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SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES IN WOMEN'S
MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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June 1979

Summary

Sex-role Stereotypes in Women's Magazine

Advertisements

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Advertising, sex-role stereotypy is considered by feminist critics to be an important contribution, through sex-role socialisation, to the low social status and achievement levels of women. Feminist attacks on the advertising stereotype have, however, attracted a series of defences and counter-attacks by the advertising industry which have combined to form a continuing "advertising, sex-role debate". This debate, while relevant to all advertising, is, it is suggested, crystallised in the genre of women's magazines.

Despite the assumed relevance of this debate to women's position, there is a marked lack of empirical research into the sex-role stereotype content of advertising and, importantly, into the perceptions and stances of the parties to the debate, including the "ordinary women" around whom it revolves. Without this evidence it is difficult to assess and interpret the nature of advertising imagery, or gauge its real contribution to women's position. This lack of research is particularly noted in the field of women's magazines.

A series of research studies are reported of which the central one is a content analysis of advertising in women's magazines. The other studies investigate the subjects and concepts involved in the advertising, sex-role debate.

The results of the principal study indicate that many advertising images in women's magazines may be interpreted as "sex-role stereotypes". Results of the ensuing studies and other evidence, however, question whether this interpretation might not be more a function of an idiosyncratic feminist stance than relevant to the perceptions of "ordinary" women.

It is observed that some advertising imagery might be "improved", not only in reflecting certain important perceptions held by "ordinary" women, but also in catering to the non-feminist but anti-traditional women. On the whole, however, it is suggested that the problem of sexism assumed in the advertising, sex-role debate, might be more effectively resolved external to it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank the following for their help in the preparation of this thesis:-

Dr. Guy Cumberbatch, my supervisor, who has been a consistent source of knowledge, help and stimulation not only in supplying criticism and advice in the development of the empirical studies, but also a finely judged and highly motivating mixture of humour, castigation, encouragement and support in the preparation of the final draft.

Dr. Michael Thomson, my husband, who devoted many cheerfully given hours in the compilation, corrections and sheer labour involved in preparation of the final version.

Dr. Roy Davies, Reader in Applied Psychology, for his helpful comments in the reading of the first draft of the thesis.

Professor Dudley Jackson, head of the Economics, Econometrics, Statistics and Marketing sub-group at the University of Aston Management Centre for continual interest and support in finishing the final draft since my appointment as Lecturer in that department, and for agreeing to read and comment on the finished manuscript.

William Noel Scott, my father, for his interest and help in the tedious work of correcting the final manuscript and the checking of data reportage, as well as some perspicacious observations on style and clarity in expression.

Suzanne Ravenall of Charlcrest Limited who typed the final version of the thesis, not only with overwhelming efficiency but also cheerfulness and initiative.

International Publishing Corporation for their permission to use their library, and for subsequent offers of help and retrieval of useful information.

Holmes Peglar of the Applied Psychology Department and Vivienne Perks of the Management Centre for their willing advice in the use of computer facilities and eradication of programming snags.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION


Following the huge expansion in publishing since the war, women's magazines have become important mass-communications media reaching the majority of British women. During the last ten years, however, interest in the content and increasing circulations of these journals has changed from a benign acceptance of an apparently harmless media sub-culture into a more specific concern for what these magazines disseminate to the millions of women who read them.

The first indication of interest in the content of women's magazines in relation to women's roles and the position of women in society is found in the classic critique of the 'feminine mystique' by Friedan, 1963. Far from viewing these magazines as harmless, she attributed to their content and values a share of the blame for what she considered to be waste and under-use of female potential. The lead taken by Friedan, combined with a growing interest in women's position, has led to even greater interest in women's magazines not only because of their importance to women but also because they are perceived to be a bastion of the traditional female values of domesticity, narcissism and passivity. Studies on the female imagery in these magazines have been made for editorial content (Winship, 1978), stories (Anant, 1976), problem pages (O'Kelly, 1968), sexual values (Frankl, 1974) and general history and content (White, 1970), while references to women's magazines may be found in almost every feminist critique of press media content.

Women's magazines, however, have not only attracted interest because of their general content but also because of the large proportions of advertising which they contain. Like most press media, women's magazines may contain advertisements up to 50% of average issue size, but what is considered important about the advertising in women's journals is that it is geared almost entirely to women acting in their role as female consumers. Some of the largest-selling product groups in Britain - food, clothing, household goods, consumer durables - are bought by, or the purchase principally influenced by women (Scott 1976), and the specific female

orientation of this advertising has led to what many feminist critics believe to be some of the worst examples of sex-role stereotyping in media.

Sex-role stereotyping is perceived by feminists and academic researchers as an important part of the sex-role socialization of women, and their action against such stereotypes is extended along a broad political, educational, legal and social front. Given, however, the importance of women's magazines to women, their high circulation, and a perception by feminists that the advertising in such journals is not only overtly traditional but also a potent source of mass media effect, it is not surprising that the advertising in women's magazines has become a critical focal point for feminist groups concerned with sex-role stereotyping and its effect.

Strikingly, however, despite the feminist interest in such advertising, the economic importance to advertisers of women's magazines, their interest to women generally, and despite the often vituperative discourse which has sprung up between advertisers and feminists on the subject, there is little empirical work on advertising in women's magazines, or, in fact, on advertising and sex-role stereotypes generally. 

The simple fact is, that while other sources on the nature and effect of sex-role stereotypes - such as that propagated through parental, sibling, educational and other influences, of which several extensive reviews exist, (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974, Fransella, and Frost, 1977, Belotti, 1975, Oakley, 1974)^a - have been the subject of a large and accelerating research tradition, the nature and perception of the sex-role stereotype in advertising have been notably ignored by researchers. Only 12 studies up to 1977 have been made on the nature of the advertising sex-role stereotype and most of these contain serious methodological shortcomings, are largely American and, a crucial factor in this genre, over 10 years out of date. Furthermore, no study in any medium has sought to examine either the effect of the sex-role stereotypes in advertising, or how the perceptions by women of that advertising relate either to advertising content or the feminist criticisms.

While such a state of empirical tradition is an important failing in the general issue of advertising sex-role stereotypes, it is even more disappointing in the specific area of women's magazine advertising, where only 3 studies, and then only inadequately and idiosyncratically, have measured the advertising stereotype, and, again, no study has investigated perceptions and effect of such imagery on the women who read these magazines.

The importance of such an investigation is a point raised frequently by White, 1970 in her extensive survey of women's magazines. She writes:-

"In view of their potentially considerable social and economic influence, women's magazines have for too long escaped the attention of sociologists ... (there is a) lack of research into the psychology and sociology of magazine readership, and publishers badly need concrete facts in these two areas to guide them in planning ahead. Such research is vital if the argument about the future of women's magazines is not to be conducted wholly in commercial terms".
(p.302)

White, on behalf of the advertisers, and many advertisers themselves have argued that a greater balance between empirical evidence and polemics is needed for discussion of the advertising imagery in women's magazines. In short, good evidence is needed not only on what advertising sex-role stereotypes can be found in women's magazines but also some estimation should be made of how these images are received, and how they fit into the self-perceptions of the women who are exposed to them.

The main aim of this thesis and its component studies has been to correct some of these empirical omissions. Before outlining the general structure of the thesis, however, some consideration must be given to how such studies have been seen to fit into the general framework of sex-role research.

The Women's Liberation Movement and feminist politics have undergone several important changes since their inception in the late 1960's. From an early

ideological movement, characterised by polemical heroines, the feminist ethos has broadened, become more pragmatic and fragmented. Not only have the polemics given way to more specific action but many of the feminist principles have become integrated into social behaviour and values, to some extent through legal measures, but also through acclimatisation. Nowhere has the interest in feminism been more evident, however, than in the academic world, which partly out of its own curiosity over the wider issues of a change in women's position, but also in response to a demand for more evidence on feminist issues, has been enthusiastic in investigating the nature of sex-role socialisation, sex differences and sex-role stereotypes. What, however, has emerged through these studies has been a more pragmatic and integrated approach to the issue of women's position. Many of the earlier polemical certainties, such as the emphasis on the sole contribution of socialisation to sex-role formation, have been tempered by the research findings. The creation of sex-roles has now emerged as a function of complex interacting forces, and any simplistic views on the direct effect of single agencies in sex-role formation have been rejected in favour of more complex models. In short, any investigation of sex-roles, whether generally, or specifically as in the case of this thesis, should take care to consider as many as possible of the complicating and interactive factors. Assumptions of a solely feminist view in such an investigation must be considered a potent source of bias.

In this thesis, then, in investigating the nature of stereotyping in women's magazines, the problem was considered from several angles; from the viewpoints of the feminist critics whose original interest has been the mainspring of much of the research in the general area; of the advertisers, whose own considerable research into women's magazines must be considered pertinent to their defenses against sex-role stereotyping; and finally, from the perceptions of the 'ordinary' women to whom the advertising is directed.

In consideration of this complexity of component views, and in view of the fact

that no research tradition exists for women's magazine advertising, Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis are devoted to a review of the arguments and empirical work in the general field of advertising stereotypes and imagery. Given this important contributory background, Chapter 3 assesses these arguments in the context of women's magazines and delineates the rationales for the ensuing studies. Chapters 4 and 5 describe investigation through content analysis of women's magazine advertising, and Chapter 6 describes the methodology and rationales of a series of studies designed to investigate perceptions of advertising content in the context of 'self' and 'stereotype' concepts. Chapters 7 and 8 describe the results of these studies and Chapter 9 discusses the overall conclusions from the studies in the context of the nature and perceptions of women's magazine advertising, including comments on its function and effect.

Chapter 1

The advertising, sex-role debate:

The main arguments

Chapter 1

The Advertising, Sex-Role Debate; the Main Arguments

This Chapter is principally concerned with outlining the arguments of the two central parties in the advertising, sex-role debate - notably those of feminist critics and the advertising industry. The rationality and foundations of such arguments are of less concern in this Chapter than their substance since it is this substance, the background and perceptual priorities of these arguments, which form the central logic of this thesis. A critical examination of such arguments in relation to advertising imagery will be made in more detail in the context of empirical evidence in the next Chapter, and in the conclusions in Chapter 9.

Section 1:1 The Feminist Critics - Background

With the passing of the Equal Pay, and Equal Opportunities Bills, the semi-institutionalisation of the feminist cause, and the moderate, if indulgent, attitude of the popular press towards women's issues, it would be easy for the casual observer to assume that all is well, if not vastly improved, in the position of women in Britain. Certainly, random examination of the copious evidence on women's position would suggest that there have been marked changes in the material side to women's roles, and in attitudinal stances to their position in society.

