

Fifty Years of Advertising Images: Some Changing Perspectives on Role Portrayals Along with Enduring Consistencies

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Abstract Content analysis is used to evaluate portrayals of women and men in United States magazine advertisements over a 50-year period, 1950 through 2000. We examine 7,912 portrayals of people in 3,212 advertisements from the time period and analyze changes in those advertisements relative to transitions in feminism and cultural trends. Magazines from representative categories provided the sample data. Over the period studied, magazine advertising showed a trend toward objective role portrayals of women fairly equal to men. This trend perhaps resulted from feminist's positioning women in the public as well as the private sphere. Women were still subordinated to men in more subtle aspects of advertisements, measured by Goffman's (1979) cultural positioning framework. Sexual exploitation of both sexes was noticed.

Keywords Advertising depictions · Feminist theory · Sexual exploitation of women · Subordination of women · Content analysis

Introduction

Evaluations of the portrayal of people, especially women, in advertising have been pursued in the United States since

at least the early 1970s (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971; Dominick and Rauch 1972). This current study examines 50 years of advertising portrayals in the United States: 1950 through 2000. U.S. popular culture saw tremendous change in these 50 years, shifting from the prefeminist (traditional), through the feminist, and succeeded by the postfeminist, or antifeminist, eras (Walters 1995). The purpose of this paper is to examine, via a content analysis of a sample of magazine advertisements, the presentations of women and men over 50 years and through these presentations to evaluate the tacit reflection, with some distortion, of societal changes in the U.S. during the time period. Feminism greatly impacted U.S. society during this time, as did increasingly consumerist attitudes that placed importance on possessions. This impact is reflected in magazine advertising. As we examine these reflections we recognize that how they are interpreted in this current study may not be representative of all women or men viewing these advertisements (Walters 1995). Additionally, the current study has implications across cultures, as we consider how cultural/social shifts and media interact to influence and reflect the culture.

We propose that during this 50-year period, objective (more clearly identifiable) variables, such as the variety of role depictions shown for women, changed substantially and were consistent with the prevailing social trends in the overall U.S. culture. These changes were initiated by and carried forward through the questions feminists asked about the cultural roles for women. In more recent periods during the study, women were shown fulfilling a much greater variety of roles in the U.S. culture than they had filled in the more distant past. However, in more subjective (less clearly identifiable) variables, significant differences in the portrayals of women versus men still exist. Recognizing and rectifying overt sexism is a first step toward equality. Because of its subtlety, covert sexism is likely to take more

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time to demonstrate and communicate, and therefore more time to rectify, than overt sexism. Sexually suggestive portrayals of women, which may be linked with the feminist desire for sexual freedom, have increased substantially over the time period. We believe that the subtle, less obvious indicators of social positions, sexuality and sexism, as proposed by Goffman (1979), are still prevalent in advertising. We also believe that the increased objectification of women and sometimes men in advertising may be related, to an extent, to the increased emphasis that the U.S. culture has placed on consumerism in the last 50 years.

Some researchers believe advertising shapes our cultural views (Pollay 1986) while others believe advertising reflects target audience values (Holbrook 1987; Soley and Reid 1988). A combined view of the shaping and reflecting aspects of advertising is advanced by other researchers (Tuchman 1978; Budgeon 1994) and is ascribed to in our present research. Advertising reflects and recreates the social world in a manipulated way.

In this study we examine print advertising exclusively. Unlike other media, magazine advertising allows us to observe the same magazine over the 50-year time period evaluated. Magazine advertisements also provide a “frozen frame” that allows close visual examination and application of a complex code scheme. Also, magazine advertising is likely to have been more easily accessible by members of the U.S. culture in the early years of the study than, say, television. Although the magazines selected for this current research were not chosen to be a representative sample of all U.S. magazine advertising over the period of the study (e.g., no special interest or youth/teen magazines were included) they are a possible indicator of U.S. magazine advertising generally and are appropriate for our research purposes.

In the sections that follow we present a brief discussion of some of the advertising role portrayal studies that have occurred during the period of this study. The preponderance of these studies is based on U.S. data. Some of the major impacts of cultural shifts provided by the feminist movement along with the increasing emphasis on consumerism are reviewed. Subtle sexism, which is central to our study, is then defined primarily as framed by Goffman (1979).

Feminism, Cultural Theory and Advertising

Prefeminist Period

Popular U.S. culture, during what may be labeled as the traditional or prefeminist era (pre-1950 to approximately the early 1960s), had positioned women in the private sphere, often in the home. On the other hand, men were usually positioned in the public sphere, often in places of work and in portrayals that indicated authority. In position-

ing men and women differently relative to the public and private spheres, masculinity was granted powers in the social order that were not granted to femininity.

Empirical studies conducted in the 1970s concluded that television images shown for women were fairly stereotypical and that the private realm of the home was still the woman’s domain (e.g., Dominick and Rauch 1972; McArthur and Resko 1975; Culley and Bennett 1976; O’Donnell and O’Donnell 1978). Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) published one of the first major studies on women in magazine advertising. In the magazines they reviewed, they found that the perspective presented in the ads were that (a) a woman’s place was in the home, (b) women did not make important decisions or do important things, (c) women were dependent upon men and needed men’s protection, and (d) men regarded women primarily as sexual objects and were not interested in women as people. These findings confirmed major feminist concerns, and several follow-up studies to Courtney and Lockeretz found generally the same perspectives presented in magazine advertising (e.g., Wagner and Banos 1973; Sexton and Haberman 1974; Belkaoui and Belkaoui 1976). Another gender distinction found in advertising was that while women were shown passively in advertising, men were shown active (Berger 1972).

Feminist Period

Feminist theorists in the 1960s through approximately the 1970s challenged the unequal power granted to women and men. Feminist theories also challenged the independence and career positions associated with masculinity and the lack of power, independence, and sexual freedom associated with femininity. Feminist writings repositioned women as vital players in occupational activities, and popular U.S. culture granted them relatively equal authority in the public sphere.

Schneider and Schneider (1979) examined this feminist evolution by comparing television advertising portrayals in 1979 to a 1971 baseline to see if changes had occurred during that time period. Overall, they found some convergences in the role portrayals for women and men, but differences still existed. Lysonski (1983) provided an update of the empirical evidence on sexism and magazine advertising in order to determine if there had been any changes in role portrayals. He concluded that in U.S. advertising women appeared dependent upon men less frequently and were less likely to be depicted using sex appeal, with men less dominant over women and used less often as authority figures. Additional examination revealed that women’s bodies were more frequently shown in fragments (i.e., only a body part) than were men’s bodies (Winship 1987).

