teen contained no advertisements for other products.

Magazines were found to fall into two groups with respect to the types of products advertised within the magazines. Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping formed one group, while McCall's, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen formed another. Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping were similar to each other in that they contained a somewhat lower proportion of advertisements for pads and tampons than did the other magazines and a somewhat higher proportion of advertisements for fertility-related products.

3. In what proportion and grouping do models of various genders appear in the advertisements?

In terms of model gender and grouping, no advertisements were found to depict a male model alone, a male model with children or a male and female model together with children. The greatest proportion of advertisements depicted a female model alone, followed by advertisements featuring the product itself, those featuring other images, such as text, those featuring female models together, those featuring female models with children and those featuring

male and female models together.

4. Do the genders and groupings of models vary among magazines?

Mademoiselle contained the greatest proportion of advertisements featuring female models alone. Seventeen contained the highest proportion of advertisements featuring male and female models together. Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle and Teen contained no advertisements featuring male and female models together. Seventeen featured the greatest proportion of advertisements featuring female models with other female models. Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle and Teen contained no advertisements in this category. McCall's had the highest proportion of advertisements featuring female models with children. Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle and Teen contained no such advertisements. Good Housekeeping contained the greatest proportion of advertisements featuring the product itself. Teen contained the greatest proportion of advertisements featuring other images.

All magazines were found to be similar in terms of the types of models portrayed in the advertisements contained within them.

5. In what activities are the models in the advertisements depicted as being engaged?

Advertisements featuring models who are posing or stationary comprise the bulk of advertisements for feminine hygiene products. The second most prevalent category was

comprised of advertisements that could not be coded for model activity. The next most prevalent categories were children, other, romance, conversation and physical activity.

6. Do the activities portrayed vary among magazines?

No significant differences were found in activities depicted between magazines.

Magazines fell into two groups with respect to the types of activities portrayed in the advertisements. Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen formed one group, while McCall's stood alone. McCall's appears to differ from the other magazines in that it contains a lower proportion of advertisements featuring models depicted posing or stationary and a considerably higher proportion of advertisements featuring models depicted as interacting with children. McCall's reflected a wider variety of activities than did the other magazines. McCall's was the only magazine that contained advertisements depicting models engaged in athletic activity, and was one of only two magazines containing portrayals of models in conversation.

7. In what careers are the models in the advertisements depicted as being engaged?

The greatest percentage of advertisements featured models engaged in decorative functions, followed by advertisements that could not be coded, those showing women in family settings, those showing professional occupations,

those featuring recreational portrayals, and those featuring mid-level business and other portrayals. No advertisements featured models engaged in executive, entertainment, white collar or blue collar occupations.

8. Do the careers portrayed vary among magazines?

No real differences were found in careers depicted in advertisements between magazines.

Magazines fell into two groups with respect to the types of careers portrayed in the advertisements.

Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle Seventeen and Teen formed one group, while McCall's stood alone. McCall's contained a higher percentage of advertisements classified as "Other" and "Could Not be Coded" and a lower percentage of advertisements featuring models in decorative roles than did the other magazines.

9. To what extent are the advertisements sexist?

Most advertisements could not be coded for sexism. The majority of those that could be coded fell at Level One, followed by Levels Two, Five and Four. No advertisements were coded at Level Three.

10. Does the degree of sexism vary among magazines?

Mademoiselle had the highest proportion of advertisements at Level One. McCall's contained the greatest proportion of advertisements at Level Two, while Good Housekeeping and Mademoiselle contained no advertisements at this level. Mademoiselle had the highest proportion of advertisements at Level Four. Seventeen had

the highest proportion of advertisements at Level Five, while Teen had the highest proportion of advertisements that could not be coded for sexism.

Magazines fell into two groups with respect to the levels of sexism depicted in the advertisements. Cosmopolitan, Mademoiselle, and Seventeen formed one group, while Good Housekeeping, McCall's and Teen formed another. Cosmopolitan, Mademoiselle, and Seventeen are alike in that they share a much higher concentration of advertisements at the most sexist level, Level One, than do the other magazines.

Conclusions

From these results, a number of conclusions can be drawn. These conclusions, accompanied by salient observations, follow.

1. Advertisements, at least in some cases, may not reflect what women use or need, but what advertisers think they should want and need.

Although no real surprises were found in terms of various proportions of products advertised, it is interesting to note, in several cases, which products were not advertised in certain magazines. It can be said that tampons might be seen as the most "liberating" feminine hygiene in terms of relief from some of the more unpleasant physiological accompaniments of menstruation and of the resumption of daily activities made possible by this

product. However, Cosmopolitan, ostensibly the most "liberated" of the magazines included in this sample, contained no such advertisements. While this might be expected from the more traditional Good Housekeeping, which also contained no advertisements for tampons, it comes as something of a surprise from Cosmopolitan. Also surprising was the fact that neither Seventeen nor Teen contained any advertisements for medications, although adolescent women presumably suffer menstrual symptoms, yeast infections, cramping and other disorders similar to those suffered by older populations of women.