There have, for example, been major changes in the employment rates of all groups of women; a factor noted in several recent reports. (Social Trends, 1974; Department of Employment Gazette, October 1974; Equal Opportunities Commission Reports, 1976, 1977) and summarised in an article by Cairncross, 1977,

who suggested that 'the rise in the number of women at work has been one of the most marked social changes in the last couple of generations'. She observes that roughly one woman in two now goes out to work, and the working mother is much more common, a point reiterated in the most recent Equal Opportunities Commission Report which also suggests that 'married women will continue to be

the largest single factor in the growth of the labour-force. It is expected that by 1986, married women alone will constitute 28% of the work-force'. (Equal Opportunities Commission, 1977. p.72). There have also been changes in the rates of women's pay. Between 1970 and 1977 women's pay, as a percentage of men's, increased from 63% to 76% (New Earnings Survey, 1970-1977), while in terms of occupational choice, there have been some upward drifts in female work-status, a trend that Fonda and Cooper, 1977, in a review of the professions, described as 'striking', and which was particularly represented by increases of female graduates in the traditional male professions of law, accountancy, computing, management services, marketing and selling. Fonda and Cooper, 1977 concluded that 'the most talented and highly educated members of the female sex are moving in significant numbers into traditional male occupations', an observation also supported by Lyons, 1977 in a similar review, that 'women are on the move... (they) are beginning to organise themselves...!.

In education, there have been some small increases in the number of women taking traditional male subjects at 'O' and 'A' level, (Statistics of Education, Vol.1 1975), while the number of female undergraduates as a percentage of the total has increased by 5% between 1970 and 1975. (Statistics of Education, Vol.6, 1975). In terms of training opportunities, there has been an overall increase in the representation of women in Training Opportunities Schemes from 7.7% in 1971 to 44.5% in 1976. Between 1973 and 1976 alone their numbers trebled from 10,295 to 35,470. (Training Services Agency, 1976). Finally, if such changes in women's employment activity might indicate some changes in attitude to their traditional sex-roles, such a trend is supported in the results of three recent surveys which demonstrated modifications in both men's and women's attitude to female employment, political and social status, and domestic work. (Roper and Labeff, 1977; Mason, Csajka and Arber, 1976; Observer Review, 1977).

These are merely some random observations on the extensive evidence on change in

women's social and working roles, but while these and other frissons in the changing sex-role climate have been welcomed by feminist and other political groups, the continuing and persistent feminist argument is that such changes are not only insufficient, but represent a selective view of women's real position. For feminist commentators, the wider view of women's position is that change has been neither extensive nor radical enough and that other evidence, or reinterpretation of the observations above, would indicate some large and continuing discrepancies between men's and women's positions in terms of employment, pay and opportunities. Certainly, not only the Equal Opportunities Commission, but also a variety of interested observers would tend to support this feminist view. Brompton, 1976, for example, in a review of the employment record of the Brook Street Bureau, noted that:-

"Sixteen months after the Sex Discrimination Act came into force, there are still disappointingly few women in top jobs. And despite moral and legal support, most of them still earn less than their male counterparts."

In terms of salaries, he observes, the top 10% of men are paid an average of £104.9 per week, while their female equivalents average only £70.2 per week. In addition, although women's pay as a percentage of men's has increased, it has not maintained its progress and, in fact, there is good evidence that the earnings gap between the sexes has now stabilised and started to increase. According to the Equal Opportunities Commission, the earnings gap 'has closed slightly since 1970, but it is still substantial and progress in this respect has slowed down in the last year'. Owing to the fact that the earnings gap is even greater than average gross hourly and weekly earnings figures indicate, since such figures exclude the effects of overtime, the Equal Opportunities Commission suggest that 'in money terms, the gap has actually widened'. (Equal Opportunities Commission Report, 1977 p.78). A further interpretation of the earnings anomaly between men and women is given by Davies, 1978 who has pointed out that in 1944 in the engineering industry, women

earned precisely half of the average paid to men, virtually the same proportion they had received at the turn of the century and approximately what it was in 1975. In terms of the professional status of women, although there have been observations of increases in the numbers of female graduates in the traditionally male areas, such results tend to obscure the fact that still only 8% of women are barristers, 6% are solicitors, 1% are production-engineers and 1% are electrical-engineers. Although 29% of doctors are female, nursing is still the predominant female medical occupation with an 86% female membership. In industry, female managers are still rare, even in largely female work forces, so that in Marks and Spencer, for example, although 36,000 of the 41,000 workforce are female, there are no female store-managers or board members. In the ICI white-collar workforce, there are only 234 female managers compared to 11,710 men while in Barclays Bank, which employs 36,000 women, there are only 10 female Branch Managers (Lyons, 1977). In the traditionally female occupations, the employment status of women still appears to under-represent their contribution. In teaching, for example, 58% of teachers are women, yet most heads of the larger mixed schools are men, with women, when they do reach the higher status levels, mainly taking deputy positions. In 1971, for example, of the 994 large comprehensive schools, 53 women - about 5% - were heads. (PEP Report, 1974).

Females also appear to be under-represented in relation to males in terms of opportunities for training and choice of work. For example, in 1975, only 36,172 women were released by employers during working hours to take part in part-time day-release courses at grant-aided establishments compared to 133,526 men (Statistics of Education Vol.1975) and, of the women trained in such schemes, most were in the more traditional female occupations, such as hairdressing. (Equal Opportunities Commission Report, 1977, p.70). In the more traditionally male training schemes, women are notably outnumbered; by 50 to 1 in Construction, for example, and 13 to 1 in Motor Vehicle Maintenance. (Training Services Agency,

1976). Reviewing such data, an article in the Times Educational Supplement. July 1977 noted that although the proportion of girls among the unemployed 16 to 17 year olds had risen from 35% to nearly 50% during the previous 7 years, three-quarters of the 16-28 years olds in job-creation schemes and almost all those being trained on incentive grants in industry were males.

An evident under-representation of women in training, and the choice of 'traditional' occupations for those who do train, is also echoed in education statistics. It has been noted, for example, that in terms of training, although there is a slight move to women in the non-traditional education areas, 'statistics provided by the Department of Education and Science indicate a clear pattern of girls qualifying at 'O' and 'A' levels in predominantly arts area subjects. They are under-represented in the physical sciences and are unlikely to have GCE passes in an even more strictly 'masculine' subject such as Technical Drawing'. (Equal Opportunities Commission, 1977. p.61). In addition, it has also been noted that females consistently compare badly with males in terms of 'O' and 'A' level attainment and examination entry, while of those boys and girls who go on to higher education, a greater proportion of boys than girls join degree courses. Females outnumber males only on catering, nursing and secretarial courses. Once in Higher Education, it has also been shown that only half as many females as males study for degree courses, with males tending to follow the science and technology courses, and females the arts and humanities. (Equal Opportunites Commission Report, 1977, pp.62, 63). As the Report observes, 'it emerges very clearly... that men outnumber women at all significant levels of both further and higher education'. (p.65).

If such statistics and observations indicate that the female performance in education, employment, earnings and training is inferior to that of males, there is also evidence that females are apparently disinclined to achieve, or to aim for status compared to males. An HMSO survey of 5th form girls in 1975 found, for

example, that nearly a quarter of the brightest girls (the top 30% for ability) did not expect to take further qualifications beyond 'O' levels and most of those who had left school did not intend to take further classes, said they did not need extra qualifications or were disinterested in examinations and other achievement tests. The range of jobs which the girls had taken or were expecting to take was narrow. Teaching and clerical work predominated. (H.M.S.O., 1975). Smith, 1975, furthermore, in his study of the woman teacher found that men were almost twice as ambitious as women when it came to applying for promotions in school. Nearly 70% of men said they would continue to apply for better jobs even after being rejected over 30 times, but only 38% of women demonstrated the same persistence. Women actually aimed for lower status; only 16% of women wanted to be heads of schools, while 54% of men put this as their aim. A lack of ambition and interest in job-state improvement is also reflected in the under-representation of women in Trades Union affairs, both in terms of membership and in the number of delegates to conferences. In May 1977, for example, it was noted that in manufacturing industries, 91% of women who were trade unionists never attended a branch meeting, while, despite the fact that 30% of women were trades union members, only 7% of the delegates at the 1976 Union Conference were women. (Phillips, 1977). Perhaps related to the evidence on female lack of ambition and desire to organise, there are also indications that women who achieve in areas traditionally assumed to be masculine, feel a conflict between such achievement and their femininity. Horner, 1972 who spearheaded this work in America has suggested that such conflict either produces a motivation to fail amongst able women, or produces disequilibrium between their ability and femininity. In this context, it is thus notable that in a survey of girls studying 'A' level science, Smithers, 1976 found that while the girls had a greater interest in the subject than boys, and were often likely to excel, they, nonetheless, thought of themselves as 'rather unsociable, unfeminine, unpopular and unattractive...'

The surveys, statistics and observations noted above by no means represent more than a tiny review of all the evidence that exists on the lack of achievement, ambition, ability and status of women. It does not, furthermore, cover the vast range of research on sex-roles and female attitudes to work/domesticity conflicts, and self-perceptions that indicates that while certain women, usually the more liberated minority have experienced some improvements in status, women in general have not made startling advances in their general positions. As Coote, 1977 observes in a critical appraisal of the pay, work and status of women, 'for all our new "rights" we have made very little progress in 3½ years'.

What, however, is clear is that while there is some evidence of change in the climate of opinion and legality over the place of women, there are still some major discrepancies between the sexes in terms of achievement, attitudes and opportunities; and it is into this context that the feminist viewpoint must be placed, a viewpoint which stresses that such observed sex differences cannot alone be explained by simple differences in male and female behaviour, ability and psychology. If, for example, there was evidence that the femaleness of women could simply explain sex-discrepancies in achievement, that women were naturally less intelligent, competent, ambitious or able than men, then an easy answer to social sex differences could be postulated. Evidence on sex differences, however, does not support such a simplistic view.

The outstanding conclusions in the review of sex difference research by Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974, the classic text on this subject, support the view that simple sex differences in personality and ability cannot alone account for all the differences in observed achievement differences between men and women.

In their 'summary and commentary', Maccoby and Jacklin note that 'unfounded beliefs about sex differences' were that girls were more 'social' than boys, more 'suggestible and with lower self-esteem', that girls were better at rote learning and

simple repetitive tasks, that boys demonstrated higher level cognitive processing and were more analytic. They also found that there was too little evidence, or that the findings were ambiguous, that females were more afraid, timid and anxious; were less active, less competitive and less dominant than boys; that females were more compliant or more nurturant. They also found no clear evidence to support sex-differences in achievement-motivation. In other words, all the factors which may have explained the preponderance of females in lower status, menial and less achieving work, the indication that females are less achievement orientated and ambitious, were not found to be typically feminine.

The only sex differences which were well established by research were that boys were better at visual-spatial and mathematical ability, and were more aggressive; while girls were notably better at verbal ability than boys. In other words, sex-differences might account for the type of work that different sexes enjoy and excel at, but the evidence does not support sex-differences in achievement of status in these areas.