Postfeminist Period

Moving to what can be called the postfeminist period (approximately 1985 and beyond), we find that the impact of the feminist movement seemed to have stabilized, as evidenced by television depictions. Gilly (1988) examined role portrayals in television advertising for the United States, Mexico, and Australia, and concluded that advertising stereotypes from all three countries generally reflected stereotypes of male and female roles in those countries. Ganahl and Prinsen (2001) found that ads for certain products were not portraying women as primary characters in the ads even though women were purchasing more of these products than men. Females were also shown as universal or generic while men were shown as individuals (Macdonald 1995).

While Sullivan and O'Connor (1988) found a more realistic—less stereotypical—portrayal of women's roles in the U.S. culture relative to previous times, stereotypical images of women and men persisted in magazine advertisements. Women continued to be portrayed as housewives concerned with physical attractiveness. Dependency and sex object themes continued to be used. Surprisingly, portrayals in *Ms.* magazine, which is targeted towards women and was co-founded by Gloria Steinem, increasingly portrayed women as sex objects during its first 15 years of publication (Ferguson et al. 1990). Dee (1985) concluded that women had been socialized to accept images of themselves as victims and will even buy products reinforcing these images.

Feminists were somewhat conflicted over their intentions toward sexual freedom and what they desired relative to this aspect of women's lives. In women's magazines, for example, the message provided by the articles about sexuality were not consistent with the theme conveyed in the ads (Coward 1987). The magazine articles tended to pursue topics about women who had explored and taken control of their sexuality while the advertisements tended to depict women in a submissive, objectified way.

This conflict in feminist thought regarding sexual freedom made it easy for advertising to incorporate female sexuality in ads and may have promoted its use. U.S. culture and advertising co-opted women's desire for sexual freedom by incorporating it with the male gaze. A male gaze takes pleasure in and depicts women as erotic objects (Devereaux 1990). Macdonald (2004) discusses three ways feminist ideas were co-opted in the 1980s and 1990s. These included the presentation of quasi-feminist concepts, a change in the traditional feminist quality of caring associated with motherhood to make it compatible with self-fulfillment, and the beginning of incorporating female fantasies in ads. Advertisers thus appeared to be supporting feminist concepts while at the same time using these concepts to their best advantage in presenting the product

to the audience. Advertising worked within the framework provided by popular U.S. culture and, therefore, contributed to the co-optation process by using the surface facts and terminology of feminist discourse but not the ideological underpinnings (Macdonald 1995).

Sexual Exploitation

Soley and Kurzbard (1986) found that between 1964 and 1984 there was an increase in depictions of women used as sex objects in general interest magazines, women's magazines, and men's magazines. In a sample of fashion and fitness magazines, Rudman and Verdi (1993) found evidence for both objective and subjective exploitation of female models by placing them in submissive, sexually exploited and victim positions. In general, the use of explicit sexual appeals has been increasing in advertising (e.g., LaTour 1990; Severn et al. 1990; Soley and Reid 1988; Tinkham and Reid 1988).

The technique of role reversal has also been used to depict men as vulnerable objects of sexual desire (Fetterley 1977; Stern 1993). Now, images showing more of the male body have been added to advertisers' long-time reliance on female bodies (Reichert et al. 1999). Since the 1980s the male body has been treated as an objectified commodity, much as the female body long has been (Healy 1994). These images often precipitate a feminized "male gaze"; thus women trade traditional feminine roles for a masculine role (Walters 1995).

Although men are also now included, women are much more likely to be shown in a sexually explicit manner than are men. One study found that women are three times more likely than men to be portrayed in a sexually explicit manner (Reichert et al. 1999). Along with women and men shown in a more sexually explicit manner, there has been an increase in sexual contact between women and men in magazine advertisements, with this taking place primarily in gendered magazines (Reichert et al. 1999). These findings lead us to hypothesize that women will still be more likely than men to be presented in a sexually explicit/suggestive pose, although this type of depiction of men has shown an increasing trend.

H1: Females, more often than males, will be shown in a suggestive pose in magazine advertisements.

Consumerism

Increasing acquisition of material goods may be one possible explanation for the increase in sexual portrayals. Women in particular have been associated with consumerism. Lasch (1984) explains that consumer society has replaced an external world of substance with images of self-gratification. As a result, a culture that focuses on mass consumption also tends to emphasize narcissism (Lasch 1984). According to Reichert and Lambiasi (2003), sexual

images are not intended to sell us on sex. Rather, the intent of these images is to sell us on shopping. These ads strive to create a desire for material possessions rather than sexual satisfaction (Reichert and Lambiase 2003). Also, Bordo (1999) proposes that male dissatisfaction with body image may be a gold mine for consumerism such as it has been for females. Thus, showing a male or female body part results in a focus on that part of the body (e.g., abdomen, lips, hair), highlighting an area that “needs work” and that is ripe for product promotion (Coward 1985).

Walters (1992) states that women most often become the “imaged” in cultures. In other words, women’s bodies become the spectacle upon which men gaze. Yet women are also the spectators and consumers of their own image and of their own objectification. Baudrillard (1990) believes that women are still caught in the same old posing patterns and men are caught in the same old gazing patterns, but he adds that these familiar dichotomies have been replicated in new ways because men are now posing, and women are gazing.

Using the male body in an objectified manner can be seen as part of a consumerist trend and has a base in prior research (i.e., Fetterley 1977; Baudrillard 1990; Stern 1993; Reichert et al. 1999; Bordo 1999; Coward 1985; Reichert and Lambiase 2003). This research and the 50 years covered by the current study leads to Hypothesis 2.

H2: The per advertisement rate of occurrence of males shown in suggestive poses will display an increasing trend over time.

Note: all hypotheses that deal with a trend over time were evaluated with regression analysis.

Advertisements that show only part of an individual’s body indicate that the individual’s integrity as a whole person is not important. Although there has been a relatively recent trend to pose men and parts of men’s bodies as an element of focus within advertisements, we believe that women’s bodies will have been used in this manner much more consistently and more often

H3: Females, more often than males, will be represented by only part (s) of their bodies in magazine advertisements.

As noted earlier, women are more frequently seen as gazing and men more often seen posing in the later years covered by our study (Baudrillard 1990). And again, as regarding H2, using the male body in an objectified manner can be seen as a consumerist trend (e.g., Fetterley 1977; Reichert et al. 1999; and Reichert and Lambiase 2003). The increase in the prevalence of the objectification of men in more recent years leads to Hypothesis 4.

H4: The per advertisement rate of occurrence of males represented by only part (s) of their bodies will display an increasing trend over time.

