IMAGES OF WOMEN IN MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS: 1979 AND 1991

A Thesis

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by

Hae-Run Kang, B.A.
The Ohio State University
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Master's Examination Committee:  
Pamela J. Shoemaker  
David W. Richter  
Marilyn S. Roberts

Approved by

[Signature]
Advisor
School of Journalism
To My Husband, Jae-Chan Oh, for his Support
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VITA

December 15, 1965 ............... Born - Daegu, Korea

1988 ....... B.A., Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea


1990 - 1993 ............. Free-lance Writer, For Several Korean Magazines

1992 - 1993 ............. Graduate Teaching/Research Associate, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Journalism
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Chapter I. Introduction.

Every day and for most of our lives we see and hear many advertisements. We usually take advertisements for granted because they are so pervasive, but many people claim that they are one of the most important influences in our lives. Not only do advertisements sell goods and services, but they are commodities themselves, the most ubiquitous form in which we encounter commercial messages. As a form of persuasion, communication, or entertainment, advertising is an integral part of American culture. Advertisements have a powerful influence in society and an important place in the home.

However, advertising has long been the target of criticism. People who criticize advertising in its current form argue that advertisements create false wants and encourage the production and consumption of things that are incompatible with the fulfillment of genuine and urgent human needs (Dyer, 1982). On the other hand, those who defend advertising say that it is economically necessary and has brought many benefits to society. It contributes to society’s well-being and raises people’s standard of living by encouraging the sales of mass-produced goods, thus stimulating production and creating employment and prosperity.

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In addition, advertisements reinforce existing values by repeatedly presenting these values before the public. It is important to keep in mind that, although they reflect and reinforce existing cultural values, advertisements do not always reflect cultural reality. If advertisements did reflect reality, "there would be far more pictures of slums, unattractive people, and broken-down cars than of elegant townhouses, beautiful people, and sleek new automobiles" (Brown, 1981, p. 142).

It has been established in previous research that advertising messages about women have been found to be stereotypical (e.g., a woman's place is in the home, women do not make important decisions or do important things, women are dependent and need men's protection, and men regard women primarily as sexual objects). Advertisements have consistently confined women to traditional mother-, home-, or beauty/sex-oriented roles that are not representative of women's diversity.

The research problem I investigated focuses on gender behavior pictured in commercial print advertisements. I have been interested in visual images of advertising in the print medium of magazines, and particularly with the nature, scope, and social consequences of advertising as it pertains to gender roles. The research was intended to be a conceptual replication of Erving Goffman's (1979) study of Gender Advertisements to see how gender images in print
advertisements have changed between the years of 1979 and 1991. For this research, I analyzed the gender behavior portrayed in advertisements utilizing Goffman's model of decoding behavior to see changes in women's images since 1979.

Ev-ving Goffman's (1979) model for decoding behavior concentrates on hands, eyes, knees, facial expressions, head postures, relative sizes, positioning and placing, head-eye aversion and finger biting and sucking. He felt the most simple gesture, familiar rituals or taken-for-granted forms of address were sources for understanding relations between the sexes and the social forces at work behind those relations.

Goffman grouped the behaviors under the following headings: function ranking; the ritualization of subordination; relative size; feminine touch; licensed withdrawal; the family.

However, Goffman chose advertisements purposely, not by random sampling. He chose print advertisements that supported his six categories mentioned above.

My research objective was to study the specific behaviors mentioned above and determine what gender behavior patterns have been most prevalent in magazine advertisements in 1979 and 1991. In this research, I made comparison of gender displays between the years of 1979 and 1991 with random samples of print advertisements. The basic and essential starting questions of this research project are: What messages about women have been given to society through magazine
What changes have been made in magazine advertisements since Goffman's 1979 study?
Chapter II. Theory

In this section, the following considerations relevant to this study are discussed: (1) Feminist theories. (2) What is stereotyping? (3) Why are we concerned about advertising? (4) What is the significance of visual images in advertising? (5) How have women been stereotyped in advertising? (6) What are Goffman’s findings?

Feminist theories

When writing about female images and the meanings assigned to those images in modern advertising, the study should begin with the feminist movement which began in the late sixties, a movement which has set out to examine and change the image of “women” and to make that image more a realistic reflection of real women and their struggle for equality.

Feminist theories aim to understand the origins and continuing nature of women’s nearly universal devaluation in society. The term “feminist” implies a theoretical acknowledgement of women’s traditional devaluation in relation to men with the assumption that the relationship needs to change (Steeves, 1987).
Feminist theoretical perspectives on women’s devaluation can be divided into three categories: radical, liberal, and socialist feminism (Steeves, 1987).

Radical feminism assumes biologically innate differences between the sexes. Radical feminism generally is concerned less with explaining the origins of women’s devaluation that with describing and promoting radical alternatives (Steeves, 1987). Radical feminists see patriarchy per se as the primary cause of women’s oppression. They look to the devaluation of women in all patriarchal societies as evidence of the centrality of patriarchy in determining women’s status. According to Zoonen (1991, pp. 36-37), "men can have no place in radical feminist utopias. In order to free themselves completely women have to cut off all ties with men and male society, and form their own communities."

Socialist feminism is a more structural perspective that sees the origins of women’s oppression in the systems of capitalism. Classical Marxists, in fact, see the oppression of women as stemming primarily from capitalism, in which women are defined as the property of men, and in which the accumulation of profit necessitates the exploitation of women’s labor. Socialist feminists have criticized traditional Marxism for reducing women’s status to capitalism alone, noting that women are also oppressed in precapitalist- and noncapitalist-based social systems. Socialist feminism attempts to incorporate an analysis of class and economic
conditions of women as well as women's position (Zoonen, 1991).

Liberal feminism emphasizes social and legal reform through policies designed to create equal opportunities for women. Liberal feminism emphasizes the sex role socialization process as the origin of sex differences, thereby assuming that changes in socialization practices and the reeducation of the public will result in more liberated and egalitarian gender relations (Andersen, 1988).

Liberal feminism does not address the psychological origins of gender differences. Many liberal feminists believe the inequity is simply a matter of irrational prejudice that can be solved through rational argument (Andersen, 1988). Sex role stereotypes, prescriptions of sex-appropriate behavior, appearance, interests, skills, and self-perceptions are at the core of liberal feminist media analyses (Tuchman, 1978, quoted from Zoonen, 1991).

In the United States, liberal feminist approaches are common in literary and media studies (Steves, 1987). In literary studies, liberal feminist assumptions are primarily manifest in the "images of women" studies. They stress the liberal ideal of increasing women's public visibility and criticize traditional stereotypes.

Although feminist movements had existed at earlier points in American history, the late sixties brought the emergence of the new feminist movement with an emphasis on "the division of
labor in the household, relations between men and women at home and in the workplace, emotions, sexuality, even the Unconscious" (Kuhn, '85, p. 1). This feminist movement also criticized stereotypical representations of women in advertisements and films.

Since the mass media reach millions of individuals daily, the mass media have become targets for heavy scrutiny by feminists and by researchers interested in the effects of the woman's movement on the media. The mass media have been accused of stereotyping the images of women, and they have been targets of various mass media studies. British scholar Annette Kuhn (1985) says:

"The women's movement has always been interested in images, meanings, representations and especially in challenging representations which are from other points of view -- if they are noticed at all -- perfectly acceptable" (p. 3)

What is stereotyping?

In order to study the "stereotyping of women in advertising," we must clearly define what "stereotyping" means. The concept "stereotype" was first introduced into the social sciences by Lippmann in 1922, and his version remains the most widely accepted by social scientists and laymen alike. If a concept is referred to as a stereotype,
then the implication is that it is "simple rather than complex or differentiated; erroneous rather than accurate; secondhand, rather than from direct experience; and resistant to modification by new experience" (Lippmann, 1922, p. 24).