The only factor which might explain the difference is the greater aggression of males. Is this greater aggression the fundamental factor behind status and achievement differences between the sexes, and which favours males?

Maccoby and Jacklin suggest that while this is possible, 'the case is not strong'. They note that among subhuman primates, dominance is achieved largely through aggression and an individual's position in the dominance hierarchy is related to this aggression through sex hormones, but 'there is no direct evidence that dominance among adult human groups is linked either to sex hormones or to aggressiveness.'
(p.361)

"Adult human beings influence one another by persuasion, charisma, mutual affection and bargaining, as well as by force or threats thereof. To the extent that dominance is not exercised by coercion, the biological male aggressiveness is probably not implicated in it."

(p.361)

In short, if reasons for the differences in male and female performances are to be found, then additional, explanatory factors are needed, and the widely accepted view among sex-role researchers, related reports and feminists is that since biology and innate sex-differences may only partly explain some of the differences in the performances and abilities of men and women, another potent factor to consider is the influence of sex-role socialisation.

The more concrete influences of sex-role socialisation, that is, the influences of parents, siblings and teachers in moulding the behaviour of male and female children into roles which are culturally and traditionally male or female, have been, and are being investigated through a respectable and accelerating research tradition. The work on children is extensive, since it is now known that perceptions of male and female sex-roles may be formed very early in life, (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974) and such socialisation is often easily available to analysis, and quantifiable. Good reviews of this proliferating research are available, (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Oakley, 1974; Fransella and Frost, 1977; Belotti, 1975; Sharpe, 1976) and the importance of rectifying such negative influences on female behaviour are recognised by the passing of the Equal Opportunities Bill and frequent political campaigns by feminists and interested organisations on the revision of curricula, child-care programmes and parental education.

Nevertheless, all influences on sex-role socialisation are not so easily notable or quantifiable, and by no means are the influences restricted to children. The Report of the Equal Opportunities Commission, 1977 noted that:-

"As women have begun to reach out into the wider areas of social and industrial life, they have encountered a variety of obstacles to equality of opportunity; some direct, deliberate and overt; some unintended and indirect." (p.1).

In short, while such legal measures as the Sex Discrimination Act, 1975 might

attempt to eliminate some of the more 'direct, deliberate and overt' features of sex-role socialisation and discrimination, other influences might be equally influential in restricting opportunities to women, and manipulating them into traditional sex-roles which do not favour female independence, ability, ambition and achievement. These influences, the Report notes, are often 'based on unexamined assumptions', but these assumptions as the Report and many other related sources suggest, are crystalised particularly into sex-role stereotypes or, as the Commission observes, 'stereotypes about the proper role and place of women.'(p.1)

The nature and extent of this sex-role stereotype is examined in more detail in Chapter 4, but its fundamental characteristic is one of differentiation. It is a set of beliefs held by the sexes of the 'normal' behaviour of men and women, and its perceived harm lies in the fact that it often supports differences between the sexes which sex-difference research shows, for the most part, not to exist. Nichols, 1962 for example, observed that sex-role stereotypes exist where 'no true difference exists, but for which a sex-difference is assumed to exist.'(p.449) while Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974 observing that 'stereotypes are such powerful things' go on to note that:-

"... this well-documented process occurs continually in relation to the expected and perceived behaviour of males and females and results in the perpetuation of myths that would otherwise die out under the impact of negative evidence..." (p.355)

These sex-role stereotypes are widely held, (Lunneborg, 1968; Seward, 1946) persistent, (Fernberger, 1948) and highly traditional, (Komarovsky, 1967; McKee and Sheriffs, 1957; Broverman et al, 1972) and the extent to which they are integrated into the sex-roles and self-concepts of men and women is indicated by the extent to which such stereotypes are reflected in sex-typed items in masculinity-femininity tests. (Greenberg and Zeldow, 1976).

Sex-role stereotypes are common, pervasive and are projected directly and

indirectly in many forms, through many agencies, but nowhere have they been as frequently noted and commented upon as in the media; and among media, special criticism has always been reserved for those stereotypes projected through advertising.

Section 1:2 The advertising sex-role stereotype

Assuming that sex-role stereotypes are at the bottom of the many negative influences working against women, feminists and interested researchers have directed much attention to their notation and potential influence, and media have been the special subject of their attention, whether secondary media such as novels (Ruggiero and Weston 1977) and children's literature (Dixon, 1977), or mass media, such as television and the press (see Appendix A), magazine stories (Anant, 1976; Kidd, 1975), women's pages (Guenin, 1970), cartoons (Streicher, 1974), photographs (Miller^{S.H.}, 1970), advice columns (Smith and Levin, 1968), or popular songs (Waugh and Goddard, 1975). Feminists have consistently attacked the propagation of these stereotypes, but nowhere has their criticism been so intense or widespread as in the issue of advertising sex-role stereotypes.

Criticisms of the sex-role stereotype in advertising originate from Friedan's first and classic analysis in 1963 and have been pursued in the advertising, marketing and general press, and consistently in the feminist literature up to the present day, by, among others, Komisar, 1971; Embree, 1970; Sharpe, 1976; Scott, 1976; Adams and Laurikietis, 1976; Willis, 1971; Faulder, 1977, Stemple and Tyler, 1974, Bardwick and Schumann, 1967 and Greer, 1971.

Many feminist groups have translated their criticisms of advertising into positive action. In America, the National Organisation for Women has initiated a list of the 10 'worst advertisements' each year, protests to the advertising agencies directly, encourages product boycotts and has taken legal action, the most publicised one being against an air-line. British feminists are perhaps not so well organised as the

American groups but 'Spare Rib', the national feminist magazine carries monthly features on stereotypes, suggesting means of complaint, as well as regular articles on the subject; while Women in Media, apart from submitting a report to the Annan committee on the Future of Broadcasting conveying its specific criticisms on advertising, have also organised several protests, and have published a collection of readings on the subject. (King and Stott, 1977).

The feminist interest in advertising is considerable and appears to have become a focal point among these critics for its portrayal of women. There are indications that advertising is regarded as the worst of the media, a fact supported by the range of actions and critical articles related to advertising which are not found proportionately for other mass media, such as television drama, newspaper content, or magazine stories. In 6 books of feminist readings, for example, 5 articles can be noted relating to advertising imagery, and only one to general mass media (women's magazines) (Morgan 1970, etc). In-text emphasis on stereotyping also tends to concentrate disproportionately on the advertising field. Sharpe, 1976, for example, in her chapter on 'Media Reflections', allocates a separate section to criticism of advertising stereotypes, but another section on 'Other Media', of the same length, covers newspapers, television, radio and film content.

Komisar 1971 perhaps crystallises this special status of advertising in her comment that:-

"the real life mirrors are the media (but) for women the most invidious mirror of all is advertising..."(p.304)

The specific nature of the feminist criticisms of advertising stereotypes are not, however, constant, in that each analysis will focus on different aspects, but such criticisms are often extraordinarily vituperative. Komisar, 1971, for example, refers to the advertising image of women as 'blatant and odious', 'insulting and demeaning', 'ludicrous and humiliating exaggerations' (p.317) and she creates a 'media woman' caricature who is a 'combination sex object, wife and mother; who achieves fulfilment by looking beautiful and alluring for her boy friends and lovers,

and cleaning, washing and polishing for her husband and family'. (p.306). Between the various feminist critiques of the advertising stereotype, however, certain points are consistently raised.

One common factor of the criticisms is the subject of roles, and feminist observations on this subject concentrate into 3 areas; that women are primarily observed in domestic roles; that this allocation is largely at the expense of women shown in occupations outside the home; that the main alternative to this is to show women in a 'decorative' or 'sex-object' role. The domestic criticism, in particular, is legion. Bardwick and Schumann, 1967 for example, comment that 'to an amazing extent women in commercials are pre-occupied with dirt' (p.18), while Faulder, 1977 refers to the 'domestic skivvy image' (p.45). The Women in Media Report, 1976 to the Annan Committee on the Future of Broadcasting laid particular emphasis on the point, stating that 'it is assumed that women's highest achievement lies in feeding, watering, cleaning, shining, washing and scrubbing', (Faulder, 1977 p.45). Embree, 1970 and Bardwick and Schumann, 1967 lay particular emphasis on the purveyance of domesticity at the expense of external occupations, the former observing that 'women are almost always pictured as housewives and mothers.... There is rarely any mention of the woman who has work outside the home' (p.182), and the latter take a stronger stance referring to the 'denials' of 25 million working women, that 'nearly half of the women in this country work, but you wouldn't think so to look at advertising. A woman's place is not only in the home, it is in the kitchen or laundry room...' (p.18).

The comments on the decorative role of women are common to nearly all of the feminist critics. Sharpe, 1976, for example, emphasises the presence of 'pretty, near-naked girls', (p.109), Faulder, 1977, the gratuity of a 'near-naked girl twined provocatively around a piece of machinery' (p.50), Greer, 1971, that the advertisement woman 'must be young, her body hairless, her flesh buoyant' (p.60), while Embree, 1970 suggests that 'a woman is supposed to be a Body, not a person,

a deodorised body' (p.186). Particularly associated with this decorative role, is also the fact that the female stereotype is one of youth. Moss, 1970, for example, suggests that an implication in advertising is that 'the woman over 30 is ugly and disgusting' (p.172), while Bardwick and Schumann, 1967 suggest that in commercials, products and beauty are 'the sole property of the young, sometimes the very young' (p.20).

The feminist criticism of roles in advertising is not, however, restricted to their stereotypes but also to the restriction of options. Faulder, 1977 summarises this view noting that images depicted in advertisements do not include:-

"... all the roles peculiar to women's lives. The independently minded woman, the woman who considers herself an equal to men, the woman who is economically self-sufficient and many other vital, real images of the modern woman in today's society are conspicuous by their absence"... (p.175)

Apart from general role notation, feminists also offer criticisms of the sub-strata of such roles, particularly in the world of work. Komisar, 1971, and Faulder, 1977 particularly emphasise the low status and traditionalism of the work roles chosen for women.

The former critic notes that 'the image of women in advertising is as much defined by the ads. that omit her as those that exploit her.' Business executives and doctors are always men' (p.310), while the latter refers to a 'limited safe selection of traditional occupations for women such as secretarial work, nursing, teaching, social work or something in fashion and beauty" (p.175).