Subtle Sexism

This present study is rooted in the prior discussion of feminism, culture, consumerism, and the function of advertising portrayals within this *mélange*. From examining this *mélange*, we believe advertising has primarily stayed within the framework provided by popular U.S. culture. As popular culture has granted more power to women and has moved them into the public sphere by associating them with a variety of occupations, advertising has correspondingly depicted them in this way (See Schneider and Schneider 1979 followed by Sullivan and O’Connor 1988.). We also believe that popular U.S. culture has been somewhat ambivalent with regard to the independence associated with feminism. With this ambivalence in mind and following Goffman’s (1979) perspective, the subtle depictions of women in advertising are equivocal insofar as they portray women in a decorative way, in subordination, and withdrawing from the scene.

Goffman (1979) studied the details of daily communication between people and how a sense of self is established and reinforced by “displays” that indicate social identity, mood, or intent. He contends that these displays are socially learned and not instinctive, so people learn to provide and to read depictions of masculinity and femininity. American feminist Vivian Gornick argues that:

Advertisements depict for us not necessarily how we actually behave as men and women but how we *think* men and women behave. This depiction serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how men and women *are*, or want to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves but in relation to each other. (Goffman 1979, p. vii).

Using a research methodology called semiotic content analysis, Goffman identified what would be considered more subtle indications of cultural position, sexuality, and sexism (Shields 1997). Goffman (1979) selected magazine advertisements to exemplify his ideas for presentation, not to prove the phenomenon’s existence. In this present research, Goffman’s ideas are examined for their existence in magazine advertising.

Two strengths of Goffman’s framework are that “1) it permits the study of relationships between men and women, thus potentially offering insights into the portrayals of both sexes, and 2) it allows the exploration of less obvious elements (or what Goffman would call the ‘opaque goings-on’) of an advertisement” (Klassen et al. 1993, p. 32). Numerous previous empirical studies have used some of Goffman’s categories as the basis of their coding schemes and to evaluate various aspects of advertising (e.g. Belknap and Leonard 1991; Umiker-Sebeok 1996; Krassas et al. 2001; Klassen et al. 1993; and Lindner 2004). Our study is unique in its application of all of Goffman’s categories to 50 years of advertisements, with a focus on shifts in portrayals over time.

Goffman's Categories

Specifically, we used the following categories in the present research. Each is described as Goffman (1979) would describe it:

- H1: Use of hands: Women, more than men, are pictured practicing ritualistic touch that has fingers or hands barely touching an item, caressing an item, or gracefully portrayed. In opposition, males are more often pictured practicing utilitarian touch that grasps, manipulates, or holds.
- H2: Function ranking: When a man and woman collaborate in an undertaking, the man is likely to perform the executive role.
- H3: Ritualization of subordination: Men are shown with their eyes averted in relation to a social, political, or intellectual superior, while women are shown with eyes or head averted in relation to men. Women are shown looking and acting like children.
- H4: Licensed withdrawal: Women, more than men, are shown removed psychologically from the social situation at large by losing control of facial features (showing remorse, fear, or shyness) or by mentally drifting, while men in advertisements seem alert and ready to cope with anything.

In terms of Goffman's (1979) aspects of subtle depiction (i.e., use of hands, ritualization of subordination, and licensed withdrawal), we would anticipate that popular U.S. culture has not changed in the direction desired by feminists. In the category of use of hands, for example, Goffman would expect ongoing symbolic representation of sexuality and sexism. These expectations proceed from the idea that subtle depictions are in essence immune from being influenced by the advances of feminism and popular U.S. culture; thus, female and male stereotypes would continue to be perpetuated across the decades. Goffman's beliefs, contrary to feminist desires, would be that women would be shown using ritualistic touch. Both H5 and H6 are consistent with Goffman's perspective and the prefeminist (traditional) positioning of women.

Use of Hands

- H5: Females, more often than males, will be shown using ritualistic touch in magazine advertisements.
- H6: Males, more often than females, will be shown using utilitarian touch in magazine advertisements.

While we do not expect cultural trends and feminism to eliminate subtle depictions identified by Goffman, we do believe that the feminist movement and the shift of women's roles from the private sphere to the public will

have an effect on advertising depictions. Accordingly, we believe that women will be shown using their hands in a utilitarian fashion with greater frequency toward the later years of this study. This anticipated trend is based on the few empirical studies that have shown a converging trend in role portrayals of women and men (Schneider and Schneider 1979; Lysonski 1983; Klassen et al. 1993). As noted, hypotheses that deal with trends were evaluated with regression analysis.

- H7: The per advertisement rate of occurrence of females using utilitarian touch will display an increasing trend over time.

Function Ranking

Popular U.S. culture has indicated a trend towards portraying women and men in the public sphere. Given the 50-year period of this study, we expect that men on average will be shown more often playing the executive role with a trend toward equality between males and females. Overall, though, role portrayals will have been more heavily influenced by the prefeminist cultural view than by the later feminist and postfeminist views. This prefeminist positioning of men and women is consistent with Goffman's (1979) beliefs and with many previous empirical studies, including Dominick and Rauch (1972), McArthur and Resko (1975), Culley and Bennett (1976), and O'Donnell and O'Donnell (1978). The movement towards the end of the studied time period to more contemporary feminist or postfeminist perspectives would indicate a decrease in the prevalence of males performing the executive role.

- H8: Males, more often than females, will be shown playing the executive role in magazine advertisements.
- H9: The per advertisement rate of occurrence of males performing the executive role will display a decreasing trend over time.

The Goffman categories examined in the final two hypotheses should display a traditional cultural positioning of women, reflecting the subtle sexism nature of the "opaque goings-on" in magazine advertising. The fundamental view here is that there will not have been a strong impact by feminist ideals in these areas.

Ritualization of Subordination

Whereas in the objective, more clearly defined, aspects of magazine advertisements we expect to see a shift in the depiction of women from a sexist presentation toward a more equal presentation relative to men (e.g., H7 and H9 above), in the subjective, less clearly defined, more

“opaque” aspects of advertisements, such as ritualization of subordination, we expect ongoing subtle sexism.

Thus, consistent with Goffman’s (1979) expectation to see women as subordinate in advertisements, the prefeminist (traditional) positioning of women, and Kang’s (1997) study that found no change in ritualization of subordination over 13 years studied, we would expect that the feminist movement will not have had much impact on this type of subordination.

H10: Females, more often than males, will be shown in subordinate poses in magazine advertisements.

The above comments regarding H10 and the ritualized subordination of women would indicate no expected change in the per advertisement rate of occurrence of females in subordinate poses over the time of the study. Although no hypothesis is advanced here, the data were examined to see if there was evidence of a trend.