There is such a strong tendency to define stereotypes as pejorative that pejorativeness has become almost built into the meaning of the word "stereotype." However, there are also "positive" stereotypes (Perkins, 1979, p. 144). There is a male stereotype, a WASP stereotype, a heterosexual stereotype, an upper class stereotype. These positive stereotypes are important "because other stereotypes are partially defined in terms of, or in opposition to, them" (Perkins, 1979, p. 144).

Perkins (1979) suggests the following characteristics as essential parts of stereotypes:

A stereotype is:

"(a) A group concept: It describes a group. Personality traits predominate.

(b) It is held by a group: There is a very considerable uniformity about its content.

(c) Reflects an 'inferior judgmental process': Stereotypes short-circuit or block capacity for objective and analytic judgments.

(d) A simple structure which frequently conceals complexity.

(e) High probability that social stereotypes will be predominantly evaluative" (Perkins, 1979, p. 146)."
Some say that stereotypes are short-circuit thinking which simply make life easier, more convenient. The more limited our knowledge and training, the greater the area will be where short-circuiting is the only solution. Stereotypes are selective descriptions -- they select those features which have particular significance.

Scholars in social psychology, mass communications, and popular culture have used the term differently and often approach different areas in their research: the audience, for social psychologists; television in general, for mass communications researchers; and specific texts and genres, for popular culture critics (Seiter, 1986).

Seiter (1986) distinguishes three aspects of stereotyping with the viewpoints of different scholars. Social psychologists explain stereotypes in terms of cognitive skills, as one form of mental category among many that allow us to organize information. The term does not necessarily connote falseness or a perversion of social reality, as it often does in mass communications research. For example, social psychologist Babad (1983) explains that stereotypes are "not only inevitable but also are usually quite functional for effective social interaction" (p. 79). Mass communications researchers have often used the term stereotype to mean representations of reality that are false and, by implication, immoral, and have proceeded without further clarification to document their frequent appearance in the mass media.
Television content analyses have focused on the frequency with which women and minorities appear on television and in what kinds of roles. The results have been startling in their indictment of television as a medium overwhelmingly dominated by white males (Busby, 1975). Scholars of popular culture, such as Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel (1964), dissociate themselves from high culture critics by arguing that all forms of fiction employ rules and conventions—stereotypes among them—and that such use does not necessarily reduce the work’s value.

According to Wrightsman (1977), a stereotype is "a relatively rigid and oversimplified conception of a group of people in which all individuals in the group are labeled with the so-called group characteristics" (Wrightsman, 1977, p. 672). That is, stereotypes are strongly held overgeneralizations about people in some designated social category. Such beliefs tend to be universally shared within a given society and are learned as part of the process of growing up in that society.

When we speak of gender or sex-role stereotypes, we are speaking of those oversimplified conceptions pertaining to our behavior as females or males. For example, if we know that men are taller than women, we still don’t know necessarily that Jane Doe is shorter than John Doe. Stereotypes have even less predictive value, because “they are more oversimplified and more rigidly held than such
generalizations" (Basow, 1986, p. 12).

Why are we concerned with advertising?

Critics claim that advertising adversely affects our value system because it suggests that the means to a happier life is the acquisition of more things instead of spiritual or intellectual enlightenment (Bovee & Arens, 1986). Advertising encourages people to buy more automobiles, more clothing, and more appliances than they need, all with the promise of greater status and greater social acceptance.

Defenders of advertising maintain that material comfort is necessary before a person can devote time to higher cultural and spiritual values (Dyer, 1982). They say the stress on material things doesn’t rule out spiritual and cultural values.

In reality, the first responsibility of advertising is to aid its sponsor by informing, persuading, and reminding the sponsor’s customers and prospects. Most sponsors are more interested in selling goods and making profits than in bringing about cultural changes or improvements. Sponsors find that advertising is most effective "when it accurately reflects the society and the market to which it is targeted" (Bovee & Arens, 1986, p. 35). If people want a more cultural approach to advertisements and respond to them, advertisers will probably be delighted to comply because it will be in their own best interest.
One of the most common complaints about advertising is simply that there is too much of it. Advertisements reach us in cars, elevators, parking lots, and in our homes on radio and television, in newspapers, and through the mail. Consumers' tolerance of advertising in the print media seems to be greater than in the broadcast media. Readers can simply turn the pages and ignore the advertising if they so desire. Broadcast media tend to be more intrusive and therefore receive greater criticism. However, because mass distribution supports the free enterprise system, advertising volume is here to stay and may be the price we have to pay for free television, freedom of the press, and the high standard of living.

Some people find advertising offensive to their personal convictions, morality, or political perspective. Others find the use of advertising techniques that emphasize sex, violence, or body functions to be in bad taste. Actually, "taste" is highly subjective. What is good taste to some is bad taste to others. And tastes change. However, advertising frequently emphasizes the sensational aspects of a product. It seems unrealistic to assume that advertising will ever be free of this criticism.

Groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) protest that many of today's advertisements do not acknowledge the changing role of women in our society. Feminists like Gornich and Moran (1971, p. 29) say:
Advertising is an insidious propaganda machine for a male supremacist society. It spews out images of women as sex mates, housekeepers, mothers, and menial workers—images that perhaps reflect the true status of women in society, but which also make it increasingly difficult for women to break out of the sexist stereotypes that imprison them.

The actual role of advertising must be considered in any discussion of its effect upon society. The problem of the influence or effects of advertising is multi-faceted and can be approached from a number of perspectives.

One could examine the influence of ads on the individual and look for evidence of the ability of the advertising media to shape and sometimes change a person's behavior, opinions and attitudes. Another angle to take would be to consider the effects of advertising on the society as a whole and the extent to which consumer advertising promotes general ideas and beliefs (Dyer, 1982).

Many critics of modern popular culture argue that the important impact of advertising is on the cultural climate of society. For instance, it could be argued that advertising encourages people to think in terms of escape from the real world by stressing hedonistic lifestyles. It could also be said that the utopian imagery of advertisements encourages passivity and makes people unaware of the extent to which they are controlled by consumerism.

Female sex role stereotypes have been used in print advertising for a number of fairly obvious reasons. Many products are targeted at the housewife, for example, so ads portray the individual female in the ad as a housewife with
stereotypical characteristics. The question here to be addressed regards the social impact of such advertisements, i.e., the effect of sex role stereotyping beyond selling products. Since women are frequently portrayed as housewives in advertisements and ads are so prevalent in American culture, the potential impact of such advertisements in perpetuating a negative stereotype should be examined.

Among the stereotypes typically employed in advertising by the media are the ideas that women do unimportant things and a woman's place is in the home. The nature and development of these role stereotypes appears to be a function of cultural norms and socialization (Kilbourne, 1990). Kilbourne found that exposure to advertisements employing stereotypical sex roles for women resulted in significantly lower perceptions of women's managerial abilities than exposure to advertisements depicting women in professional type roles requiring such abilities.

Another important impact of sex-role socialization is on children's development. This research has been informed by two theories of children's development. Social learning theory postulates that children learn by imitation; they model sex-role behavior from sources. Socially learned behaviors are those that are learned from various institutions in society, i.e., family, school, church, and the media, etc., and social learning is the process whereby humans learn the ideas and values to which their society subscribes (Severy,
Cognitive development theories postulate that children's learning follows a developmental progression; they learn a succession of ideas in stages about gender and sex-role behavior from media content and other sources (Rakow, 1986).

What is the significance of visual images in advertising?