The sub-stratum of behaviour is also frequently criticised and in particular the perceived tendency of women to be passive and dependent, behaviours which Embree, 1970 and Florika, 1970 view as symbolised by control. Embree notes that:-

"the mass media woman must have a fragmented grip on reality, must not view herself as the controller of the technology surrounding her

but as the one controlled.... She must be the object, not the subject of her world." (p.191)

This 'objectifying' of women is seen by other feminists as part of a general 'servant' capacity of the advertising woman. Faulder, 1977 suggests that for women 'servility oozes out of advertising' (p.46), while Komisar, 1971 sees it typified by the fact that women in advertisements 'frequently receive instructions on how to do their housework from men'. (p.307). Sharpe, 1976 simply observes that women are 'regarded as being inferior in many ways'. (p.111). Behavioural criticism also relates to the portrayed lack of intelligence of women in advertisements, and the ridicule associated with their activities. Faulder, 1977 stresses that 'it is the tone of voice and the absurd expectation often suggested by the advertisements to be the housewives' raison d'etre, which are so unacceptable,' (p.45), while Komisar wryly notes the tendency of women to be shown in 'uncontrollable ecstasies at the sight and smell of tables or (glowing) with rapture at the blinding whiteness of their wash' (p.306). Throughout all the feminist criticisms is the belief that women are shown in inferior, foolish situations except in housework roles where their competence emerges.

Finally, feminist criticisms of the advertising sex-role stereotype deal with the general tones and appeals of such advertisements. Particular emphasis is given to the association of product use with rewards that orientate towards good motherhood, family satisfaction and to the attracting, and possession of a male, the final factor termed by Komisar, 1971, the 'male reward', (p.317). The Women in Media Report refers to these appeals as 'emotional blackmail', (Faulder, 1977, p.45) and Sharpe, 1976, Greer, 1971 and Embree, 1970 make note of the appeals to 'pseudo-liberation', that is, the presentation of the appeal to freedom and liberation in the contexts of domesticity and traditional roles, an appeal typified by Sharpe, 1976 in the recording of an advertising copy line which read: 'You'll find a liberated kitchen through electric cooking'. (p.111).

It is also noted that product appeals tend to disfavour non-traditional roles, and Adams and Laurikietis, 1976 observe that when women are shown in worker roles, 'the advertisements are noticeably duller to the eye than those in which we see glamorous models selling hair spray and cars...' (p.66).

Women in advertisements are the principal target for feminist critics, although some passing observations are made on men. Occasionally it is remarked that men are shown in stereotyped roles too, but a frequent comment is that these stereotypes are often more 'desirable' than the feminine ones. Men are also, it is noted, shown in a wider range of attributes and roles. Bardwick and Schumann, 1967 pass most comment on this aspect and conclude that while women are shown as passive, unintelligent and domestic, men are shown as 'muscular, knowledgeable, independent, sexy, cosmopolitan, athletic, authoritarian and aggressive.' (p.21)

Section 1:3 Perceived effect of advertising sex-role stereotypes

Given that there is wide assumption of the important role of the sex-role stereotype in sex-role formation (Section 1:1), and given that feminists perceive that this stereotype is strongly purveyed by advertising (Section 1:2), it is not surprising that feminist critics also suggest that there is an important association between exposure to advertising among women, and the formation of sex-roles.

The assumption of such an effect is common among feminists and, notably, among those semi-empirical studies which have sought to measure the extent of stereotypes in advertising. The nature of these findings is examined in Chapter 2, but the extent to which the empirical studies assume such an effect as part of the rationales for their studies, and in consideration of the fact that the empiricists' assumptions are almost always as speculative as the assertions of the feminists, then their comments will be considered here.

Throughout the critical comment and observations on the assumed effect of the advertising stereotype on women, two main types of effect are noted.

1. Direct effect and reinforcement

This approach to effect assumes that there is a one-to-one and measurable relationship between the exposure of women to advertising and the sex-roles they hold. There appears to be two dimensions to this assumption ranging from a more direct effect - that is, that advertising actually creates sex-role orientation in the exposees - to a form of more subtle reinforcement effect - that is, advertising imagery forces a retention of traditional sex-roles among the women - and men - exposed to it.

The assumption of direct effect, however, is certainly the more characterised by notable certainty among the writers and this is particularly exemplified by Friedan, 1963, the earliest of the critics in this genre who suggested that:-

"... a woman no longer has a private image to tell her who she is, or can be or wants to be. The public image in the magazine and television commercials is designed to sell (products), but the power of the image... comes from this... women are so unsure of who they should be that they look at this glossy image to decode every detail of their lives..." (p.64)

The assumption and certainty behind this direct effect persists to the present day, with Komisar, 1971, stating explicitly that 'advertising':-

"makes women believe that their chief role is to please men, and that their fulfilment will be as wives, mothers and homemakers. It makes women feel unfeminine if they are not pretty enough, and guilty if they do not spend most of their time in desperate attempts to imitate gourmet cooks and eighteenth century scullery-maids. It makes women believe that their own lives, talents, and interests ought to be secondary to the needs of their husbands and families and that they are almost totally defined by these relationships".... (p.310). (writer's emphasis).

The curious power which is invested in advertising to make and form women's self-

and sex-role perceptions reaches a crescendo in the work by Goldfeld, Munaker and Weisstein, 1970, who state that:-

"The men who control the media, tell us not only what we want and need but what a man is and what a woman is... and on various conscious and sub-conscious levels we have believed them. The male and female images which pervade our movement media and make up our movement stereotype testify strongly to our subliminal acceptance of the 'image'" (p.8).

These writers, in fact, equate the creation of sex-roles with the 'desire for commodities' or materialistic argument which critics of the wider field of advertising tend to espouse:-

"By glorifying the role of housewife and mother, by setting up unattainable standards of beauty... the advertising industry has unleashed an insatiable desire for commodities. At the same time it has helped to condition women to their secondary status." (p.10)

Such certainty as to the direct effect of advertising on sex-role formation is not only witnessed, however, in the feminist criticisms. A similar strand of thought is noted in the empirical studies, where such an effect is inferred from the content analysis results. Kaniuga, Scott and Gade, 1974, for example, in the context of televised work images, suggest that such stereotypes are a 'socialisation process which influences traditional sex-stereotyping of work roles' (p.134), while McArthur and Resko, 1975 in a study of general media stereotypes conclude confidently that 'although defenders of advertising might protest that advertisements do not create sex-role attitudes, this is not true....' (p.219).

Several feminist critics and some empirical studies on advertising content, do, however, favour a more distilled assumption of media effect in the sex-role arena. These comments and criticisms are notably more moderated than those which favour the direct effect assumption, and revolve around an assertion that advertising works by reflecting and preventing change in the traditional sex-role, by reinforcing the traditional norm.

Many of these commentators also espouse a more 'reasonable' stance in which the

'direct' effect assumption is discarded as too crude. Faulder, 1977 particularly propounds this view, seeing advertising as mirrors, and that 'while it is true that advertising does not create social attitudes', it does influence them because 'mirrors can and do distort reflections, which are only partial resemblances of reality.' (p.44).

Komisar, 1971, surprisingly, also takes this view, despite her equal and strong emphasis on direct effect, so that despite her assertions that advertising 'makes women' do and believe various things (op.cit.) she also notes that:-

"Advertising did not create these images about women, but it is a powerful force for their reinforcement. It legitimises the idealised, stereotyped roles of women as temptress, wife, mother and sex object and portrays women as less intelligent and more dependent than men..." (p.310).

Komisar also favours the analogy of reflection noting that 'advertising reflects and magnifies the prevalent image of women and makes it clear how limiting and oppressive their accepted roles are', (p.317), while, among the empirical studies on advertising imagery, Sexton and Haberman, 1974 also favour the mirror of advertising and assume its harm in 'helping to perpetuate (stereotypes); by failing to show the diverse capabilities possessed by women, and by failing to show the wide range of life-statuses that might be attained by them'. (p.41).

In fact, the mirror image of advertising appears to be a popular one, although there is some confusion about whether it distorts the image of reality, or merely exaggerates it.

An underlying theme in the reflection/reinforcement arguments, however, is that media alone should not be taken as the instigator of sex-roles, but few commentators go on to actually state this belief. Oakley, 1974b and Sharpe, 1976 are the main two exceptions. For example, Oakley, 1974b while stating that "the ideal of 'each woman in her own home' is certainly one fostered by advertising", and that 'media advertising certainly has an effect' also observes that another influence

might be 'the prior socialisation of women for domesticity' and 'of course women do not define their housework role entirely in isolation from other influences'. (p.105). Sharpe, 1976, while noting the exaggeration mirror effect of advertising, that '(women) see in advertising imagery reflection of society's attitude and ideal often taken to extremes and concentrated' and that women do 'absorb the image', states that women nonetheless 'do not learn their roles from this source, but it is a strong reinforcer'...(p.111).

2. Selective exposure and retention as 'effect'

The second assumption of effect is one that is notably more prevalent among empirical studies than feminist critiques, and this is a more pragmatic approach which emphasis the role of the exposee in any effect attribution. This approach is also more cautious in any attribution of effect, preferring to simply view advertising imagery as a reflection of what social mores are at any one time, without moving on to suggest that such reflection reinforces or moulds in any way.

Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976, for example, record that advertising is based on a principle of identification and reflection, but that people tend to expose themselves selectively to communication in accordance with their life-views; that people take from advertising, as with other media, exactly what they want, and that there is not an effect in the manipulative sense at all. Their only instruction to advertisers, therefore, is simply to operate with 'awareness and responsibility' (p.169). A similar approach is taken by Courtney and Whipple, 1974 who, after noting the rider that their research on advertising content showed a picture that did not 'show the true range of women's roles within our society', nonetheless favoured a view of advertising as a correct reflection of women's roles at that time. They concluded:-

"In the magazines surveyed there were few individual advertisements that could be considered depreciating of women. These advertisements seem to reflect the world as it is..." (p.94)

Like Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976, Courtney and Whipple contended that the formation of sex-roles had only partial emphasis in advertising images; that what roles exist are taken to advertising rather than from it and if the roles displayed in advertising are traditional, then this is because such roles in society are, for the majority of women, traditional.

Both the studies by Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976 and Courtney and Whipple, 1974 are also unique in the issue of assumed effect, because they are alone in suggesting that advertising imagery may not so much have an effect on the women exposed to it, but, if incorrectly formulated, may be more likely to have an effect - negatively - on the advertisers who project it. Courtney and Whipple conclude in this respect that:-

"Women's roles continue to change and expand at a faster rate than the advertisers response during that time period. Advertisers are lagging far behind role-changes in their portrayals of women. In that sense... commercials are not getting any better but may be getting worse... Advertisers are making a serious mistake by misjudging the impact of economically-liberated consumers. Mass media as expressed by advertisements have not adequately matched this manifestation of social change, and with few exceptions, tend to portray women in unrealistic settings, and in under-representative numbers'. (p.118).

Of all the empirical studies, however, it is only the one by Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976 who best approach in their study the true aim of interpretation in content analysis. This aim is one which will be considered in more detail in Chapter 2, but turns on the fact that such analyses are principally there to record and not infer. Inferences as to effect or other latent interpretations of content must be carefully handled by the content-analyst, and few of the studies recognise this limitation. Sexton and Haberman, 1974 pay lip-service to this fact by noting that their study 'does not deal with the effect of such stereotypes on female consumers' (p.41), but then go on to infer just that from their results. Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976 are more certain of their terms of reference and note of the study results that:-

"... the primary effort, and the main tendency of mass media are to support existing conditions. The media do not lead but instead reflect our society. Hence, in this study, the presence of stability or change in media content is viewed as an indication that the society in which media operate is either remaining static or undergoing alteration..." (p.169).