Licensed Withdrawal

As described regarding H10, in the subtle, more subjective aspects of advertising depictions, such as licensed withdrawal, little impact of the feminist movement is expected over the time of the study. Goffman’s perspective regarding women appearing withdrawn relative to men (which is suggestive of sexual submission), the dominance of the prefeminist cultural view over the time period studied, and the co-optation of women’s desire for sexual freedom by advertisers provide a foundation for the following hypothesis.

H11: Females, more often than males, will be shown in withdrawal poses in magazine advertisements.

The above comments regarding H11 and the licensed withdrawal of women would indicate no expected change in the per advertisement rate of occurrence of females in withdrawal poses over the time of the study. Although no hypothesis is advanced here, the data were examined to see if there was evidence of a trend.

Method

Sample

Magazine advertisements were used as the source of data for this study because they provided a “frozen frame” that facilitated application of the Goffman-based, complex code scheme used here. Goffman’s emphasis was also on magazine advertising. The data used for this study was obtained from seven U.S. magazines that, as a first requirement, were published without interruption from 1950 to 2000. This was an important restriction given the

need for continuity over time. The convenience sample of magazines used was not intended to be generalizable to all U.S. magazines but allowed us to test our hypotheses using the same published sources over a 50-year time span.

Standard Rate and Data (SRD 1990) magazine categories, demographics, and readership information were used to focus on gendered and general readership magazines and to provide gender balance. SRD reports were used to determine high circulation magazines. Magazines selected for the sample had to be the highest, or among the highest, circulation for its category during the 50 years examined. High circulation magazines were deemed the best reflection of the U.S. culture and as having the broadest influence. Next, to get a cross section of readership, we chose a range of SRD categories of magazines. These categories were dominated by publications that had been used in prior research, including gendered magazines and general interest magazines. Desiring broad appeal magazines, we eliminated special interest magazines and magazines targeted at children and teens. Of course, during 50 years there are obvious shifts in many variables relative to the sampled magazines. Such items as circulation ranking and reader demographics can fluctuate.

Using SRD (1990) magazine categories and the criteria noted earlier, we configured a sample that included two women’s magazines (*Cosmopolitan* and *Ladies’ Home Journal*), two men’s magazines (*Esquire* and *Popular Mechanics*), two general editorial magazines (*Reader’s Digest* and *National Geographic*), and one news magazine (*Time*). Gendered magazines followed by general editorial magazines were deemed most applicable for testing our hypotheses. A news magazine was included in the sample because of circulation levels and use in prior research. The magazines in the sample used in prior research include *Cosmopolitan*, *Esquire*, *Time*, and *Reader’s Digest* (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971; Belkaoui and Belkaoui 1976; Reichert et al. 1999; Soley and Kurzbard 1986; Sullivan and O’Connor 1988). Thus the convenience sample drawn was “systematized” to obtain a sample judged acceptable for testing the stated hypotheses.

Some example demographics of magazine readership for the selected magazines for one date point (Marketer’s Guide to Media 1992) demonstrate how we sought to represent a range of readership in the sample. In 1992, 91% of *Ladies’ Home Journal* readers were women. *Popular Mechanics* had an 87% male readership. As for median age, *Cosmopolitan*’s was 32, with *Ladies’ Home Journal*’s at 50.3. Readers’ household income also ranged for the magazines chosen, with *Reader’s Digest* readers’ income generally the lowest (\$52,220) and *Time*’s readers’ the highest (\$65,558). Again, these demographics are date-specific, and it should be remembered that a magazine’s readership demographics can shift over time. With the

above in mind, we believe that the sampled magazines give a profile of popular, non-specialty magazines published in the U.S. from 1950 through 2000.

Table 1 displays the percent breakdown of the final database by year and by magazine used in the study. Magazines were obtained at 50-year intervals with specific issues determined by randomly selecting a month of the year. To be included in the sample an advertisement had to (a) be at least a half page in size and (b) have humans, or parts thereof, identifiable by sex as part of the ad (no cartoons/drawings included). The final “cleaned” database consisted of 7, 912 portrayals of people from 3,212 advertisements covering 50 years of U.S. magazine advertising.

Coders and Training

Two independent coders were used to code all of the advertisements, as recommended by Krippendorff (1980). Two graduate students, a female and a male, were selected in order to provide a dual gender perspective. The coders were extensively trained, including multiple coding sessions and training with the investigators. The code scheme itself was changed during this process to make it clearer and more useable.

The Code Scheme

Along with the description of the broad Goffman categories presented earlier, additional criteria used to identify the presence of one of these categories are presented in the Appendix. The Appendix presents a summary of the Goffman-based code scheme used in this study. Greater detail on the code scheme is available from the authors on request.

Table 1 Breakdown of advertisements used for data in study.

By year		By magazine	
1950	13.6%	Time	8.4%
1955	11.4%	National geographic	6.0%
1960	10.2%	Popular mechanic	13.5%
1965	7.1%	Reader's digest	10.1%
1970	10.2%	Cosmopolitan	24.0%
1975	6.2%	Ladies' home journal	20.6%
1980	9.4%	Esquire	17.4%
1985	11.2%		100.0%
1990	7.7%		
1995	6.8%		
2000	6.2%		
	100.0%		

The code scheme includes obvious and also more complex variables. For example, the presence or absence of hands in an advertisement is fairly straightforward. But identifying a variable like “licensed withdrawal” is more complex. Part of the description of this variable from the Appendix reads, “Persons pictured engaged in actions that remove them psychologically from situation at large, leaving them unoriented in and to it, dependent on the protectiveness and goodwill of others around.” Added to this description of the broad category, there are specific subcode variables (as identified in the Appendix) that manifest the broad category. Thus the description of the broad category and the specific manifestation subcode variables under it combined to serve as a guide for the coders. This example for licensed withdrawal is generalizable to the other complex broad category variables: function ranking and ritualization of subordination. Direct transition from Goffman’s conceptual base to our operationalization was facilitated by using Goffman’s (1979) actual descriptions and examples as the foundation for our operationalization.

The code scheme had five main sections. The first section consisted of “General Counting Categories” (e.g., the number of females in an advertisement, person in a “suggestive” pose, number of persons with only part of body shown). The next four sections, based on Goffman’s work as described above and under “Goffman’s Categories” earlier, each began with a “yes/no” variable that dealt with whether the ad showed (a) use of hands, (b) function ranking, (c) ritualization of subordination, and/or (d) licensed withdrawal. If one or more of these broad categories was identified as present, the specifics of how the variable was manifest were examined using the specific subcodes under that broad category. Obviously, a recursive relationship existed between coding the broad yes/no categories and the specific subcode(s) under a broad category.