We live so much in the world of verbalism that we overlook the tremendous amount of meaning which humans convey to one another by nonverbal symbols -- especially visual symbols. As a socializing agent, the visual imagery provided by the media can have a powerful impact on our attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors.

Successful persuasion through advertising consists of far more than doing clever tricks with words. The consumer has developed a protective husk against mere word claims. Words have to create an image of some kind in the individual's mind before he or she can act. But other kinds of symbols, such as those in illustration, communicate images so much faster, "with far less resistance, with much greater persuasiveness" (Martineau, 1957, p. 48).

The visual symbols are not just a support for the word claims. They can contribute meanings and associations entirely apart and of much greater significance. In some respects the influence of advertising can be attributed to recent technological improvements and innovations in the
production and distribution of visual representations of reality. The images conveyed by advertising have become so sophisticated and persuasive that they now organize our experiences and understanding in a significant way.

Modern advertising depends on images, and images are basically symbols which can convey certain meanings. Like words, visual images also function as symbols that create multi-leveled meanings that have to be decoded to be understood.

Today, we live in a world of spectacular and exciting images. And the word "image" now also refers to a fabricated or shaped public impression created with the help of visual techniques. An image can sell soap, toilet paper, beer, a corporation, a celebrity, or a politician. According to Boorstin (1961), images have become more interesting than the original and in fact have become the original: "the shadow becomes the substance" (Boorstin, 1961, p. 45).

Advertisements, he argues, encourage extravagant expectations because they are more dramatic and vivid than the reality -- reality cannot match up to the image. Advertisements present us with images and then make them seem true. As a result, they mystify our perceptions and experiences of the real world "by offering spectacular illusions which ultimately don't satisfy" (Dyer, 1982, p. 82).

According to Bovee and Arens (1986, p. 47), "most readers of advertisements (1) look at the illustration, (2) read the
headline, and (3) read the body copy, in that order.” If any one of these elements fails, the impact of the advertisement is decreased. The illustration, therefore, carries a great deal of responsibility for the success of an advertisement. The two basic devices for illustrating an advertisement are photography and drawn or painted illustrations (Bovee & Arens, 1986).

Moriarty (1988) analyzed the role of visuals in advertising in two categories: literal and symbolic functions. The literal category is a product of direct experience. Dondis calls it "representational" (Dondis, 1973, p. 26). Literal visuals are used to communicate factual information and their role is to identify, describe and report details. Symbols communicate through assigned meanings. They present concepts and impressions using the process of abstraction and metaphor. Symbol using involves substituting a visual form for a more complex concept (Moriarty, 1988).

Description of product features and attributes is one aspect of many advertising messages. Car and food ads, for example, use visuals to show how the product looks. Another common objective of advertising is to create "associations" (Preston, 1982, p. 5). These are usually designed to link the product with a lifestyle, with a certain type of person who uses the product, or with a situation where the product is used. A specific type of symbolization is developed through the use of "metaphors" in advertising (Moriarty, 1988, p.
This message strategy explains a complex concept through the use of a substitute, and usually more simple, form.

All these message strategies can be developed in visuals as well as in words. In addition to these message strategies, visuals also may be used specifically for their visual impact. In other words, the visual functions as a piece of art, and the "aesthetic patterns are considered strong enough to create interest in and of themselves" (Moriarty, 1988, p. 157).

How have women been stereotyped in advertising?

Studies have shown that the image of women that has predominated in magazine advertisements is of weak, childish, dependent, domestic, irrational, subordinate creatures, the producers of children and little else compared with men.

In 1971, Lucy Komisar suggests the audience of advertising could never know the reality of women’s lives by looking at advertising: "A woman’s place is not only in the home, according to most advertising copywriters and art directors; it is in the kitchen or the laundry room" (Komisar, 1971, p. 306).

Komisar also refers to the image created by advertisers in 1960 as a combination sex object, wife, and mother who achieves fulfillment by looking beautiful for men. A woman is not depicted as intelligent, but submissive and subservient
to men. If a woman has a job, it is as a secretary or an airline hostess.

Most of the content analyses done in 1970s relied on frequency counts to tell us how many women and men are cast in productions, shown as employed outside the home, give directives, etc.

In 1971, Courtney and Lockeretz, in a study of images of women in magazine advertisements, examined seven general-audience magazines, including The New Yorker, Time, and Look. These researchers used cross-tabulation to record such data as the number of male and female workers in the ads, the number of ads showing only men or only women, and the types of products with which males and females were identified. They reported the following findings:

* Women were rarely shown in out-of-home working roles.

* Not a single woman was shown as a professional or high-level business person.

* Women rarely ventured far from home by themselves or with other women.

* Women were shown as dependent on men's protection.

* Men were shown regarding women as sex objects or as domestic adjuncts.

* Females were most often shown in ads for cleaning products, food products, beauty products, drugs, clothing, and home appliances.

* Males were most often shown in ads for cars, travel,
alcoholic beverages, cigarettes, banks, industrial products, entertainment media, and industrial companies" (Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971, p. 94).

A particular example of a liberal feminist approach to content analysis is the multi-level "consciousness scale." The "consciousness scale for sexism" was elaborated by Pingree, Hawkins, Butler, and Paisley (1976). The scale attempts to measure sexism by analyzing ad visuals via five levels:

* Level 1: Put her down. Presentations of women at this level include the dumb blonde, the sex object, and the whimpering victim. Examples of such images are common in men's magazines such as Playboy.

* Level 2: Keep her in her place. Traditional strengths and capacities of women are acknowledged, but tradition also dictates "womanly" roles. Women are shown functioning well as wives, mothers, secretaries, clerks, teachers, nurses.

* Level 3: Give her two places. Consciousness Level 3 represents the level of many "progressive" media images of women. Career is often viewed as the "something extra." Housework and mothering come first. The image is that women may sometimes work outside the home professionally, but they always work in the home.

* Level 4: Acknowledge that she is fully equal. These are rare among media images.

* Level 5: Nonstereotypic. Individual women and men are viewed as superior to each other in some respects, inferior in
other respects. The dogmatism of Level 4 (women shall be equal to men) is unnecessary, because individuals are not judged by their sex (Pingree et al., 1976).

The 1973-74 study found 75 percent of all ads to be at the two lowest, or most sexist levels—48 percent at Level 2, considered by the researchers to be the status quo, and 27 percent at level 1. The researchers found 19 percent of the ads were at "equality" Level 4, but only 2 percent were at nonstereotypical Level 5; 4 percent were at Level 3 (Butler-Paisley, 1974, quoted from Lazier-Smith, 1989).

The process of change in advertising images is a slow one. At first, only superficial cultural alterations are transferred to advertisements, while "the underlying ideological foundation remains untouched" (Umiker-Sebeok, 1981, p. 210). With regard to gender displays, for example, a woman may be shown in the traditionally "unfeminine" high status garb of the physician, but her facial expression, hair, makeup, posture, and her relation to the setting all contribute to define her as out of place, perhaps merely playing at being a doctor. In this type of advertisement women are pictured masquerading as men, wearing man-tailored clothing while displaying bodily signs of weakness, submission, and dependency.
What are Goffman's findings?

The most provocative analysis of sex roles in visual media is Erving Goffman's (1979) *Gender Advertisements*. Goffman contends that carefully posed models and carefully selected settings of advertisements create "a pseudo-reality that is better than real" (Goffman, 1979, p. 23). Goffman's analysis of nearly 400 advertisements makes it clear that gender differences in function and status not only carry over from the real world to the advertisement world but may find their purest expression there.

Gornick (1979, p. vii) writes in the introduction of *Gender Advertisements*:

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. They orient men and women to the idea of men and women acting in concert with each other in the larger play or scene or arrangement that is our social life. That orientation accomplishes the task a society has of maintaining an essential order, an undisturbed on-goingness, regardless of the actual experience of its participants.