It is interesting, and somewhat baffling, that Seventeen contained the highest proportion of advertisements for cleansers, while neither Mademoiselle nor Teen contained any such advertisements. If the advertisements were, as one might hypothesize, designed to play upon the fears of adolescent women of the odor and resultant embarrassment associated with menstruation, one might expect both Mademoiselle and Teen to follow Seventeen's lead. Although the reason for the difference might be found in the fact that Seventeen is designed for an older readership than is Teen, the age group of the Mademoiselle reader, also older than that of Teen, overlaps somewhat with that of Seventeen, yet contains no advertisements for cleansers.

Given Cosmopolitan's editorial focus on sexual issues, it is not surprising that Cosmopolitan contained the highest proportion of advertisements for fertility-related products.

What is surprising is the complete absence of advertisements for these products in both Seventeen and Teen. Although many adolescent women may be sexually active, in this case, the lack of advertisements for fertility-related products may be due to moral, rather than practical, considerations.

McCall's contained the highest proportion of advertisements for other products, which, given the types of advertisements included in this category (diuretics, bladder control pads and various other feminine hygiene products) seems in line with McCall's older readership. Within these parameters, it might also be expected that Seventeen and Teen contained no advertisements for other products.

Advertising, at least in terms of the types of products advertised, seems to make strange bedfellows. The author's original intent at the outset of this study had been to compare characteristics of various types of magazines, such as contemporary, traditional and adolescent women's magazines, but, in almost every case, the two magazines selected to represent each type had very few commonalities. Several possible explanations can be offered for this. First, the highly specialized nature of magazines today might allow for greater diversity in content and advertisements, even among magazines ostensibly of the same "type." Second, although magazines may be of the same general type, slight differences in the age of their target audiences might account for the disparity of types of advertisements. In any case, the clusters of magazines with

respect to the types of products advertised seem to be without a pattern of logical organization.

2. Menstruation must be faced alone.

Given the content matter of the advertisements, it is not surprising that no advertisements were found to depict a male model alone, a male model with children or a male and female model together with children. The fact that the greatest proportion of advertisements depicted a female model alone, however, can be seen to reveal a great deal about how our culture views menstruation and related processes of the female body. Although menstruation is a process common to the vast majority of women, women, at least in advertisements, must face the process alone. The next most prevalent categories, advertisements featuring the product itself and those featuring other images, such as text, can also be seen to reveal a great deal about societal attitudes toward menstruation. While advertisements featuring the product itself seem ostensibly positive, with implications of a scientific, progressive bent, they can also be seen as revealing a deep embarrassment about the subject by disassociating menstruation from the people who experience it.

If this idea of disassociation is true, it may be seen as logical that Teen, with a very young, and, presumably inexperienced and embarrassed readership, contained the greatest proportion of advertisements featuring other images. In fact, Teen contained only advertisements

featuring other images, the product itself and female models alone. Teen was not alone, however, in its reticence. Only two magazines, McCall's and Seventeen, contained advertisements featuring female models with other females, a grouping that, given the shared nature of the menstrual experience, one might expect to be quite prevalent. Interestingly, more magazines showed male and female models together, a grouping that might not be expected in this context, than showed female models together. Three magazines, Cosmopolitan, McCall's and Seventeen, contained advertisements in this category.

3. Women who menstruate are indisposed or confined.

Most advertisements featured models who were posing or stationary. In direct contrast to the "active" image associated with most feminine hygiene products, most of the coded categories portrayed relatively sedentary activities, such as interaction with children, conversation and romantic (albeit not sexual) situations. In fact, advertisements featuring models engaged in sports or other physical activities, comprised the smallest proportion of all coded advertisements. In this way, advertisements may perpetuate the myth of female confinement at menstruation, by limiting activity portrayals primarily to those relatively sedentary, such as posing, and traditional, such as interacting with children.

Again, the same lack of willingness to associate live models with this somewhat delicate topic can be seen in the

fact that the second most prevalent coded category was comprised of advertisements that could not be coded for model activity. These advertisements primarily featured text and photographs, drawings or diagrams of the product itself.

In this instance also, magazines did not seem to cluster into any expected categories, instead falling into two groups with respect to the types of activities they portrayed. Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle, Seventeen and Teen formed one group, while McCall's stood alone.

4. Women who menstruate, or who have other "female" needs, do not work.

The patterns of model occupations coded also seem to place menstruation in a kind of sedentary "no woman's land." The vast majority of advertisements that could be coded for model occupation featured models apparently engaged in a non-working, decorative function. In fact, only 5.89 percent of all advertisements featured models engaged in any occupation at all.

All advertisements coded as belonging to the largest occupational category, Professional (4.58 percent), featured female gynecologists. This is an interesting role reversal and is, potentially, indicative of a non-sexist trend. None of the female physicians, however, are portrayed as being engaged in any activity other than posing, a fact which somewhat limits the positive impact of the non-traditional

role portrayal.