Examples of the specific subcodes that indicated how the four yes/no categories were manifest include: for the use of hands—number of persons using ritualistic touch; for function ranking—persons who are performing the executive role; for ritualization of subordination—number of persons shown as images of deference; and for licensed withdrawal—persons shown with fingers to the mouth. Again, the Appendix offers more details of the code scheme.

Reliability (Reproducibility)

Table 2 presents the reliability assessment for the key coding variables. Of first importance was whether there was reliability between the coders with respect to the four major yes/no categories of the code scheme (i.e., use of hands, function ranking, ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal). The Proportional Reduction in Loss (PRL)

Table 2 Reliability of key variables.

Yes/No variables		Ratio variables			
Ad shows	Proportional reduction of loss ^a	Variable	Krippendorff alpha for interval variables ^a	Variable	Krippendorff alpha for interval variables ^a
Hands	.95	# of females	.98	# of males	.97
Function ranking	.73	# of suggestive females	.81	# of suggestive males	.99
Ritualization of subordination	.72	# of female body parts	.98	# of male body parts	.93
Licensed withdrawal	.75	# of female children	.97	# of male children	.96

^a minimum acceptable level .70

measure was used to indicate this reliability (Rust and Cooil 1994). PRL compensates for chance agreements between coders. Nunnally and Bernstein (1994) support .7 as a minimum standard for reliability for “exploratory work.” Rust and Cooil (1994) note that exploratory work, “describes most of the work published in academic marketing journals” (p. 9). Thus .7 was adopted as the minimum reliability standard for this research. As can be seen in Table 2, all of the yes/no variables met the minimum reliability requirement on the PRL measure.

Also shown in Table 2 is the intercoder reliability assessed for a set of ratio/interval variables of counts regarding basic categories of women and men in the advertisements (the general counting categories). These variables were evaluated using an SAS macro for measuring reliability (Kang et al. 1993). Krippendorff’s alpha (1980) for interval data was the measure of reliability used on these variables. Krippendorff’s acceptable reliability range for his measure of .67 to .80 fits well with research categorized as exploratory work by Nunnally and Bernstein (Krippendorff 1980; Nunnally and Bernstein 1994). Thus, .70 was again deemed an acceptable level of reliability. As seen in Table 2, all the variables in this group displayed good reliability (even excellent reliability).

Some variables reported in the Appendix were not considered for further analysis because of reliability levels below the accepted minimum (i.e., people classified as “old”) or because they were virtually non-existent in the database (i.e., ads suggestive of physical or sexual violence).

Results

General Counting Categories

Of the 7,912 people coded for the study, 50.3% females and 49.7 % males. A significant difference was found between females and males for the display of a “suggestive pose” and only body parts. Of people

portrayed in a “suggestive pose,” 88.4% were females and 11.6% were males, $t(381)=12.04$, $p<.0001$. See below for details of how the t -tests were performed. For people represented only as body parts, 58.6% were females and 41.4% were males, $t(582)=4.59$, $p<.0001$. Thus H1 and H3 are supported by the data. More frequently than males during the period studied, females were found to be in suggestive poses and portrayed by body parts.

The values used in the t -test analyses and summarized in Table 3 for the general counting categories variables (suggestive pose and body parts) were formed by summing the number of females or males displaying a certain characteristic (e.g., a “suggestive pose”) in a given year divided by the total number of ads that year. For this calculation of the general counting categories variables, data for both coders were summed together and results in a rate of occurrence of a variable for females or males per advertisement for each year of the study (e.g., 1950, 1955, 1960 etc.). In Table 3, to simplify data display, these rates of occurrence are averaged into three summary year groups labeled prefeminist (1950, 1955, 1960), feminist (1965, 1970, 1975, 1980), and postfeminist (1985, 1990, 1995, 2000). This general approach to data display was used in the remainder of Table 3.

The t -test results reported in the simplified data display of Table 3 derive from analysis of the complete dataset over all the years of the study, not the summary presentation data displayed in the body of the table. As another simplification, actual degrees of freedom are reported here in the body of the paper but for simplicity are reported as at least 225 in Table 3.

To examine patterns in the data, rates of occurrence generated as described above were used in simple regression analyses with each year of the study (e.g., 1950, 1955, 1960, etc.) as the independent variable and the variable of interest as the dependent variable (e.g., males in a suggestive pose).

As part of the regression analyses presented in Table 4, the residuals were plotted against the predicted values.

Table 3 Average rate of occurrence of variable per ad.

General counting categories									
Year group ^a		Suggestive pose		Body parts					
		Female*	Male	Female*	Male				
Prefem		.022	.002	.081	.097				
Fem		.065	.004	.102	.079				
Postfem		.106	.022	.085	.058				
Goffman's categories									
Year group ^a	Ritualistic touch		Utilitarian touch		Adult in executive role		Adult being instructed		
	Female*	Male	Female ^{ns}	Male	Female*	Male	Female*	Male	
Prefem	.042	.006	.457	.595	.013	.026	.027	.006	
Fem	.046	.007	.518	.489	.005	.022	.021	.003	
Postfem	.085	.036	.484	.355	.003	.009	.007	.002	
Year group ^a	Subordination/receiving Support		Superiority/providing support		Licensed withdrawal				
	Female*	Male	Female*	Male	Female*	Male	Female*	Male	
Prefem	.211	.086	.009	.038	.104	.044			
Fem	.263	.076	.004	.050	.138	.041			
Postfem	.321	.095	.017	.053	.156	.055			

^a For display in this table year group values are averages for the years of the study grouped as: Prefeminist = 1950, 1955, 1960; Feminist = 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980; Postfeminist = 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000. For analysis all *t*-tests between females and males were performed on the complete dataset over all the years of the study and not on these summary values. All degrees of freedom for the *t*-tests were at least 225. *T*-values are reported in the body of the paper
*= $p>|t|<.0001$

ns = not significant

These plots can reveal non-constant variance in the data. Plots of the original data with the regression line fitted through it along with the coefficients were also examined to aid in interpretation of the results. From examination of these plots and coefficients, curvilinear relationships were found for a few of the variables and a squared term was added in the independent variable, year. The Durbin-Watson statistic was also calculated for all regressions because of the possibility of autocorrelation in data analyzed over time. This statistic fell within the acceptable range of from 1.5 to 2.5 for all the regressions done for this study. These procedures were applied to all regression analyses done for this present research.