In his book, Goffman concludes that women are weakened by advertising portrayals via six categories: relative size (women shown smaller or lower, relative to men), feminine touch (women constantly touching themselves), function ranking (occupational), family scenes, ritualization of subordination (proclivity for lying down at inappropriate times, etc.), and licensed withdrawal (women never quite a part of the scene, possibly via far-off gazes).
The following theoretical definitions of each categories are found in Goffman's *Gender Advertisements* (1979): 

(1) Relative size

One way in which social weight (e.g., power, authority, rank, office, renown) is echoed expressively in social situations is through relative size, especially height. The male's usual superiority of status over the female will be expressible in his greater girth and height. It is 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 (p. 28).

(2) Feminine touch

Women, more than men, are pictured using their fingers and hands to trace the outlines of an object or to cradle it or to caress its surface (the latter sometimes under the guise of guiding it), or to effect a "just barely touching." This ritualistic touching is to be distinguished from the utilitarian kind that grasps, manipulates, or holds (p. 29). Self-touching can also be involved, readable as conveying a sense of one's body being a delicate and precious thing (p. 30).

(3) Function ranking

When a man and a woman collaborate face-to-face in an undertaking, the man is likely to perform the executive role. This arrangement is widely represented in advertisements to
facilitate interpretability at a glance (p. 32). This hierarchy of functions is pictured either within an occupational frame or outside of occupational specializations.

All instruction seems to involve some sort of subordination of the instructed and deference for the instructor. Men are pictured instructing women more than the reverse, and women are more commonly pictured receiving help from men than giving it to them (pp. 34-35).

(4) Ritualization of subordination

A classic stereotype of deference is that of lowering oneself physically in some form or other of prostration. Correspondingly, holding the body erect and the head high is stereotypically a mark of unashamedness, superiority, and disdain (p. 40). Goffman found that children and women were pictured on floors and beds more than are men. He also found that women frequently, men very infrequently, are posed in a display of the "bashful knee bend." Although a distinction can be made between body cant and head cant, the consequences seem to be much the same. The resulting configurations of canting postures can be read as an acceptance of subordination, an expression of ingratiation, submissiveness, and appeasement (p. 46).

The childlike guise is the use of the entire body as a playful gesticulative device, a sort of body clowning (p. 52). The "arm lock" is the basic tie-sign for marking that a woman
is under the protective custody of the accompanying man (p. 54). The "shoulder hold" is a configuration that the held person accept direction and constraint (p. 55).

(5) Licensed withdrawal

Women more than men are pictured engaged in involvements which remove them psychologically from the social situation at large, leaving them unoriented in it and to it, and dependent on the protectiveness of others who are present (p. 57). Shyness, laughter, covering the mouth or the face, and finger-to-finger position are signs of licensed withdrawal. Turning one's gaze away from another's can be seen as having the consequence of withdrawing from the current thrust of communication (p. 62). The individual also can withdraw his/her gaze from the scene at large, and be psychologically "away" from the scene. Maintaining a telephone conversation is another sign of licensed withdrawal.

These are Goffman's five categories used for this research. In addition to these categories, I introduced two more categories: body display, independence and self-assertiveness.

(6) Body Display

Sometimes magazine advertisements show little stereotyping of women in terms of relative size, feminine touch, function ranking, ritualization of subordination, and licensed withdrawal, while the female models show high degree of nudity which is another important way of stereotyping.
This category was introduced to compare the level of female models' body display (i.e., body-revealing clothes or nudity) between the two years.

(7) Independence and Self-assertiveness

The analysis of stereotyping in print advertisements can be approached from a different perspective here. Instead of focusing on the more manifest content of an advertisement, the focal point here is the more subtle representation of an ad that provide important clues to gender relations. In addition to centering attention on such details as the use of the hands, facial expressions, body positioning, and relative sizes of men and women in print advertisements, one should look at the "big picture" to obtain overall message of an ad. This category was added to evaluate female model's overall images in terms of independence and self-assertiveness.

Since his book was published, Goffman's methodology, especially his sampling technique, has created some controversy. Instead of randomly selecting advertisements, he drew a purposive sample. That is, he chose ads from newspapers and magazines that were judged to be representative of his preconception. His sampling strategy was not chosen for generalization to a population of visual images could be made; instead he deliberately selected advertisements that mirrored gender differences, sometimes ones that captured the nuances of social relationships.
Hypothesis

The American women’s movement was launched in 1963 with the publication of Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* (Busby, 1975). In the years since then, the woman’s movement has received massive public attention with the tenets of the movement and its proponent having become familiar to nearly every American. The issue of sex stereotyping in advertising also has received a great deal of public attention. Thus, the hypothesis of my research is as follows:

The print advertisements in 1991 samples will show less frequent gender displays in terms of function ranking, ritualization of subordination, relative size, feminine touch, licensed withdrawal, body display, and independence (self-assertiveness) than those of 1979. The independent variable "time" (e.g. the years of 1979 and 1991) will affect the dependent variable, frequencies of gender displays.

There has been a revolutionary change in the workplace and in society since women began to come into the workforce. If women have changed and if society has therefore been altered, then it would seem that portrayals of women in advertising have surely also changed to reflect both the new social status and the new image of the American women. Thus, I hypothesize that the portrayals of women in magazine advertisements must have been changed greatly since 1979.
For the purpose of this study, gender is defined as "culturally established categories of sex, such as female or male" (Goffman, 1979, p. 1). The term gender display is defined as "conventionalized portrayals of these correlates" (Goffman, 1979, p. 1). The term gender display refers to seven subconcepts: relative size, feminine touch, function ranking, ritualisation of subordination, licensed withdrawal, body display, and independence (self-assertiveness).

The term gender advertisement in my paper refers to commercial still photograph ads featuring gender displays that are designed to sell a product for an advertiser. It does not refer to ads that only feature words and/or objects, cartoons or drawings, and service-oriented ads, e.g., American Heart Association.
Chapter III. METHOD

Content analysis, an unobtrusive technique, was used in this study. When communication is the subject, content analysis is a technique of "objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages...for making inferences" (Holsti, 1969, p. 25). Also, it is a method that is well suited to analyze human communications. The objectivity of content analysis resides in the "devising of precisely and clearly defined categories to apply to the material analyzed in accordance with explicitly formulated rules of procedure" (Ball & Smith, 1992, p. 21). Content analysis is also "primarily a quantitative technique in that it aims to establish the frequency with which certain categories or themes appear in the material investigated" (Ball & Smith, 1992, p. 21). According to Babbie (1986), content analysis is essentially a coding operation where raw data (either manifest or latent content) are transformed into quantitative form.

Operational Definitions

The independent variable is time, operationalized as the years of 1979 and 1991. The dependent variable is the
frequency of gender displays in the print advertisements. Seven forms of gender displays were measured: relative size, the feminine touch, function ranking, the ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal, body display, and independence (self-assertiveness). The first five categories are the behavior groupings that Goffman (1979) found to exist as a result of his study. In addition to those five categories, the researcher introduced two more categories to analyze the gender displays in magazine advertisements. These categories are body display and independence (self-assertiveness).

For each coding category, I assigned the score of 1 if it is a stereotypical behavior (e.g., male taller, male instructing female, etc.) and assigned the score of 0 if it is nonstereotypical (e.g., male not taller, male not instructing female, etc.). By adding up the scores, I measured the overall "stereotyping score" for each advertisement. A big score indicates more stereotyping and a little score indicates less stereotyping.

The following are the operationalization and coding categories of the seven dimensions used in this research.

See Appendix A for the coding instrument.