They also record criticisms of the fact that in other studies 'many of the research efforts are based on the assumption of cause and effect relationships between mass media and society.' (p.168)

In summary, feminist critics and some empirical studies assume an effect of advertising upon women which is either involved in direct creation of sex-roles, or has a more subtle effect through reinforcement, reflection and the maintenance of traditional norms. A few feminists suggest the impact and contribution of other forces in sex-role formation, but this 'other effect' attribution is subservient to a conviction of a powerful advertising effect. It is also noted that where reflection effect is assumed then there is some confusion over whether such effect succeeds by exaggeration or by distortion.

Among the empirical studies, however, there is also some suggestion that such types of effect cannot be assumed and that a more pragmatic emphasis on exposee influence should be considered. These studies are also unique in suggesting that advertising only reflects in an absolute sense, and one source of harmful effect may be on the advertisers as much as upon the women exposed. Finally, it was observed that it was rare for empirical studies to stay within the boundaries of their content analysis results and only infer a 'state of society' into advertising imagery.

Section 1:4 Feminist attitudes to 'other women' in implication of 'effect'

Given the general trend in the literature on advertising's role in sex-role formation and reflection, a further set of observations must be made on a strand of

assumption which runs through feminist literature, in tandem with their assumptions of the manipulative power of advertising. This assumption is rarely noted in that literature but appears to be a powerful factor in feminist criticisms, and this is the feminist assumption of particular female vulnerability to advertising.

The effect of advertising on women is inherent in all feminists criticisms, as was noted above, but what is remarkable about this effect is not only the way in which women are seen as more vulnerable to this effect than men, but also an implication in the feminist critiques of a feminist distance or 'non-effect'; an implication which is almost a form of patronage.

The first strand to this added feminist implication is one of special female vulnerability, of which there are myriad examples. Embree, 1970, for example notes that:-

"The mass media mould everyone into more passive roles... into human beings with fragmented views of society. But what it does to everyone it does to women even more" (p.181) (writer's emphasis)

while Sharpe, 1976 asserts of the stereotype in advertising that 'although men and women face this barrage of propoganda, it is girls and women who are the most vulnerable' (p.110). Kaniuga, Scott and Gade, 1974 note that 'women are less free than men to resist and reflect the socialisation process which influences the traditional sex-sterotyping of work roles' (p.134), while Faulder, 1977 contends that the selective imagery of advertising is harmful to women because:-

"Women in particular are victims of this tendency to select one aspect of their multifarious activities and then play it up to such an extent that it appears to represent the whole of their lives." (p.45) (writer's emphasis)

Such an assumption of the special effect of advertising on women reaches notable heights, however, in the writing of Reed, 1970:-

"Women... already weighed down by numerous conflicts and

frustrations are highly susceptible to this psychological manipulation, which directs them to the purchase of things as the solution to their problems.... This causes enormous suffering to women who vary from this assembly-line ideal ... weighed down and frustrated by the real burdens of life under capitalism, working women especially tend to view their imaginary disfigurements as the source of their troubles. They become victims of inferiority complexes. And so they flock by the thousands and tens of thousands and millions, to the manipulators and decorators of female flesh, pouring their hard-earned money into the coffers of these profiteers..." (p.82).

Reed makes no mention of any potential effect of such imagery upon men. Certainly, such writing, and the assumption of the peculiar vulnerability of women to advertising does tend to indicate that, in their own way, feminists may be as guilty of stereotyping female behaviour and potential as the advertisers they criticise. Such stereotypes of behavioural weaknesses are evident in the observation by Sharpe, 1976 that women:-

"being more dependent on the approval of others, are sensitive to the images that are held up for self-comparisons, like being an attractive girl, or a good wife and mother', (p.110) (writer's emphasis) and are particularly underlined in the writing of Goldfeld, Munaker and Weisstein, 1970 who suggest that:-

"the frustrating, boring, essentially passive and self-denying aspects of females' present roles probably makes them 'natural' consumers and suckers for ads". (p.10).

This view of women as 'natural suckers for ads', which, in a less explicit form runs through much feminist criticism of advertising imagery, gives rise to an interesting confusion in the critics' assumptions. If, on the one hand, such a view of women is correct, then may not the negative and self-effacing, vulnerable and passive imagery which the feminists contend runs through advertising, be construed as a relatively accurate reflection? If the image is not an accurate reflection, then are women stronger and less vulnerable than the feminists perceive them to be? Do the advertisements, as noted earlier, in fact reflect the image of women or

'distort' it?

Kenny, 1976, for example, in an article on advertising imagery asks:-

"Do the scriptwriters and the advertising copywriters realise that the images that they present of women are vastly out of kilter with the way that most women live, and I daresay, think. In the adverts, to start with, there are about 3 female stereotypes, simpering, wet females... fancy, posh bitches... and helpless wives..."

Leaving aside the 'fancy, posh bitches', it would appear on the basis of other feminist criticisms, that women are notably 'wet' and 'helpless' when it comes to advertising image effect, and, it may be noted, general media effect. Hobson, 1978, for example, in a study examining the general effects of television and radio on women concluded that:-

"Mass communications... have emerged as an important aspect of the day-to-day experience of the women in the study... Television and radio is seen by the woman as the only relationship which she has with the outside world and this of course, is experienced as a passive relationship on her part". (p.94) (writer's emphasis)

The assumptions that feminists appear to hold about 'women in general' as a fundamental part of their media criticisms thus appear to be of interest in their own right, and certainly raise the question of whether this image of women among feminists is not a major contribution to those criticisms.

Linked to this aspect of feminist criticism, however, is another subtle assumption, and that is that the feminists themselves are somehow distanced from such an effect. Much of this implication may be construed from the tone and direction of the criticisms, even when masked by the use of 'we' and 'us' in mention of such effect, but is particularly exemplified by the common reference to the 'ordinary' woman. Adams and Laurikietis, 1976, for example, refer to the advertising stereotypes as 'ideal types to which the ordinary woman can aspire' (p.64), while Giroud, 1974 in notation of measures to restrict cosmetic advertising in France suggests that:-

"advertising that claims this or that cosmetic rejuvenation,... must be considered misleading and mystifying for the ordinary woman'.
(writer's emphases)

It was noted above that departures from this view of 'women in general' as specially manipulated by media, of special feminist dispensation from the effect, are rare in the feminist literature, although common, as will be noted later, in the advertising literature. Among feminist critics, it is perhaps only Willis, 1971 who takes a more detached view of such assumptions, both of non-feminist women, and of the wider assumptions of effect. She is alone in suggesting that 'consumerism as applied to women is blatantly sexist' and that 'its ready acceptance among radical women is a function of movement elitism' (p.659) arising principally from a judgmental stance on roles:-

"Just as in the male movement, the consumerists encourage radical women to put down and patronise other women for trying to survive as best they can and maintain individualistic stances. We must stop arguing whose life-style is better (and secretly believing ours is). Radicals who in general are healthily sceptical of facile Freudian explanations have been quick to embrace a theory of media manipulation based squarely on Freud as popularised by market researchers and journalists... The confusion between cause and effect is particularly apparent in the consumerist analysis of women's oppression. Women are not manipulated by the media into being domestic servants and mindless sexual decorations. Rather, the image reflects women as men in a sexist society force them to behave. Male supremacy was not invented by a smart ad. man .. when we create a political alternative to sexism, the consumer problem, if it is a problem, will take care of itself". (pp.662,664).

In summary, an important trait which runs through the feminist criticisms of advertising imagery is that it is women who are especially affected by such imagery, and the parallel implication is that the feminists themselves are distanced from this effect. It was noted that such assumptions give rise to contradictory inferences from the advertising imagery as reflection and indicate a tendency of feminist critics to use surprisingly stereotyped notions of women. It was suggested

that this attitude to 'women in general' required greater investigation. One detractor from this view suggested that such an attitude indicated a judgmental stance on life-styles, and unrealistic assumptions of advertising effect.

Section 1:5 The feminist view of advertisers

Going beyond merely noting the existence, and assumed effect of advertising sex-role stereotypes, feminist (and other) critics have also perceived in the problem of sex-role imagery an active and subversive role of the advertiser both as a 'male' machinating within the wider confines of the sex-war, and as a participant in a conspiracy to keep women in traditional roles as this best befits their role as consumer.

The advertiser as 'enemy male' is a frequent theme in the advertising criticism in feminist literature ranging from his potential role as manipulator in preserving a patriarchal order, to a passive caretaker of masculine values. This view has also, interestingly, been put forward by some of the women in the advertising industry itself, of whom Cadwell, 1971, writing as President of the Cadwell-Compton advertising agency, is a main proponent. She says of her male colleagues that:-

"Most men in advertising think of women as having low intelligence. They believe that across the country women are really children. You can't say anything too fancy to them... I think it's a security thing - they want to think of women as having very few interests - that their life really does begin and end with clean floors.. (p.312)

Gartner, 1971, vice-president of the Daniel and Charles agency, takes a similar view suggesting that advertising men actually avoid the notion that the current images of women may be traditional because the current approach is ultimately a reinforcement of their own prejudices. To change the imagery of women in advertising would need a reformulation of the advertisers' own attitudes which would be cognitively discomforting. Bird, 1968 suggests she has evidence of this attitude when writing of the derision with which advertisers greeted her paper on

female advertising imagery at the International Congress of the American Marketing Association, while Komisar, 1971 adds the explicit feminist view when she observes that advertising perpetuates a certain imagery because it 'reinforces men's concepts about women's place and women's roles - and about their own roles' (p.310). Seebohm, 1969 writing as both a feminist and an advertising executive suggests that all advertising imagery is simply a reflection of male fantasies:-

"Obviously your male copywriter prefers the idea of his wife at home with his children than out at work - it's perfectly natural. Hence his fantasies are reflected in the copy he writes and in the client's acceptance. It is perfectly natural that he should like the idea of woman as sexual object and that he should produce advertising to support it." (p.25).

The main assumption behind this argument is that the advertiser, as male, cannot or will not avoid his own perceptions and stereotypes intervening between the selling and design aims of advertising copy and illustration. Certainly, such assumptions of the 'intervening personality' are not uncommon both in and out of the advertising sex-role debate. Gregory, 1966 in his respected text on illusion has suggested that the designer does not draw, design and select what he sees but does so according to rules which are culturally learned, while Millum, 1974 writing of class effect acting through agency of the advertisers suggests that:-

"The process by which advertisements are produced will in some ways affect the final artefact... every aspect of the advertising communication cannot be consciously constructed - there will be a residue which is not thought out, that which is taken for granted, which is a part of all communication."(p.39).