Regressions were run in the above fashion for all the variables shown in Table 3. The first two hypotheses tested via regression were H2 and H4, which proposed that increasing trends would be found for males presented in suggestive poses and as only body parts, respectively. A highly significant positive relationship was found between males in suggestive poses and time, $R^2=.771$, $F(1, 9)=30.24$, $p=.0004$. This increasing trend for males presented in suggestive poses supports H2. However, H4 could not be supported. An increasing trend in males shown by only body parts was not found. In fact, a significant negative relationship was found to exist between time and males represented by only body parts, $R^2=.603$, $F(1, 9)=13.67$, $p=.005$. These results are presented in Table 4 as are all regression analysis results for this study.

Goffman's Categories

Use of Hands

To reconcile the differences between the coders for the four broad variables based on Goffman's categories (i.e., use of hands, function ranking, ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal), the decision was made to use only the observations for which the coders agreed on the yes/no variable that indicated the category was evident in the advertisement. The size of the database for this study (7,912 portrayals of people from 3,212 advertisements) makes this decision a reasonable approach for resolving coder differences.

To examine the variables that are part of the four broad yes/no Goffman categories, and for which changes over time were hypothesized, we employed a modified version of the values calculated for examining the general counting categories variables (see Table 3 and prior discussion). The modification used for the Goffman variables (Table 3, "Touch" through "Withdrawal") consisted of calculating the rate of occurrence but using only ads for which both coders agree on the yes/no variable (e.g., licensed withdrawal). This calculation resulted in a comparable measure to that used for the general counting categories variables also presented in Table 3. That is, the calculation represents the rate of occurrence of a variable for females or males per advertisement for each year of the study (e.g., 1950, 1955, 1960 etc.). The averages for this measure for the three time

Table 4 Regressions of rate of occurrence of variable per ad over time.

Variable	Beta ^a	F-Value	$P_F > F$	R^2
Female suggestive	.0023	17.27	.003	.657
Male suggestive	.0006	30.24	.0004	.771
Female parts	-.0003	.29	.601	.032
Male parts	-.0012	13.67	.005	.603
Ritualistic touch (Female)	-1.13 $y^2=.0003$	3.85	.067	.49^b
Ritualistic touch (Male)	-.89 $y^2=.0002$	6.82	.019	.63^b
Utilitarian touch (Female)	.0003	.09	.776	.01
Utilitarian touch (Male)	-.0060	41.24	.0001	.82
Executive function (Female)	-.0002	3.27	.104	.267
Executive function (Male)	-.0005	13.15	.006	.594
Being instructed (Female)	-.0006	13.84	.005	.606
Being instructed (Male)	-.00009	1.75	.218	.163
Ritualized subordination (Female)	.0029	5.94	.035	.398
Ritualized subordination (Male)	.0006	1.16	.309	.115
Ritualized superior (Female)	-.10 $y^2=.00003$	6.54	.021	.621^b
Ritualized superior (Male)	.0004	2.02	.189	.213
Licensed withdrawal (Female)	.0008	1.04	.336	.103
Licensed withdrawal (Male)	.0003	2.10	.181	.190

Variables in **bold** showed significant results. Regressions reported here were performed on the data from each year of the study (e.g., 1950, 1955, etc.)
 df Model = 1, Error = 9, Total = 10 for all but squared term model

^a The actual values for the independent variable year were used in the regressions (e.g., 1950) and the regressions were run on rate of occurrence data bounded by 0 and 1

^b Squared term (y^2) for year used in this model, df Model = 2, Error = 8, Total = 10

periods, prefeminist, feminist, and postfeminist are displayed in Table 3.

For the variable ritualistic touch, a significant difference, $t(349)=11.49$, $p<.0001$, was found between females and males. As proposed in H5, and supported by the results here, females were depicted using ritualistic touch more often than were males.

The variable utilitarian touch was examined for more frequent use of this type of touch by males (H6) and for an increasing trend of utilitarian touch by females (H7). The results for H6, $t(1,107)=.94$, $p<.3476$, and the results for H7, $R^2=.01$, $F(1,9)=.09$, $p=.776$, indicate lack of support for both of these hypotheses. Males did not show a more frequent use of utilitarian touch than females in ads, and females did not show an increasing trend in the use of utilitarian touch over time.

Function Ranking

To test H8 and H9, variables 1 and 2 (people performing the executive role or being instructed) under function ranking in the Appendix were examined. Males were more frequently depicted as performing the executive role than females, $t(231)=4.18$, $p<.0001$, supporting H8. The complement to playing the executive role is being instructed. Females were more frequently depicted as being instructed than were males, $t(241)=6.04$, $p<.0001$. These findings taken together indicate that males were shown playing the executive role more than females in support of H8.

Regression analysis indicates a negative relationship between males performing the executive role and time, $R^2=.594$, $F(1,9)=13.15$, $p=.006$. Females being instructed, the complement to males playing the executive role, showed a significant negative relationship with time, $R^2=.606$, $F(1,9)=13.84$, $p=.005$. These results support H9. Males performing the executive role displayed a decreasing trend over time.

Ritualization of Subordination

To test H10, a summed composite variable was formed that captured subordination and receiving support. The variables 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8b under Goffman's ritualization of subordination in the Appendix were included in this composite measure. This measure consisted of such variables as images of deference, throat exposed, being shown in physically low places, and receiving protection, support and guidance. The complimentary measure, superiority and providing support, was formed from summing ritualization of subordination variables 3 and 8a (Appendix) which indicate superiority and providing protection and support. H10 is supported by analysis of the subordination composite measure, $t(1,555)=18.29$, $p<.0001$. Females were shown in subordinate poses more than males. Additional support for H10 was found in the complementary measure, superiority and providing support, which showed significant results, with males more often depicted in ritualized superior ways than females, $t(1,502) = 10.04$, $p<.0001$.

The rationale advanced earlier for H10 would indicate no expected trend in the subordination and receiving support composite measure for females. Albeit not hypothesized, the data were also examined for evidence of a trend. Using this composite measure in regression analysis indicated a moderately significant positive relationship between females depicted in a ritualized subordinate fashion and time, $R^2 = .398$, $F(1,9)=5.94$, $p=.035$. Rather than no trend, an increasing trend during the period studied was found for females shown in subordinate poses.

Licensed Withdrawal

To test H11, a summed composite measure was formed for Goffman's licensed withdrawal using variables 1 through 7 under this heading in the [Appendix](#). This composite measure includes such items as losing control, showing anxiety, mentally drifting, looking out from behind something, and so forth. The H11 proposal that females would

be shown in withdrawal poses more than males was supported, $t(1,667)=14.25$, $p<.0001$.