1) Relative Size

Relative size is a behavior group illustrating that differences in people's sizes correlate with differences in
their "social weight" (Goffman, 1979). To operationalize this concept in gender ads, I measured the height of male and female models featured in the ads. A score of 1 was given to the advertisement where male is taller than female. A score of 0 was given to the advertisement where male is not taller than female. The taller model is assumed to be the one endowed with the most power in the group.

Coding categories:
- If there is a height relationship, which person is taller?: male is taller = 1, male is not taller = 0.

2) The Feminine Touch

The feminine touch is a behavior grouping which illustrates that women more than men are pictured in ads using their fingers and hands to trace the outline of an object, to cradle it, or to caress its surface. Rarely are they featured using their hands and fingers to grasp, manipulate, or hold an object. To measure the presence of this concept in the gender ads, I looked at the hands and fingers of each model to determine if they were outlining an object, cradling it, or caressing its surface. There are two separate variables to measure the "feminine touch."

Coding categories:
- Female using fingers and hands to cradle or caress objects: yes = 1, no = 0.
- Touching-self (female touching her own body parts):
yes = 1, no = 0.

3) Function Ranking

Goffman set this category to create a hierarchy of functions. According to him, when a picture of men and women illustrates an instruction of some sort, the man is virtually always instructing the woman. To measure this concept in the gender ads, I checked whether the ad showed male in superior role, male not in superior role, or equal roles. For example, if one ad shows a situation where the male is considered the leader-instructor guiding the female in horseback riding, the male would be marked as conducting a prominent role. The female being instructed will be classified as less prominent because of her function being less important. There are three separate variables to measure the "function ranking."

Coding categories:
- The male instructing the female = 1, the male not instructing the female = 0.
- The female serving other male = 1, the female not serving other male = 0.
- The male in superior role = 1, the male not in superior role = 0.

4) The Ritualization of Subordination

This is a behavior grouping illustrating actions
classified as acts of subordination, e.g., lowering one's self physically to another. To measure the existence of this concept in the gender ads, I looked for the following behaviors (which are said to be characteristic of subordination): lowering oneself physically, lying on bed or floor, bashful knee bend, and leaning posture, etc. There are five separate variables to measure the "ritualization of subordination."

Coding categories:

- Female lowering oneself physically: a score was given when female is lowering herself physically, not holding the body erect: yes = 1, no = 0.

- Bashful knee bend: A score was given when the female is pictured bending her knee in a manner that did not serve a body support function: yes = 1, no = 0.

- Body cant or head cant: a score was given when fem is tilting the head or body without any relation to the activity in the picture: yes = 1, no = 0.

- Lying or sitting on bed or floor: According to Goffman, lying on the floor or on a sofa or bed is a conventionalized expression of sexual availability. A score was given when female is lying or sitting on bed or floor: yes = 1, no = 0.

- Expansive smile: according to Goffman, women smile more and more expansively than men, and the expansive smile connotes inferiority rather than superiority. A score was
given when female smiles expansively: yes = 1, no = 0.

5) Licensed Withdrawal

This is a behavior grouping that encompasses behaviors which remove or withdraw one (mentally and/or physically) from a particular situation. The following behaviors are the signs of licensed withdrawal: removed psychologically from social situation, turned away from others, covering the face, sucking or biting the finger, turning one's gaze away from another's, withdrawal gaze from the scene at large—mentally drifting from the physical scene, and maintain telephone conversation. There are four separate variables to measure the "licensed withdrawal."

Coding categories:

- Hand covering mouth or face: a score was given when a female was pictured covering her mouth or face as when refraining from speech: yes = 1, no = 0. This gesture included sucking or biting the finger.

- Head or eye gaze aversion: a score was given when a female was looking away from another person, avoiding eye contact: yes = 1, no = 0.

- Maintaining telephone conversation: yes = 1, no = 0. Maintaining a telephone conversation means some withdrawal of attention from the immediate scene at hand. In advertisements women are sometimes shown "luxuriating in a call immersing themselves in a dreamy and presumably prolonged way" (Goffman,
1979, p.68).

- Withdrawal gaze from scene at large: a score was given when people withdraw their gazes from the scene at large, giving the impression of having only minor dissociated concern with what is seen, "mentally drifting" (p.65): yes = 1, no = 0.

6) Body Display

The dress of the models in the 1979 and 1991 advertisements are analyzed to see whether the female wears body-revealing clothes or shows nudity. Body-revealing clothes include mini-skirts, tight skirts or evening gowns which expose cleavage, "short"-shorts, "see-through" clothes, halter dress, or bathing suits.

Nudity is defined as unclothed models, including models translucent under apparel and lingerie, models clothed in nothing except a towel, or models depicted with no clothing. "Close-up" shots where the shoulders of the models are bare are included in nudity.

Coding categories:
- Does the female in the advertisement wear body-revealing clothes or show nudity?: yes = 1, no = 0.

7) Independence and Self-assertiveness

This category was introduced to see overall images of women in magazine advertisements in terms of independence and
self-assertiveness. Independence and self-assertiveness were operationalized as showing career-conscious clothing, equality between men and women, active behavior rather than passive one.

Coding categories:
- Does the female look independent and self-assertive?:
  no = 1, yes = 0.

When the "yes = 1, no = 0" measurement scheme was summed into an index, it creates a ratio-level scale. By adding up all of the scores for an advertisement, I obtained a "stereotyping score" ranging from a minimum score of 0 (meaning no stereotyping) to a maximum score of 15 (meaning high level of stereotyping).

Then I compared the mean stereotyping scores of 1979 and 1991 based on the seven categories. For the hypothesis testing, I compared the mean stereotyping scores of 1979 and 1991 (Table 18). Since other categories except the "Relative Size," "Body Display," and "Independence," have more than two operationalizations, this resulted in the weighing problem.

In order not to give more weight to concepts with more operationalizations, I used the sum of the mean stereotyping scores of each categories and divided the sum by the number of variables in each category, then added these new variables to obtain the weighted stereotyping index for 1979 and 1991. My hypothesis was tested with an independent t-test, with year as
the independent variable and various stereotyping scores as the dependent variables.

Sampling

The magazine advertisement was the unit of analysis for this study. Advertisements that featured human subjects were collected from 1979 and 1991 women’s popular magazines. I randomly selected a specific number of advertisements from the 1979 and 1991 issues of *Vogue*, *Mademoiselle*, and *McCall’s*. These sources were selected to represent women’s magazines. These three magazines were on the list of 100 bestselling U.S. magazines provided by the *World Almanac 1991* and had high index numbers on female readers provided by the Simmons Market Research Bureau 1989. *Vogue* was selected to be the representative of women’s high fashion magazine, and *Mademoiselle* being representative of younger women’s magazine, and *McCall’s* being representative of housewives’ magazine.

I randomly selected seven advertisements from each month’s issue of three magazines from January to December in 1975 and 1991. Advertisements containing a picture of human beings and covering at least one magazine page were selected randomly from each issue of the three magazines published in 1979 and 1991. To get a probability sample, I use the "random number table" provided by Earl Babbie’s book, *The Practice of social Research* (1992, pp. A26-27). Using
the random number table, I picked seven numbers which were smaller than the last page number of each issue of a specific magazine. Since magazine advertisements were not usually counted in the page number, I selected the closest advertisement to the page number I picked in the random sample table. The sample for this study was random sample without replacement. Repeated ads were not selected for the sample because the range of the advertisements was important for this study. For example, more than one Revlon ad using the same visuals was not selected.

This resulted in 252 samples in 1979 magazine advertisements and 252 samples in 1991 counterparts. Thus, a total of 504 magazine advertisements were selected for the sample of this research.