Millum suggests that advertisers cannot escape from their own cultural preconceptions and biases when designing advertisements and that 'it is obvious that advertisements do not reflect reality in any simple way' (p.44). Later in his text, concerned principally with women's magazine advertising, he makes similar inferences about the advertisers' possible sex bias, that:-

"The ideas, the values, the meanings... are selective and are

transformed by the process and overlaid with the producer's view of the world... There is no need to suppose the existence of a conspiracy, but there seems a very real possibility that the tastes and values of a fairly small and inward looking group... are being relayed and reinforced via the mass media to the rest of the population". (pp.45,52)

Related to this argument of the intervention of general cultural sex values, Korda, 1972, as does Seebom, 1969, also suggests that the advertiser's relationships with his wife or close female companions interject expectations and images into the advertising he designs. Korda makes a perhaps more overstated and hostile statement on these domestic influences than does Seebom, but the essence of his antagonism is the same:-

"It is not necessary to be an expert on marriage to know that domestic considerations influence office life to an extraordinary degree, sometimes in simple ways, sometimes very subtly... The main thing that men bring from home, is the attitude that women are to be bullied or humoured or charmed or ignored. Like the hedgehog in the Russian fable, they know one thing and know it so well, that they cannot unlearn it..." (p.151).

Although some feminist critics, and writers outside the specific sex-role debate suggest that the intervention of the male advertisers' perceptions and values about women are injected unconsciously, or at least, uncritically into the advertising they aim at, and in which they use, women, other feminist critics suggest that the intervention is a more conscious and manipulative one. Goldfeld, Munaker and Weisstein, 1970 for example, write that:-

"the advertising industry consciously and purposefully plants the idea in women that the road to fulfillment, to happiness, to overcoming obstacles, to catching and keeping a man lies in greater and greater consumption," (p.10)

while Copsey, 1978 in an article on this subject suggests ironically that the advertiser:-

"has a difficult job... working every day to portray women as witless ninnies and make them believe that they should not change."

Closely linked with this concept of the advertiser as an active 'enemy male', a conscious participant in winning the sex war through advertising, is, however, a subtler argument. This suggests that the manipulation of female imagery in advertising is also a conscious attempt to maintain women in traditional roles, since it is in these roles that they are better consumers. This argument was implicit in the comment by Goldfeld, Munaker and Weisstein, 1970, noted above, and is compounded by their later observation that 'after all, the business of advertising is to sell, and females make up 75% of all private consumer decisions'. (p.10). Not only woman as 'domestic' but woman as 'sex object' are, they suggest, valid market opportunities 'which should not be discouraged;' women must 'not forget that they are women, that they must be stylish and attractive, that they have come a long way, and that's plenty far enough'. (p.11)

Similar points, direct and oblique, run through the feminist literature and are raised by Greer, 1971, Stannard, 1968, Moss, 1970 and Embree, 1970 in various formats, all emphasising the commodity status of women in the advertisers' eyes - commodities in the advertising, and as commodity consumers. Their arguments are all well-summarised by Faulder's contention that:-

"the emphasis is on the woman's behaviour and role as a female consumer, not as a woman person with many other facets to her personality, and many other interests and activities which may be quite unrelated to either her domestic role or to her feminine role."

(p.39).

In summary, another strand to the feminist criticisms of advertising sex-role stereotypes is an assumption of the intervention of male advertising perceptions of women into the advertising they design. Feminists and other writers have suggested that such intervention may be unconscious and unintended, but others - particularly feminists - choose to see it as more deliberate and manipulative. In many of the arguments touching on this issue, there is also the suggestion that 'manipulation' of this sort is also linked to women's important role as consumer,

that maintenance of the traditional female roles of 'domestic' and 'sex object' enhance her role as consumer.

Section 1:6 The Advertising industry - background

The feminist criticism of the advertising industry in respect of the sex-role stereotypes that they propagate may be viewed as only the latest in a long line of criticisms of that industry. Just as the background to the feminist criticism is a concern for the position of women in society, so must the advertisers' response to this criticism be first seen against their own background, which is that of a particular 'medium terrible', which is assumed to embody all that is bad and distasteful in mass media. Whatever its faults and reputation, it is evident from an analysis of mass media critiques that advertising has become the special 'bête noire' of critics. Despite the fact that other media must, at least some of the time, disseminate dubious values or be guilty of manipulative practices, advertising, it appears, is assumed to be the apotheosis of those values and practices, to concentrate and typify them.

A flavour of the general attitude to advertising is seen in many of the major works of social analysis, and throughout many texts by social historians and politicians. Even in 1760, Dr. Johnson was observing cynically, that 'promise, large promise is the soul of an advertisement' (Johnson, 1760), while more recently, Galbraith, 1955 and Toynbee, 1975, as social commentators, have suggested respectively, that 'because of advertising, people squander money on unneeded things', and that 'the destiny of Western Civilisation turns on the issue of all that Madison Avenue stands for...'. Muggeridge, 1964 takes what appears to be a common view among critics in his assertion that advertising is simply 'organised lying'. The practitioners of advertising do not escape the reputation of their occupation, particularly among politicians, and Harold Wilson has, for example, described advertising as a most 'degrading profession', while Bevan, 1953 observes pungently, that it is 'an evil

service'. Murray, 1973 summarises advertising's common links with a capitalist economy, in his suggestion that 'if Capitalism has an unacceptable face, then advertising is surely its cosmetic; the rouge on the harlot's cheek'.

It is not the intention here to review the many lengthy tomes and texts which have analysed arguments for and against the harm of advertising. These reviews and critiques are prolific and most relate a negative stance, whether from a consumerist angle, such as in works by Packard, 1960, Nader, 1973 and Wight, 1972, or in socio-legal analyses of function, such as those by Galbraith, 1971 and Bishop, 1949. What is important to note, however, is that the feminist critics are simply not alone either in their negative views of advertising, their broad assumptions of its 'harmful' effect, nor in their inferences and acceptance of effect in the face of absent, neutral or complex evidence as to that effect.

Williams, 1966, for example, in his wider assumptions of the fantasy world of advertising, and the role of the advertisers' perceptions, takes much the same view as the feminist critics in their more specific concern with sexism. He writes that:-

"In a sense, the product has become irrelevant; the advertiser is working directly on images and dreams. The concentration of such advertisements creates a whole style of life, centred largely in fantasy, which is in effect a common interest of all advertisers, rather than the recommendation of particular products. All ordinary values are temporarily overridden by a kind of bastard art, not clarifying experience, but deliberately confusing it..."(p.25).

Whitehead, 1973 in his commentary on the social values purveyed by advertising seems to hold the same views as feminists in his assumptions of advertising's effect, being similarly confused as to whether such effect is a 'reflection and reinforcement' or induces changes in behaviour:-

"For the most part, advertising acts and is content to act, as a reinforcement of already existing tendencies, but even so it seems likely that the multiplicity of small pressures work together to effect significant shifts in the total pattern of socially-accepted values..." (p.58).

Pilkington, 1960 in the Report of the Committee on Broadcasting, seems as equally unconcerned as the feminist today in his assumption of effect as 'commonsensical', evidence of that effect notwithstanding. In his view, advertisements:-

"sell goods by holding up certain attitudes as admirable; it seems obvious that they are at the same time, and to the same degree 'selling' the attitudes also. Although there is no compelling statistical or quantitative proof of this, failing such proof, the responsible course must be to assume that the attitudes and values which act as vehicles for the sale of goods are themselves also being sold..." (p.80).

Just as feminists appear to detract little in their more specific concerns about advertising from the broad trends in all advertising criticisms, neither, it seems, do the general public detract much from the general view. Just as advertising criticism is spread liberally through published literature, so it emerges in surveys on public attitudes. Few of these surveys have been publicly available, but those which have been published strongly support the notion that significant sectors of the population maintain a negative attitude to advertising and the advertising industry.

Greyser, 1965, for example, in such a survey, found that 48% of subjects interviewed were prepared to describe their feelings to advertising as either 'mixed' or 'unfavourable'. Haller, 1974, in a study on students, found that only one third thought advertising necessary at all, and over half felt that it was 'an insult to their intelligence'. In the British market, Jobber, 1971 found that 89% of the respondents felt advertisements to be 'exaggerated', and 51% were 'annoyed' by advertisements, while the British Market Research Bureau, 1968 found that only 35% of subjects approved of advertising, with reasons for disapproval including that it was 'in bad taste', 'tries to mislead' and 'tries to deceive'. Pilkington, 1960 quoted surveys that showed that 61% of respondents were 'annoyed a lot' by commercials, and that the general audience have developed quite elaborate avoidance techniques to shield themselves from paying attention to either TV or newspaper advertisements. Most recently, a survey on public attitudes to

advertising (National Consumer Council, 1977) found that 59% of subjects agreed that advertising 'makes people buy things they do not want', and 67% believed advertisements to be 'misleading'. This survey also quotes a study by the EEC commission in 1977 which found that among 9,500 people, 80% agreed that advertising often 'makes people buy things they do not need'.

One inference which must be made from these public surveys is a confusion, which was also observed in the context of feminist criticisms, and which concerns the question of who the critics are referring to, or have in mind when they make their published conclusions on advertising effect. It appears that many people, not just the critics, are aware of advertising's potential 'harm', and have, as the National Consumer Council points out in their 1977 survey, 'a healthy scepticism' towards advertising and its effect. (p.15).

Where this 'scepticism' has sprung from, however, is open to conjecture, but there are no doubt several factors which may be postulated as contributory.

One factor is perhaps that of simple exposure. Exposure to advertising is, by definition, a function of exposure to the medium which contains it - television in particular. Observations on television viewing suggest that such exposure is extensive; estimates tend to agree that this may average 6 hours per day, 30 hours per week, averaging 10 years over a life-time of 60 years. (Johnson, 1970; Looney, 1971), while other estimates for children suggest that they may spend more time in front of the television than in front of their teachers. (Little, 1972; Schramm, Lyle and Parker, 1961). Calculation of direct exposure to advertisements is, however, rare, and most of these estimates refer to American television where the permitted advertising to programme ratios are higher than in Britain. Rubenstein, 1972, however, estimates that the average American on leaving High School has been exposed to over 350,000 commercials on television alone, while Jablow, 1972 estimates that exposure for children in a limited number of programmes is nearly 8000 advertisements a year. Embree, 1970 suggests that 20% of all air-time is

devoted to commercials which, on estimates given above, would equate to 2-3 years over a 60 year span. Such estimates, of course, omit additional exposure to advertisements in press media (advertising in magazines may be up to 50% of average issue size), those in retail outlets, the streets, transport and radio.