The rationale advanced earlier for H11 would indicate no expected trend in the licensed withdrawal composite measure for females. Albeit not hypothesized, the data were also examined for evidence of a trend. Using this composite measure in regression analysis indicated no trend for females depicted in a licensed withdrawal fashion over the period studied, $R^2=.103$, $F(1,9)=1.04$, $p=.336$.

Table 5 summarizes the results of all the hypothesis tests.

Table 5 Results of hypothesis tests regarding people in U.S. magazine advertisements, 1950–2000.

	Results
General counting categories	
H1: Females, more than males, shown in a suggestive pose.	Supported
H2: Rate of occurrence of males in suggestive poses will display an increasing trend.	Supported
H3: Females, more than males, represented by only body parts.	Supported
H4: Rate of occurrence of males represented by only body parts will display an increasing trend.	Not supported
Goffman's categories	
Use of hands	
H5: Females, more than males, shown using ritualistic touch.	Supported
H6: Males, more than females, shown using utilitarian touch.	Not supported
H7: Rate of occurrence of females using utilitarian touch will display an increasing trend.	Not supported
Function ranking	
H8: Males, more than females, shown playing the executive role.	Supported
H9: Rate of occurrence of males performing the executive role will display a decreasing trend.	Supported
Ritualization of subordination	
H10: Females, more than males, shown in subordinate poses. (Rate of occurrence of females shown in subordinate poses displayed increasing trend.)	Supported
Licensed withdrawal	
H11: Females, more than males, shown in withdrawal poses. (Rate of occurrence of females shown in withdrawal poses displayed no trend.)	Supported

Discussion

Our review of 50 years of U.S. magazine advertising indicates that the first two points of Courtney and Lockeretz's (1971) findings, (1) that advertising shows that a woman's place is in the home and (2) that advertising depicts women who do not make important decisions or do important things, are no longer true. However, their third finding is still true: advertising shows that women are dependent and need men's protection. And their fourth point, that advertising presents women as sexual objects for the male gaze and that women are not regarded as whole people, may have become even more prominent (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971). Our research found advertisements showing women in the private and public sphere, and fulfilling a variety of roles not only maternal but also executive. However, women are still shown as dependent on men and are used increasingly as sexual objects in ads.

The general counting categories variables in the study's analytical code scheme allowed for the examination of the more obvious features of magazine advertisements. Consistent with previous research into the sexual exploitation of women (e.g., Reichert et al. 1999; Soley and Kurzbard 1986), the female body is used much more often than the male body as a visual element in advertisements (Devereaux 1990). This appears to confirm Walters' (1995) view that advertising has co-opted and used the desire for sexual freedom on the part of women. This may explain why females were increasingly shown in suggestive poses throughout the time period.

Similar to other research findings (Reichert et al. 1999; Stern 1993), our research shows an increasing trend of females and males positioned in suggestive ways in magazine advertisements. This positioning focuses on the body of the model as an overall and integral part of the visual element of an advertisement. One goal of this suggestive positioning is perhaps to attract more attention to the ad than otherwise would occur, as stated by Ford and LaTour (1993). Looking more deeply, these suggestive poses in advertisements may indicate, consistent with the consumerist trend and the findings of Adbusters

(2001), Baudrillard (1990), Gutwill (1994), and Reichert and Lambiase (2003), an increasing connection between sexuality and the purchase and possession of products. The finding of increased use of suggestive poses is contrary to Piirto's (1989) statement that the buying public may be tired of the hard sell of sex.

Our data indicate a stronger emphasis on the female body than on the male body in ad depictions, both as indicated by the use of body parts and by women positioned in suggestive poses. Females were depicted in these ways more often than males were. Further, males were represented by body parts less frequently over time, contrary to expectations, which may indicate the continued prominence of the female body versus the male body as a visual element in advertising.

Examining variables proposed by Goffman (1979) allowed us to analyze the “opaque goings-on” (Klassen, et al. 1993, p.32) in advertisements. Hands can be an indicator of role position in advertisements. Consistent with Goffman's discussion of hands and ritualistic touch, females were more often shown using ritualistic touch than males and were depicted in decorative ways more frequently. This finding is in line with the results regarding body parts and suggestive poses: women are more often used in decorative ways in magazine advertisements than men.

Males were not found to use their hands in a utilitarian fashion more often than women, as had been expected. Although no hypothesis was advanced regarding a decline in males using utilitarian touch, there was a significant decreasing trend of males using utilitarian touch in magazine advertisements over the period studied (Table 4). A visual examination of the data in Table 3 shows that, as ad portrayals of males using utilitarian touch trended downward, females' use of utilitarian touch remained constant. There is an indication that males started at higher levels than females on this variable in the prefeminist period but trended down to lower levels than females in the postfeminist period (Table 3). We were surprised by the downward trend, which washed out the differences between females and males on this variable over time. The lack of support for greater use of utilitarian touch by males versus females, the significant decrease in the use of utilitarian touch by males, together with the increased posing of men in a suggestive fashion, may indicate a trend towards using males in a more decorative fashion in magazine advertising, somewhat similar to the ritualistic prefeminist portrayals of women in advertisements. However, the downward trend in males shown as only body parts is contrary to this view and may indicate the continued prominence of females as decorations in advertising.

Regarding the more objective aspects of magazine advertising presentations, previous research has indicated

a change in the way women are viewed (e.g., Lysonski 1983; Schneider and Schneider 1979), that is, playing the executive role and positioning in the public sphere. Our research clearly indicates a consistent trend toward gender balance in the area of role portrayals. On average, males were more likely to play the executive role and women were more likely to be instructed in magazine ads over the study period. However, the possible effect of the feminist movement and the trend toward equality can be seen in a decreasing trend of males playing the executive role and also in females being instructed during the feminist and postfeminist time periods. Males and females were shown more equally sharing different role positions towards the end of the study's 50 years.

We have seen a movement toward balanced female and male role positions in the more objective areas of function ranking but not in the more subtle areas of cultural position, sexuality, and sexism, as found when examining the ritualization of subordination and licensed withdrawal variables. Women were more often shown in ritualized subordinate positions and men more often shown in superior positions. While it was expected that the feminist movement and cultural changes would not covary with the more subtle variable of ritualization of subordination, we found this variable actually increased moderately in magazine advertisements during the study time period. A higher rate of occurrence of women shown as subordinate and receiving support was found in the postfeminist era relative to the prefeminist (traditional) era. Thus, feminism may not have been effective in decreasing the ritualized subordination of women in magazine advertising during the period studied. Old, ritualistic ways, of “keeping women in their place” still are prevalent, even increasing, in magazine advertising. The equality achieved in objective aspects of role portrayals appears to have coincided with an increase in more subtle subordination of women in advertisements.