Here are additional procedures used to select sample advertisements:

* Only ads using true and explicit photography were selected for the sample; no illustrations, cartoon, silhouette were used.

* Models of unknown sex (back shot from afar, blurred, etc.) were not selected for the sample.

* Ads featuring large crowds (more than 10 people) or ads featuring multiple pictures in one page were not selected for the sample.
Coding Instruments

For the data collection, I employed another coder to analyze 10 percent of the same ads as a check on intercoder reliability. The introduction of an additional coder was to broaden the base of consensus. The coding instrument was pretested to work out any coding problems. In preparation for the reliability check, the coder read Gender Advertisements to familiarize herself with the behavior characteristics.

As Holsti (1969, p. 137) suggested, a composite reliability coefficient was computed by the following formula, in which N denoted the number of coders.

\[
\text{Composite reliability} = \frac{N \text{ (average inter-coder agreement)}}{1 + (N-1) \text{ (average inter-coder agreement)}}
\]

Inter-coder agreement was computed by dividing the number of agreements by the number of ads attempted (e.g., 45 agreements/50 ads = .90). For this research, the average inter-coder agreement was 0.86 (43/50 = .86), and the composite reliability was 0.92.

\[
\text{Composite reliability} = \frac{2 (.86)}{1 + (1 (.86))} = .92
\]

For the data analysis, I used SPSS-X (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), an integrated system for data manipulation and analysis.
Chapter IV. Findings.

In this chapter the results of this study will be reported in the following order: (1) Findings on gender display by seventeen variables; (2) Findings on gender display by seven categories.

Overall, the extent of sexism in magazine ads remained approximately the same from 1979 to 1991. The hypothesis is unsupported, although there are some significant differences between the two years on some variables. Some of these actually run counter to the hypothesis. Still, the portrayal of women in ads has not been changed much since 1979. Twelve years after the Goffman study, magazine advertisements are still showing the same stereotyped images of women.

Findings by seventeen variables

(1) Height relationship

The variable "height relationship" appeared infrequently in magazine advertisements in 1979 and 1991. However, when the behavior arrangements were applicable, males were featured frequently in the taller positions. Although men were frequently portrayed as taller, this size difference was not
very large. Many of the portrayals were nearly equal in height, but to maintain coding consistency, it was necessary to note when the male was even slightly taller.

In the 1979 sample, 68 ads showed males and females together, and 51.5 percent of the ads showed males taller than females (Table 1). In the 1991 sample, only 43 ads showed male and female together, and 46.5 percent of the ads showed male taller than female. The cross-year comparison shows that the height relationship between advertisements models has not been changed much between the two years, but the change observed was in the direction of the hypothesis. A study including more advertisements might show the difference to be statistically significant.

(2) Using fingers and hands to cradle or caress objects

It was notable that this gender behavior was frequently shown in both era (105 ads in 1979 and 101 ads in 1991). Among 251 ads in 1979, 41.8 percent showed hands cradling or caressing objects (Table 2). Among 249 ads in 1991, 41.4 percent showed hands cradling or caressing objects. The cross-year comparison shows that there is no significant change in terms of this variable.

(3) Self-touching

Table 1 shows that 251 advertisements in 1979 were
Table 1: Relative Size

"Height relationship" depictions in magazine advertisements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Height relationship</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male taller</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male not taller</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total               | 100.0% | 100.0% |
|                     | ( N = 68 ) | ( N = 43 ) |

phi = .04, X² = .25, df=1, ns
Table 2: Feminine Touch-1

Female using finger and hands to cradle or caress objects in magazine advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cradling or caressing objects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using fingers and hands to cradle or caress objects depicted</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using fingers and hands to cradle or caress objects not depicted</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
<td>58.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 251)</td>
<td>(N = 249)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{phi} = 0.004, \chi^2 = 0.01, \text{df} = 1, \text{ns} \]
Table 3: Feminine Touch-2

"Touching-self" depictions of female in magazine advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touching-self</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touching-self depicted</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>40.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touching-self not depicted</td>
<td>61.9%</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( N = 251 )</td>
<td>( N = 251 )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

phi = .02, X² = .20, df=1, ns
analyzed, and 38.2 percent showed self-touching behavior. In 1991, 40.2 percent of 251 advertisements showed this gender display. There was no significant difference between years.

Goffman said this ritualistic self-touching conveys a sense of one's body being delicate and precious and can be distinguished from the more utilitarian use of hands, and fingers as in grasping, manipulating, or holding.

(4) Instructing role

Not many advertisements showed male and female together (68 ads for 1979 and 43 ads for 1991). In 1979, 19.1 percent of 68 ads depicted male instructing female (Table 4). In 1991, only 4.8 percent of 43 ads showed this gender behavior.

The cross-year comparison shows that there is significant decrease in this gender display, thus supporting the hypothesis for this one measure.

(5) Serving other person

Table 5 shows that 32.4 percent of 68 ads showed females serving another person in 1979, while 19.0 percent of 43 ads showed the same gender display. The cross-year comparison shows that there is no significant difference between the two years, although the change is in the direction of the hypothesis.

(6) Conducting superior role

Table 6 shows that 35.1 percent of 68 ads depicted males in superior role in 1979, while 38.1 percent of 42 ads depicted males in the same way. There was no significant
Table 4: Function Ranking-1

Conducting the instructing role in magazine advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conducting the instructing role</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male in the instructing role</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male not in the instructing role</td>
<td>80.9%</td>
<td>95.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( N = 68 )</td>
<td>( N = 42 )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*phi = .20, X^2 = 4.54, df = 1, p < .05*
Table 5: Function Ranking-2

**Serving other person in magazine advertisements**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Serving other person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female serving other person</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female not serving other person</td>
<td>67.6%</td>
<td>81.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 68)</td>
<td>(N = 42)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

φ = .14, χ² = 2.31, df = 1, ns
Table 6: Function Ranking-3

Conducting superior role in magazine advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male in superior role</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male not in superior role</td>
<td>64.7%</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( N = 68 )  ( N = 42 )

phi = .02, \( X^2 = .08 \), df=1, ns
difference between the two years.

(7) Lowering oneself physically

Not many advertisements showed female's lowering oneself physically (22.2 percent in 1979 and 19.3 percent in 1991). Table 7 shows that there was no significant difference between the two years.

(8) Bashful knee bend

Bashful knee bend was one of the most frequent gender displays found in this study. Table 8 shows that 31.7 percent of 252 ads in 1979 and 37.5 percent of 251 ads in 1991 showed this behavior. However, this gender display has not been increased or decreased over twelve years.

(9) Body cant or head cant

Table 9 shows that 31.7 percent of 252 ads and 37.5 percent of 251 ads in 1991 showed body cant or head cant. This behavior appeared in advertisements consistently in both years.

(10) Lying or sitting on bed or floor

Lying or sitting on bed or floor was relatively infrequent gender behavior in both years. Table 10 shows that 14.7 percent of 251 ads in 1979 and 12.0 percent of 250 ads in 1991 showed this behavior. There was no significant change between the two years.