Another factor to consider is the peculiar need of an advertisement to concentrate a human situation into a 30 second period for most television advertising, and about 15 seconds or less for attention and exposure in press advertising. (Engel, Kollat and Blackwell, 1968). The nature of advertising must encourage this concentration, needing as it does to concentrate 20 or more visual/auditory points about a product, its use, benefits and results of purchase into a limited time-span. As Graham, 1970 notes, 'an advertisement is an attempt in half-a-minute to capture the attention of half its audience'. Just as the product-attributes of luxury may be conveyed by such expedient symbolism as a Persian cat, or a Chopin Nocturne, so must the connecting attributes of the target audience be portrayed in a form of symbolic traits and stereotypes, simplifying class, interests and personality to a few coded messages. The use of this shorthand, evoked to simplify and attract, nonetheless becomes more visible and open to criticism. As Campbell, 1951 observes, 'the stronger, more vivid the stimulus, the more apt it is to be perceived, to be noticed, to be selected for attention, to be responded to.' (p.299) Strongly similar stereotypes may be evoked in a half-hour play, but such characteristics in that medium will be diluted and, therefore, less strikingly evident to the average viewer.

A further factor in unfavourable attitude to advertising is also, no doubt, its motive. Advertising is differentiated from other media by its selling function. As MacRae, 1964 notes:-

"Advertising campaigns are directed to the maintenance or extension of effective demand for a particular service or commodity, or to creating a favourable set of attitudes to a client of some cause for which he stands..." (p.35).

In short, the prime interest of the advertisement is ultimately not its audience, but its originators. It is interested in its audience only to the extent that they are useful and profitable to its principals. The aims of other media might be assumed to be to inform, entertain or interest its audience, but advertising is finally known to be self-interested. This inherent selfishness is a frequent element in advertising critiques, so that Potter, 1954, for example, complains that advertising 'has in its dynamic no motivation to seek the improvement of the individual or to impart qualities of social usefulness', (p.169) while Haller, 1974 observes that:-

"It seems entirely possible that those responsible for advertising campaigns approve them with respect only to their own value systems and not those of the desired markets...." (p.38)

In addition, such 'value systems' are mainly related to the Capitalist principle, as noted by Murray, 1973 and thus, if negative attitudes exist to such a principle, whether on personal, political, ecological or bureaucratic grounds - or in the case of some feminist critics, as the ideological symbol of a patriarchal order - then advertising is the chief outward target for them.

Attached to this concern over the 'selfishness' of advertising is also that, in this respect, it is its own master. There appears to be no control over its lack of a wider social responsibility. Mead, 1960, for example, suggests that:-

"The advertising agency, the public relations council, as institutionalised in our culture, has no responsibility of this sort. An advertising agency, whatever the personal rectitude of its staff, has one set of functions to perform, to sell the product successfully while keeping within the law... our society has no higher jurisdiction to which such agencies owe allegiance..." (p.341).

There are certainly other reasons which may provide factors in the unpopularity of advertising. It is widely assumed that the effect of advertising is essentially devious and subconscious (Packard, 1960), that it attacks us at our weak points and beyond our conscious control; and there is also the belief that advertising is expensive, that it increases the price of already expensive consumer goods -

although advertising costs are often a tiny proportion of all marketing costs, around 4% (Faulder, 1977). Advertising is also repetitive, which, while necessary to give the minimum exposure per target consumer, renders it irritating to the over-exposed, and simply because advertising is chiefly concerned with targets, there is certain to be a number of non-target consumers to whom a particular campaign is irrelevant, intrusive and potentially irritating.

Nonetheless, reasons for the unpopularity of advertising apart, - and it is, of course, speculative the extent to which vocalised attitudes represent real, as opposed to stereotyped notions about the medium - it is true that advertising in many ways is a special medium in terms of the attention it gets, from published criticisms and public attitudes alike.

As a corollary to, and extension of such criticisms and attention, however, it is also true that advertisers have acquired a discipline of defence for themselves. Given that advertising does appear to be so available and popular as the object of public and more esoteric criticism, what is interesting is not only that advertisers have held themselves open to such criticisms but do appear to have been responsive to it.

As Greyser, 1965 writes:-

"For what may be the first time in... business history, an important industry has not only agreed to live in a fish bowl, but has built the glass bowl itself and invited the world to look in..."(p.33)

There is no doubt that being in the centre of this 'glass bowl' has made advertisers notably self-conscious and, as Tunstall, 1972 observes, 'to put it mildly, advertising people feel that they are not respectable....'. Yet, advertisers do respond and appear to be concerned by their bad press. This is evidenced in the first place by the many advertising texts which incorporate advertising faults as part of their learning material. Kotler, 1972, for example, the leading text for marketing and advertising students, allocates 34 pages to the defence of advertising and marketing and submits '14 morally difficult questions' for the student to discuss, an emphasis which is found in other leading text books including those by Nichols,

1962; Giles, 1969; Jefkin, 1971; Baker, 1972 and Wight, 1972. This concern with image is also seen in the marketing and advertising journals, where 'social marketing' is becoming an integral part of marketing theory, while consideration of the function of marketing in a social context is legion. In a review and conclusion on such attitudes, Sweeney, 1972 typifies the concern of advertisers and marketers in his invocation to the industry that:-

"If marketing is recognised as an effective instrument of society, then there would be no perceived differences between the goals and values of the marketing system and those of society in general. Marketing activity would not be considered exploitative behaviour, but as a medium through which society's values are fulfilled. The marketing organisation, considering its social responsibility from this perspective, would not ask itself, 'what kinds of marketing activities can I get away with', but 'what kinds of marketing activities will have the greatest positive effect on fulfilling society's goals, values and needs'". (p.8)

It may be cynical to speculate on the extent to which published expressions of concern are reflected in actual policies of grass-roots marketers, but this concern does appear to exist, and this is also typified in the wider area of advertising controls which the marketing and advertising industry have set up to police their own activities. These controls and codes are voluntary, and in Britain are embodied in the Advertising Association who publish the 'Code of Advertising Practice', and other bodies such as the Advertising Standards Authority, the British Poster Association, London Transport Advertising Authority, the Independent Broadcasting Authority, the Board of Trade and the Retail Standards Association.

In short, the advertising industry is not only familiar with the criticism which is directed at it, but is also, by now, well-versed not only in being seen to respond to such criticism, but also in offering defences, of all types, to its critics. To be sure, not all these defences carry the same tone of 'social concern' as witnessed in the remarks by Sweeney, 1972, nor do they always suggest much empathy on the part of the advertiser to the critics' sensibilities. In the advertisers' responses

there is often a thin line between defence and attack. Throughout these responses, however, certain traits may be observed.

In the first instance, it may be noted that advertisers appear to make little or no effort to deny the existence of stereotyping in their advertising, whether of class, values, standards or appeals. From a perusal of the literature on the subject, no evidence was found of any denials or, in fact, much comment at all on the existence of such 'shorthand'. Only McQuail, 1977 in his comments on advertising campaigns offers a discussion of the issue and he concludes simply and without apology that:-

"A long list of studies can be cited showing the media to have an inbuilt tendency to present a limited and recurring range of ideas which form rather special forms of reality"... (p.81).

This avoidance of the issue of 'stereotyping' in the advertising literature appears to be related to the fact that advertisers simply do not see their images purely as 'stereotypes' in the way that the critics do. Instead, the images in advertising are seen by advertising practitioners as accurate reflections of reality for their target consumers. Their job, according to advertisers, is to reflect their consumers accurately in order for their advertising to work, and they simply cannot afford to use inaccurate images to manipulate, as their critics assert. Much research goes into the final imagery which is designed to reflect the life-style of target consumers. This defence is common in the advertising literature and is typified in the comment by Achenbaum, 1972 that:-

"Advertisers and their agencies seek to satisfy consumers, not manipulate them. By their use of market research, they seek to know what the consumers want; to provide them with the product which satisfies those wants and to communicate with them in an acceptable, persuasive manner..." (p.13).

Greyser, 1973, a respected advertising practitioner and academic reiterates the point in suggesting that the advertiser, in effect, has a great respect for the consumer:-

"... every advertiser concerned with the success of his advertising has developed a very healthy regard for the consumer. .. He does a great deal of consumer research. He know that this advertising must reflect the realities of the consumer life, or the consumers will pay no attention to it..." (p.10).

In more general terms, the argument that the advertisers must reflect their consumers' life-style, and cannot afford to manipulate it, is found throughout general media commentaries. Writing on the principle of advertising effectiveness, McDonald, 1973 notes that 'the individual who is being exposed must be the main source of variation in observed effectiveness' (p.34), while McQuail 1977 asserts that:-

"the factors of relevance and parallel self-selection by the audience make it likely that campaigns are successful at reinforcing tendencies or channelling them into only slightly different pathways...." (p.79), an argument which is merely a continuation of a principle suggested more than 30 years ago by Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1948 who noted that the typical commercial advertising can and only is effective because it does not instil basic new attitudes or create significantly new behaviour patterns, but 'canalises' existing attitudes and behaviour in one direction or another. If the pre-existing attitudes are present in advertising, the promotional campaigns are more effective since 'canalisation' is always an easier task than social re-conditioning. Cadet, 1967 director of a large Parisian advertising agency makes a similar assertion, writing that:-

"If advertising tries to make certain alterations to the collectively admitted standards, the consumer will in one way or another resist appeals which are no longer in conformity with those imposed on him by the group.... If advertising wishes to preserve its efficiency it must, in each of its appeals, utilise the same system of values that exists in the group which it seeks to reach..." (p.49,51), a point made more popularly in Campaign magazine, the trade paper of the advertising industry:-

"Once you start seeing a life-style depicted in ads, you know more surely than in any other way, that it is really happening to lots of

people. Advertisers don't 'set foot until the path has been well and truly trod...' (Campaign, 1974).

In effect, what advertisers are saying in this type of defence to charges of manipulation or distorted images of reality, is that 'they know best'. Their job is to know the consumer intimately, and through this knowledge they have come to respect him or her. By corollary, then, the implication is that it is the 'critics' who do not know the consumer, and, in fact, have a relatively negative view of the consumer's powers. Criticism of the critics has, therefore, become a notable second strand to the advertisers' defences. To the advertiser, the critic is seen as not only misinformed, but also mis-directed in his or her attacks on advertising. As MacCrae, 1964 suggests, it is often 'repugnant' to these critics to accept that 'in social life, causes and effects are not proportionate, and that the social fabric contains, as it were, holes and gaps'. (p.35). Advertising is not only not alone in contributing to a social set of values, but cannot, in addition, be cited as a simple stimulus to a consumer's response. To the advertiser, the critic is taking a negative view of 'people in general' and it is they, and not the advertisers, who wish to reduce people to a common denominator.

Trenamen, 1966, for example, sees the critic's views as having 'no foundation in fact whatsoever' while Longland, 1966 suggests that such critics are 'underestimating the intelligence, capacities, traits and interests of the new mass public.' Williams, 1966 suggests that the concept of 'mass' implied in the critics' views is, at the least, insulting:-

"This is the trouble with phrases like, 'the masses', and 'the great British public' which leads us to think not of actual people, living and growing in different ways, but of some large, many-headed thing with fixed habits... If you have a fixed idea about 'the masses', you cannot really take them into account..." (p.93).