Another more subtle area of possible sexism, Goffman's licensed withdrawal, appears to be “alive and well” in magazine advertisements, as we expected. Females were depicted more often than males in a withdrawn fashion, though there was no trend change during the 50 years examined. Women, more often than men, are depicted in subtle, sexist ways, with no decrease in prevalence of such depictions over time and even a modest increase. These findings may be connected to the co-optation of women's desire for sexual freedom.

In summary, this research presents a picture of magazine advertising portrayals that have gone through significant changes regarding the roles and positions of females and males in U.S. society. In 1950, females and males fulfilled almost exclusively “traditional” roles, with men portrayed in the public sphere and women portrayed primarily in the private sphere, usually within the home (See Sexton and

Haberman 1974; Dominick 1979). In the year 2000, in the postfeminist era, portrayals of males in executive roles and presentations of females being instructed both decreased. Magazine advertising presents a more balanced, equal depiction of women and men in the more objective/easily identifiable role positions. In this sense our findings are consistent with Wolin (2003), who found a decrease in gender stereotyping in advertising for the period of 1970–2002.

Our review of magazine advertising role portrayals provides empirical evidence that the feminist movement likely contributed to the increased portrayal of women in the public sphere. However, in more subtle aspects of advertisements, women have been kept in “their place.” Women are still more likely than men to be using their hands in a ritualistic way, to be shown in ritualized subordinate poses, and to be withdrawn from the primary scene shown in the advertisement. Advertising, consistent with cultural perspectives during the time period, seems to be saying that women are just as good as men in the workplace, but men are still dominant in, and less withdrawn from, the depicted situations. With the exception of function ranking, these findings are consistent with Goffman’s assertions about gendered advertisements: women are consistently shown as subordinate to men. Regarding function ranking, Goffman would have expected a bias in advertisements in favor of males in executive roles and not the downward trend we found.

The arguments presented by the feminist movement may have been too compelling for the U.S. culture to ignore, resulting in objective differences in role portrayals from those of the prefeminist (traditional) era. However, the ads we reviewed indicate a co-optation of the feminist desire for sexual freedom by increasingly portraying women in a sexually exploited manner.

Furthermore, the subtle sexual exploitation used in advertisements, and the selling of sexuality for women and men, appears to manipulate the sexual desires of both sexes. Women and men, consistent with the evolution of consumerist attitudes, appear to have been consuming their own images in the advertisements reviewed towards the latter years of this study. Products and purchasing, as depicted in advertisements, were made “sexy” as part of the consumerist trend in U.S. society.

Limitations and Future Research

The convenience sample drawn for the study was “systematized” to obtain a sample judged acceptable for testing the stated hypotheses. Never the less, a representative sample of U.S. magazine advertising would, of course, be more solidly generalizable to all U.S. magazine advertising. The magazines selected in this study were intended to provide a

cross section of popular publications over 50 years. The magazines targeted men, women, or both, and we tried to include a range of demographic categories, including age and income. The magazines used were among the highest circulation publications in four different categories for the period examined. Using other magazines may have provided additional insights about various sub-groups. Of course, magazine advertising is only one medium for advertising communication, and the findings presented here regarding magazines warrant corroboration from analyses of other media.

The code scheme used here was very comprehensive, but other variables of interest might have been included (e.g., sexual contact between females and males). Future research could investigate any potential correlations between depictions in advertising and changes in how women and men are viewed in specific cultures. Determining consistency between a magazine’s content and the implicit messages of its advertisements can be examined. Additionally, investigators could evaluate how women and men actually react to their portrayals in advertisements. Of particular interest would be examining women’s reactions to their portrayals to see if women regard these portrayals as sexually exploitative or as presenting a natural depiction with which the women are now comfortable, or to which they have adapted. Of course, taking this present research as a base and extending the analysis as we move further into the postfeminist era would be worthwhile and could provide insights into advertising and cultural transitions.

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Appendix

Summary of Code Scheme Used in Study

Throughout the code scheme, females and males were coded separately.

I. General Counting Categories:

The specific variables were the number of (1) people, (2) children, (3) elderly, (4) suggestive poses, (5) people represented by only body parts, and (6) perpetrators and victims of physical or sexual violence (multiple variables here).

II. Goffman’s Categories:

For each of the Goffman categories, the first decision was a yes/no decision as to whether the variable was present or not.

A. **Ritualistic vs. Utilitarian Touch.** Ritualistic touching shows fingers and hands tracing outlines of objects,

cradling or caressing things, or “just barely touching.” The face is sometimes used instead of the hands. Includes self touching, as if body is delicate and precious. Also shows hands resting in a delicate, graceful manner. Utilitarian touching shows grasping, holding or manipulating something, using the hands in a functional way.

The specific variables were the number of people using (1) ritualistic and (2) utilitarian touching.

B. Function Ranking. These ads show a male and female in collaboration. A hierarchy of functions can be shown within an occupational frame or in any activity. Someone performs the “executive role” providing guidance, instruction, or even feeding another. Some people are pictured outside the domain of the traditional authority and competence for their gender so are pictured as ludicrous, childlike, or unserious.

The specific variables were the number of people (1) performing the “executive” role or instructing, (2) receiving instruction and help, and (3) pictured in a traditional female or male domain and looking either competent or ludicrous/unrealistic (multiple variables here).

C. Ritualization of Subordination. Lowering oneself physically suggests deference. Holding the body erect and the head high suggests unashamedness, superiority, and disdain. Elevation, or high physical place, may symbolize high social place. Recumbent positions on beds and floors signal subordination (and sometimes sexual availability). Poses such as “obvious knee bends” show an unreadiness to respond. Head and body cants can be read as an acceptance of subordination, submissiveness, or appeasement. Body clowning presents the person as unserious and childlike.

The specific variables were the number of people shown (1) in images of deference, (2) with throat exposed, (3) in images of superiority, (4) in physically low places, (5) with “obvious knee bend,” (6) in canting postures, (7) in body clowning or “puckish” style, and (8a.) providing support and guidance or (8b.) receiving support and guidance.

D. Licensed Withdrawal. Persons pictured engaged in actions that remove them psychologically from situation at large, leaving them unoriented in and to it, dependent on the protectiveness and goodwill of others around. Persons might be pictured looking in on a social situation from a distance or from behind a one-way panel (a “participation shield”) and be little seen or not addressed.

The specific variables were the number of people shown (1) “flooding out” or “losing control,” (2) with fingers to mouth, (3) anxiously biting or sucking finger or lips, (4) in

finger-to-finger position, (5) mentally drifting, looking into space, ‘dreamy’, luxuriating, (6) looking at a situation from behind something (object, hair etc.), and (7) snuggling up.

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