(11) Expansive smile

Expansive smile appeared in 32.9 percent of the 1979 ads and 28.5 percent of advertisements in 1991 (Table 11).
Table 7: Ritualization of Subordination-1

Female lowering oneself physically in magazine advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lowering oneself physically</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female lowering depicted</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female lowering not depicted</td>
<td>77.8%</td>
<td>80.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 243)</td>
<td>(N = 243)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\phi = .03$, $X^2 = .61$, df=1, ns
Table 8: Ritualization of Subordination-2

Bashful knee bend of female in magazine advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bashful knee bend depicted</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bashful knee bend not depicted</td>
<td>72.9%</td>
<td>76.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 199)</td>
<td>(N = 197)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ϕ = .04, X² = .75, df=1, ns
Table 9: Ritualization of Subordination-3

Body cant or head cant of female in magazine advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine year</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Body or head cant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body/head cant depicted</td>
<td>31.7%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body/head cant not depicted</td>
<td>68.3%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(\(N = 252\)) \((N = 251)\)

\(\phi = .05, X^2 = 1.80, df=1, \text{ns}\)
Table 10: Ritualization of Subordination-4

Female lying or sitting on bed or floor in magazine advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lying or sitting on bed or floor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lying/sitting on bed/floor depicted</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lying/sitting on bed/floor not depicted</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
<td>88.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( N = 251 ) ( N = 250 )

ϕ = .04, χ² = .81, df = 1, ns
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expansive smile</th>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansive smile depicted</td>
<td>32.9%</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansive smile not depicted</td>
<td>67.1%</td>
<td>71.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ N = 252 \] \[ N = 249 \]

\[ \text{phi} = .04, \chi^2 = 1.15, df=1, \text{ns} \]
The cross year analysis between 1979 and 1991 shows no significant difference between the two years.

(12) Hand covering mouth or face

This gender behavior was surprisingly infrequent in both years. Of the 252 ads in the 1979 sample (Table 12), only 16 (6.3 percent) depicted hand covering mouth or face. Of the 252 ads in the 1991 sample, 22 ads (8.7 percent) showed this gender behavior. The frequency of the presence of this behavior did not differ by year.

(13) Head or eye gaze aversion

As Table 13 shows, there was a significant difference in head or eye gaze aversion. Surprisingly, and counter to the hypothesis, the 1991 sample showed head or eye gaze aversion more frequently than the 1979 sample. More female models in 1991 than in 1979 averted their heads or eyes from other person or avoided looking at the camera directly.

(14) Maintaining telephone conversation

Maintaining telephone conversation was an extremely infrequent gender behavior in the magazine advertisements (Table 14). Only 2 ads out of 252 samples in 1979 showed this behavior. In 1991, only 1 ad out of 252 samples showed this behavior. Not surprisingly, two of the advertisers showing females talking on the telephone were telephone companies.

(15) Withdrawal gaze from scene at large

The cross-year analysis in Table 15 shows that there
Table 12: Licensed Withdrawal-1

Female covering mouth or face with hands in magazine advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Covering mouth or face with hands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covering mouth/face with hand depicted</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covering mouth/face with hand not depicted</td>
<td>93.7%</td>
<td>91.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N = 252)</td>
<td>(N = 252)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ϕ = .04, χ² = 1.02, df=1, ns
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Head or eye gaze aversion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head/eye gaze aversion depicted</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head/eye gaze aversion not depicted</td>
<td>74.9%</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 251)</td>
<td>(N = 242)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\phi = .16, \chi^2 = 13.28, df=1, p < .05$
### Table 14: Licensed Withdrawal-3

**Female maintaining telephone conversation in magazine advertisements**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1994</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maintaining telephone conversation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone conversation depicted</td>
<td>.8%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone conversation not depicted</td>
<td>99.2%</td>
<td>99.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 252)</td>
<td>(N = 252)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{phi} = .02, \chi^2 = .33, \text{df}=a, \text{ns}
\]
Table 15: Licensed Withdrawal-4

Female withdrawing gaze from the scene at large (mentally drifting) in magazine advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Withdrawing gaze from the scene at large</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Withdrawning gaze depicted</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Withdrawning gaze not depicted</td>
<td>77.3%</td>
<td>66.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( N = 251 )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( N = 241 )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

phi = .11, X^2 = 6.72, df=1, p < .05
is more stereotyping in 1991 advertisements in terms of withdrawal gaze from scene at large, counter to the hypothesis. This is a surprising and disappointing result. Of the 251 ads in the 1979 sample, 57 (22.7 percent) showed withdrawal gaze from the scene at large whereas 80 ads (33.2 percent) out of 241 samples in 1991 showed the same behavior.

(16) Body-revealing clothes or nudity

Magazine advertisements from 1991 contained more nudity and body-revealing clothes than magazine advertisements from 1979. Table 16 shows that 24.6 percent of the 248 ads in 1979 showed the female model wearing body-revealing clothes or showing nudity. In 1991, 31.9 percent of the 248 ads showed the body display.

Some advertisements showed female models wearing tailored clothing similar to a man's, with a bold stare at the camera. Such aggressive features, however, were often combined with signals of appeal and allure, such as a reduction in body height or size through kneeling or sitting, an appraising smile or head tilt to one side, a position of instability.

(17) Independence and self-assertiveness

Table 17 shows that 40.9 percent of the 252 ads in 1979 and 35.3 percent of the 249 ads in 1991 showed women as not having independence and self-assertiveness. There was no significant difference by year, although the change was opposite the direction predicted by the hypothesis.
Table 16: Body Display

Female wearing body-revealing clothes or showing nudity in magazine advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body display</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body-revealing clothes or nudity depicted</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body-revealing clothes or nudity not depicted</td>
<td>75.4%</td>
<td>68.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N = 248)

\( \phi = .08, \chi^2 = 3.22, df=1, p < .05 \)
Table 17: Independence and Self-assertiveness

Female Showing Independence and self-assertiveness in Magazine Advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine years</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independence and self-assertiveness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not independent/ self-assertive</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent and self-assertive</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
<td>64.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N = 252)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(N = 249)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

phi = .05, x² = 1.62, df=1, p > .05
Findings by seven categories

Coding of the advertisements for Goffman categories revealed that some traits are appearing infrequently in contemporary ads. Two categories -- relative size and function ranking -- were found so seldom, the categories could be considered to no longer apply.

In the procedures to obtain the mean stereotyping scores of each category, a weighing problem was considered.

In order not to give more weight to the categories which have more than one variable, the sum of mean stereotyping scores of each categories is divided by the number of variables in each category. Then the new variables are summed to produce the weighted index.

For example, the mean stereotyping scores for the ritualization of subordination was computed as follows: (1) adding up the scores obtained from five variables, (2) dividing the sum of mean stereotyping scores by 5. (There are five variables in the ritualization of subordination.)

The independent t-test conducted (Table 18) shows that there are some significant differences between the mean stereotyping scores by year in the categories of the licensed withdrawal and body display, but that they are counter to the hypothesized direction -- they show more stereotyped behavior in 1991 than in 1979.
Table 18

Mean stereotyping score* (and standard deviation) of magazine advertisements based on seven categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>t value</th>
<th>sig**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>relative size</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.50)</td>
<td>(.50)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence and self-assertiveness</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.49)</td>
<td>(.47)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine touch</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.37)</td>
<td>(.37)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function Ranking</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.37)</td>
<td>(.28)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritualization of subordination</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.24)</td>
<td>(.23)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body display</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>-1.80</td>
<td>p&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.43)</td>
<td>(.46)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensed withdrawal</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-3.28</td>
<td>p&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.21)</td>
<td>(.24)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Mean of the scores of advertisements with value=1 (stereotyped depiction of women). In order not to give more weight to concepts with more operationalizations, the sum of the mean stereotyping scores of the seven categories is divided by the number of variables in each category.

** Statistical significance
(1) Relative Size

Height relationships between males and females in magazine advertisements has not changed since 1979. The mean stereotyping score for 1979 was .51 and the score for 1991 was .46. There was no significant difference by year.

(2) Feminine Touch

The feminine touch category shows no difference in the mean stereotyping scores between 1979 and 1991.

(3) Function Ranking

Function ranking has seemed to cease in most modern business advertising, since not many advertisements showed men and women in a social hierarchy. However, the mean stereotyping scores by year were not significantly different.