Very few advertisements featured models in the positive category of mid-level business executives and no advertisements featured models engaged in the positive categories of executive, entertainment or white collar occupations, or even in the realistic category of blue collar occupations.

5. Women who menstruate, or who use products for other feminine needs or problems, are, essentially, sex objects or decorations.

The vast majority of those that could be coded fell at the most sexist level, Level One, followed by Level Two. Only a little more than 12 percent of all advertisements coded were coded at the most positive levels, Four and Five.

Magazines fell into two groups with respect to the levels of sexism depicted in the advertisements. Cosmopolitan, Mademoiselle, and Seventeen formed one group, while Good Housekeeping, McCall's and Teen formed another. If we consider Levels One, Two and Three to be the most sexist levels of portrayals, then McCall's, with more than 58 percent of its advertisements coded at these levels, can be seen to be most sexist, followed by Seventeen. Good Housekeeping, with just over 22 percent of its advertisements at these levels, is least sexist. Similarly, in terms of advertisements at "positive" Levels Four and Five, Good Housekeeping can be seen as least sexist, followed closely by Cosmopolitan and Seventeen. In this

respect, Seventeen hits both ends of the scale in terms of sexism, a fact that seems to indicate, to some extent, a mixed message being transmitted to readers about menstruation and other processes of the female body. Even among magazines containing less sexist, or at least a lower proportion, of blatantly sexist portrayals, advertisements were, as a whole, overwhelmingly sexist.

Recommendations

Because of a lack of related research, this study was, in many respects, exploratory in nature. As such, this research may raise more questions than it answers, suggesting a number of possibilities for further investigation.

First, subsequent researchers may want to investigate the messages, both overt and subtle, about menstruation, contained in the advertising copy itself. Havens and Swensen suggested several themes present in feminine hygiene product advertisements, but this list is neither exhaustive or exclusive. Further studies might work toward establishing categories or levels for coding themes in much the same way that the Butler-Paisley scale provides a framework for measuring sexism.

Another suggestion for further research would be a comparison between feminine hygiene product advertisements with other advertisements, both overall and in specific product categories. A comparison of feminine hygiene

product advertisements appearing during a variety of time periods would also lend valuable historical insight to this topic. Researchers may also wish to compare advertisements for feminine hygiene products in women's magazines with similar advertisements in other types of magazines.

Opportunities also exist for comparison of these results with advertisements for feminine hygiene products appearing in other media, such as television, and in other cultures.

For magazine editors and advertisers, these results may suggest a need to reevaluate the way in which women are portrayed in advertisements for feminine hygiene products. Editors and advertisers may wish to compare their magazine or product with other magazines and products in terms of portrayals and to compare their portrayals with reality to determine if their advertisements truly show women in the fullness of all their roles and activities, not simply a selected, stereotypical few.

Women and men may wish to use these results as a yardstick against which to measure their own attitudes toward and stereotypes of menstruation and other exclusively female physiological functions, and toward women in general. They may also serve as a means of evaluating similar portrayals they may encounter elsewhere, perhaps encouraging them to take action toward effecting desired changes in such portrayals.

Concluding Comment

From the democratization of knowledge by the penny press in the nineteenth century to the exposure of crime and corruption in government by the Washington Post during the Watergate scandal, the mainstream media has at many times, and in a variety of ways, flexed its massive muscles to move mountains and change the world. Women's magazines make no such claims to greatness. By quiet example, they chat and counsel, inform and entertain, all within the sphere of the "woman's world" of home and family, sex and relationships, health and career, insinuating themselves into every corner of a woman's day, and in every aspect of her life. In terms of determining the fate of the world, women's magazines may truly be nothing serious. However, if the strength of the messages these magazines carry can be measured in their impact on everyday life, they may be very serious indeed. The words of one woman in a letter to the editor of Woman's Day seem to confirm this. She wrote:

....I am a well-read, degreed woman who makes the claim that most of what I learned that mattered came from women's magazines. Through health articles, I have self-diagnosed a basal cell carcinoma and arthritis, both corroborated by my doctor. Women's magazines taught me nutrition. They taught me to cook and shop. They helped me to raise seven children and to deal with grief. You (and a few others) have instructed me, comforted and validated me....Keep up the good work. You are "serious" enough to have given me a fine education (Merrill 1993, 123).

The message of these women's magazines, however, is not only in the copy. Advertisements also pack a powerful

"punch," not only in their content, but also in their prevalence. Copy changes from issue to issue, but the same, or similar, advertising messages are repeated from month to month and from magazine to magazine. If readers readily welcome the magazines' fleeting, and often, fickle, editorial prescriptions on what to wear, how to eat, who to love and any number of other topics, then the oft-repeated advertising messages they transmit may take on importance, even urgency, in shaping their actions, expectations and beliefs.

Through the agency of feminine hygiene product advertisements, menstruation and other "secrets" of the female body are made public and women (and men) are exposed to what may be their only authority on this most personal of topics. It seems only fitting that this authority should be held accountable for the messages it conveys.

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