(4) Ritualization of Subordination

Goffman catalogued actions that made women subordinate such as lowering of a female body part as in deference, females lying down, the bashful knee bend, canting postures, and expansive smile. Magazine advertisements in 1979 and 1991 showed very close mean stereotyping scores.

(5) Licensed Withdrawal

Licensed withdrawal relates to women often not being fully within the action or the scene, but instead gazing off or self-absorbed, or, more importantly, seemingly "lost" or "mentally drifting." Surprisingly, magazine advertisements in 1991 showed more stereotyping than those in 1979 in this category.
(6) Body Display

The question of whether magazine advertising contains more suggestive and provocative sexual content in 1991 than in 1979 was answered. The finding that women in 1991 were more often depicted in "sexy" dress or nude than in 1979 implies that the advertising industry has become interested in more sexually explicit and provocative portrayals of women in magazine advertising. (7) Independence (self-assertiveness)

The mean stereotyping scores between 1979 and 1991 were not significantly different in this category.
Chapter V. Conclusions and Discussion.

This study examined female portrayals in the magazine advertisements from 1979 and 1991. Seven dimensions of stereotyping of women were examined, including relative size, feminine touch, function ranking, ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal, body display, and independence/self-assertiveness. The first five categories were replicated from Goffman’s 1979 study of Gender Advertisements, and the last two categories were introduced by the researcher.

The magazine advertisement was the unit of analysis for this study. Advertisements that feature human subjects were collected from 1979 and 1991 women’s magazines by random sampling. The women’s magazines analyzed were Vogue, Mademoiselle, and McCall’s. The researcher selected seven advertisements from each month’s issue of three magazines from January to December in 1979 and 1991. This sampling procedure resulted 252 samples from 1979 and 252 samples from 1991.

The hypothesis drawn from the literature were tested using a t-test.
Hypothesis

The print advertisements in 1991 samples will show less frequent gender displays in terms of feminine touch, relative size, ritualization of subordination, function ranking, licensed withdrawal, body display, independence (self-assertiveness) than those of 1979. The independent variable "time" will affect the dependent variable, frequency of gender displays.

This research showed that few changes have been made in the images of women in magazine advertisements since Goffman’s 1979 study. The hypothesis is not supported. The findings indicate that the images of women in 1991 advertisements did not significantly change from the images found in 1979 advertisements. However, distribution or dispersion did change. In the categories of licensed withdrawal and body display, the magazine advertisements from 1991 showed more stereotyping of women than those from 1979.

Two of Goffman’s categories -- Relative Size and Function Ranking -- were not prevalent depictions in magazine advertisements. Overall, many advertisements showed only females or males rather than the two genders together or a family scene. This might mean that advertisements are frequently targeting more specific audiences.

Advertisements for cosmetics -- typically the products associated with the sexiest female images -- have begun to feature more powerful and independent female gender displays.
As shown in this research, the process of change in advertising images is a slow one. Advertisements are conservative and tied to the prevailing ideology of the culture. There has not been much change in the portrayal of women in advertising, perhaps because advertising has this powerful role: to depict women not necessarily how they actually behave, but rather, how we think women behave. Furthermore, according to Goffman, this depiction serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how women are, or want to be, or should be. It seems that only superficial cultural alterations are transferred to advertisements, while the underlying ideological foundation remains untouched.

Print media advertisements appear to be slow in changing the traditional demeaning roles of women. Investigations of women's magazines corroborated this assertion.

The results of this study are not very surprising, since magazine advertisements are not meant to serve as social primers enumerating the cultural rules of correct and proper behavior. They are merely designed to naturalize people and things in such a way as to maximize demand by defining social relations in terms of the consumption of goods and services.

Using women in a sexist tone in advertisements has more profound social implications. If the media do mold expectations, opinions, and attitudes, then the audience of these ads may accept the way women are depicted as reality. What may be needed is the portrayal of women in roles that
actually reflect their perceived attributes and their individuality.

One important goal of this study has been to investigate the changes of stereotyped images of women in women's magazines between 1979 and 1991 by using the Goffman's gender behaviors as a conceptual basis.

This study shows that some gender behaviors reported by Goffman -- such as the "height relationship", "conducting the instructing role", and "maintaining telephone conversation" -- are no longer prevalent in modern magazine advertisements. Two categories -- relative size and function ranking -- were found so seldom, the categories could be considered to no longer apply.

Therefore, one may suggest that the overall findings of this study were consistent with Goffman's 1979 findings except in two categories mentioned above. This study indicates that gender behaviors displayed in magazine advertisements have not changed much since Goffman's 1979 findings.
Limitations of the Study

Any time a researcher is involved in collecting, coding, and interpreting the data, some subjectivity might exist. This could in some respects have limited the reliability of the study. However, in this particular research, where Goffman's five "behavior groupings" and two additional categories were used to analyze data, they were reasonably explicit and unambiguous.

In this research, only visual messages of magazine advertisements were analyzed. Even though there is a saying that "a picture is worth thousands of words," pictures can never be taken as an absolute representation of gender behavior in real life. Therefore, there could be different results if visual images as well as verbal messages were analyzed at the same time.

In addition, only three of many women's magazines were utilized for this study. While reasonably selected, different results could be found with different magazines.
Suggestions for Further Research

A few additional studies logically follow from this study. The first would use the magazine advertisements and would examine the way men are depicted in them. A comparison between the results of the two studies would reveal the differences in the representation of men and women in advertising.

The second would be a cross-cultural comparison between cultures (e.g., the United States of America and Korea, Japan, or Taiwan).
RELATIVE SIZE (Only when male and female both present)
1. If there is a height relationship, which person is taller?
   (0) Male taller
   (0) Male not taller
   (9) Not applicable

FEMININE TOUCH (Female)
2. Using fingers and hands to cradle or caress objects
   (1) Yes
   (0) No
   (9) Not applicable

3. Self-touching
   (1) Yes
   (0) No
   (9) Not applicable

FUNCTION RANKING
4. Which person is in the instructing role?
   (1) Male
   (0) Not male
   (9) Not applicable

5. Which person is serving other person?
   (1) Female
   (0) Not female
   (9) Not applicable

6. Which person is in superior role?
   (1) Male
   (0) Not male
   (9) Not applicable

RITUALIZATION OF SUBORDINATION (Female)
7. Lowering oneself physically
   (1) Yes
   (0) No
   (9) Not applicable

8. Bashful knee bend
   (1) Yes
   (0) No
   (9) Not applicable

9. Body cant or head cant
   (1) Yes
   (0) No
   (9) Not applicable

10. Lying or sitting on bed or floor
    (1) Yes
    (0) No
    (9) Not applicable

11. Expansive smile
    (1) Yes
    (0) No
    (9) Not applicable

LICENSED WITHDRAWAL (Female)
12. Hand covering mouth or face
    (1) Yes
    (0) No
    (9) Not applicable

13. Head or eye gaze aversion
    (1) Yes
    (0) No
    (9) Not applicable

14. Maintaining telephone conversation
    (1) Yes
    (0) No
    (9) Not applicable

15. Withdrawal gaze from scene at large (mentally drifting)
    (1) Yes
    (0) No
    (9) Not applicable
BODY DISPLAY
16. Does the female wear body-revealing clothes or show nudity?
   (1) Yes   (0) No   (9) Not applicable

INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-ASSERTIVENESS
17. Does the female look independent and self-assertive?
   (1) No   (0) Yes   (9) Not applicable
References


Courtney, K., & Lockeretz, S. (1971). *A woman's place: An analysis of the roles portrayed by women in magazine*


Preston, T. (1982). The association model of the


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