If advertisers are hostile to the critics themselves, they have also not been reticent in suggesting the motives behind the critics' interest. This interest, it is suggested, is largely selfish; that critics are concerned only with their view of how the world

should be, rather than with what people in general might want, or perceive. As Mendelsohn, 1974 suggests in a broad treatise aimed at all such critics, not only those involved in advertising criticisms:-

"Curiously, mass communication critics rarely bother to find out the relevance of what they as observers subjectively need, and what the audiences themselves actually experience as such... Rather than reflecting the realistic needs of audiences, externally applied standards reflect the needs of the elitists who seek to impose them on individuals, communicators and society, for various, self-serving, personal and political reasons...." (p.387).

Bauer, 1965 cuttingly suggests that such critics are as narrow-sighted as they claim advertisers to be; that in choosing to see the public as manipulated and affected by advertising, they have a vested interest, that 'for the critics, the exploitative model gratifies the sense of moral indignation'...(p.327).

Advertisers are not alone in having this view of the critics. Such a view permeates the literature on all aspects of mass communications including that on the effects of violence. Aronson and Golden, 1962, for example, suggest that critics of mass media violence were often 'expressing the aspects of their own personality rather than appraising the situation objectively' (p.145), while McQuail, 1975 in a review of such attitudes suggests that the overall problem in the critics' attitudes, whatever the source of their criticisms, was in:-

"a failure to acknowledge that this is a subtle and complex process, a matter of bargaining, interaction and exchange, just as much as a conversation between two people".... (p.191)

Why the critics should have this specialised and vested need to criticise media, with advertising the most evident focus within the criticism, is open to conjecture. It is certain that advertisers are suspicious and vituperative in relation to these critics' motives, but on occasion more reasonable motives are suggested. One of these suggestions is that the critics are simply open to misplaced imagery. Greyser, 1973 is the main proponent in this interpretation of critical comment and he suggests that advertising works, essentially, through narrow channels and,

because of this, for every group which an advertisement is aimed at and reaches, there is 'an equal and opposite group' of consumers who are faced with discrepant imagery. In short, critics are angered by certain advertising imagery because it does not apply to them personally:-

"The extent of this kind of 'fall-out' problem created by a particular advertisement depends on the kind of people to whom the product and advertising are geared and the way the portrayals of these particular people is perceived by others who are not like them...." (p.7)

In summary, advertisers do appear to have some special status within the world of mass media research, and in assumption of mass media effects. All media, at some time, come in for their share of criticisms, whether for the values transmitted, or for the effect of these values on their audience; but advertising has always assumed an exaggerated place among them. The advertising industry is aware of this special status and can be shown to have attempted to respond to their select role, whether by the discussion of their 'faults' in advertising literature and texts, or by the use of voluntary codes to police their own activities.

Advertisers have also developed elaborate defences to the critical comments, based largely on the assertion that they, in fact, know more than the critics about the average consumer, and through aggressive assertions as to the critics' motives in such attacks on the industry.

Nonetheless, it is not only the more vocal and published critics who have held these attitudes to advertising; the general public also appear to hold similar views, and the negative attitude to advertising would appear to be global, from one stance or another. Advertising is regarded with suspicion and, to a large extent, this regard may even be termed a 'belief of the age', and such beliefs, as Dacey, 1924 observed even 50 years ago, are strong:-

"Whether they be actually true or false, (they) are believed by the mass of the world to be true with such confidence that they rarely appear to bear the character of assumption..." (p.20).

This is the background to the advertising industry, and this is also the background

which the advertising industry has brought to the latest spate of criticisms on their function, that is, from the writings of feminist critics. Response of the advertisers to the feminists cannot be disentangled from advertising's long-held special status among media, and just as the feminist critiques were shown earlier to depart little in general tone and assumption from those of other critics, neither can the advertisers' response to feminists be seen to depart much from their more general defences. These defences to feminist criticisms are reviewed in the next section.

Section 1:7 The advertiser - feminist discourse

The defences that advertisers offer to the feminist critics and their comments on sex-role stereotyping in advertising follow much the same pattern as the defences offered to other critics.

In the first place, just as advertisers appear to make little denial of general stereotypes in advertising, neither do they spend much time observing or commenting on the existence of 'sex-role stereotypes'. No text was found which indicated that advertisers saw their imagery of women in advertising as stereotypes, in the sense of inaccurate images as used by feminists, but rather as accurate reflections of the reality of life for most women. Advertisers consider themselves as showing women 'as they are', not least because this is the only way to make their advertising work. To the advertisers, the image of women in advertisements may appear as 'traditional' and, therefore, 'insulting' images to feminists, but such images are there simply because most women are still traditional in their views, whether from the angle of roles, behaviour or pretensions. In particular, most women, advertisers suggest, see themselves as 'housewives', and, therefore, that is the way in which advertising will depict them, simply in order to be effective. As the recent editorial on this issue, published by the Advertising Standards Authority 1978, asserts:-

"We do not believe... that to represent a woman as a housewife amounts to condoning a restriction of women's opportunities. This attitude tends to ignore the existing facts of life i.e. that the majority of women still see themselves as housewives and that a high proportion of products are aimed at women in their traditional role rather than in their business role...." (p.1).

Reiterating their argument that advertising must reflect and not condition or manipulate the report goes on to stress:-

"... by nature, advertising is a selling tool, a source of information. This makes it ill-fitted for use as a lever to shift social attitudes. An advertisement if it is going to work must meet with some sympathetic reaction from the audience, otherwise it won't sell effectively. Unless the advertisement is seen as relevant, unless the consumer can identify with the woman in the advertisement she is likely to ignore it. If the emphasis from the primarily traditional role to the liberated role changes substantially, then advertising will reflect it, in the cause of ensuring that women can identify with what they see and that the advertising will therefore be effective...." (p.2).

This view of the current female advertising imagery is, interestingly, not confined to male advertising practitioners, as some feminists would assert. Two leading female practitioners take a similar view. Patricia Mann, creative director in J. Walter Thompson, a leading British advertising agency, suggests that the feminist criticism of the nature and effect of advertising imagery is simplistic and inaccurate because 'advertising can only build on existing attitudes and is such the mirror of society', while Anne Burdus, of McCann-Erikson advertising agency, notes that in relation to sex-roles in advertising, 'good advertising is not meant to lead. It reflects the situation of people and their attitudes in society...' (Faulder, 1977 p.43).

This response to feminist critics of advertising, not notably different to that offered to other critics, is again based on an implication that it is the advertisers, and not the feminists, who know what women are like. In effect, such an attitude is also an extension of what advertisers consider to be a greater respect for the

consumer than the critics hold. This concept of respect creeps into several responses that advertisers make to feminists, not least with regard to their concept of the 'housewife'. As Achenbaum, 1972 writes:-

"to call what national advertisers do 'manipulation' is to do wrong to both the good sense of the American housewife and to the facts..."
(p.13),

a point which is reiterated more recently in respect of the British housewife by a spokesman for J. Walter Thompson, quoted by Toynbee, 1977, in his assertion that:-

"We have to listen to what people are saying all the time as our necks are on the block with every campaign. We have to get it right. The views of the ordinary housewife are a great deal more sophisticated than they were..."

This 'respect' for the average female consumer extends to a concept of their purchasing power. This view was forcefully projected by advertisers at a recent seminar with the critical 'Women in Media' group. Observing again that 'it is not the function of advertising to change society', the advertisers also suggested that if women saw an advertisement as insulting, they would resist the product and the image selling it. Noting that such resistance, or determinism, on the part of women in general was conspicuous by its absence, they therefore felt that 'women were reluctant to see any change in image and that the advert image reflected not the way women usually were, but the way they actually wanted to see themselves...' (Women's Report, March 1976. p.8).

According to the advertisers, another way in which women want to see themselves is in the context of product/role congruity. Feminists, for example, have asserted that much of the advertising imagery containing and aimed at women is merely a function of the advertisers' need to see women as consumers; that the consumer and 'traditional' roles are inextricably mixed. Again, advertisers effectively ignore the criticism inherent in this charge seeing it again, as with sex-role stereotypes, a matter of interpretation. They do not deny that woman as traditional is the basic product role portrayed in advertising, but again suggest that this is not only

an expression of reality, but also what women in general want to see. As Kirkwood, 1973 suggests:-

"you will find women are portrayed in many different ways, but, for the most part, in the role that any married woman with a family has to act out in real life. The emphasis is on a married woman with a family, because it is she rather than the single girl, or the career woman who is the highest purchaser of the products advertised on the television...."

In short, advertisers would be operating beyond their brief, as it were, if other roles were related to essentially domestic product use. As Greyser, 1973 reiterates on this point, advertisers must be limited in their role-portrayals to those situations in which products are actually used and the roles which are, in reality, attached to them. If there is an absence of the 'liberated' and 'worker' roles in advertising, it is not only because these roles are, as he asserts, as yet uncommon in the majority of women's self-perceptions, but also incongruent for most product usage. Greyser, 1973 in response to a survey result which showed that 43% of advertisements in a two-week period involved women in household tasks, asks:-

"but what alternative is available to the detergent and floor-wax manufacturer who wants to show the use of his product?" (p.8), that a commercial showing a husband in an apron, making and pouring coffee, leaves itself open to the accusation of 'chauvinistic unrealism'.

This is obviously an extreme defence, and not a little ironic, but, for the advertisers, contains a valid point. If, for example, most products are advertised in certain domestic functions, is the showing of a domestic role, irrelevant? Such a defence is also offered in the context of decorative products and decorative roles.

In responding to the criticisms of sexism in advertising, advertisers, as in other contexts, also have opinions on the nature and motivation of the critics - in this case, what they perceive as the 'feminist minority'. To the advertiser, the feminist is not only unrepresentative of the majority of women, in effect, an 'extraordinary' woman, but is also, as with other critics, perceived as having her own, self-

interested motives for criticising advertising imagery. She is seen as being, again, the recipient of misplaced imagery, and, as such, angered by it. As Greyser, 1973 writes on this topic:-

"The way advertisements depict women has been a topic of concern and complaint. Although individual advertisements which portray women in a particular manner may be defensible in terms of management's view of the majority of the market, the cumulative effect of such advertisements, may not reflect all the present-day roles of women.... Value judgements are again distinctly involved, for example, should advertisements present society as it is, or as someone thinks it should be?..." (p.7). (writer's emphasis)

Such a view of feminist critics implies that advertisers, for the most part, tend to dismiss feminist criticisms as irrelevant. This is not always so, particularly in the American advertising industry, where the feminist criticisms have perhaps been more extended and vociferous than in Britain. American advertisers have recently expressed their willingness to investigate this alternative interpretation of their advertising and this is reflected in such comments by Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia, 1977 who conceded that:-

"... the woman of today may be a truly resentful consumer as she sees herself portrayed by these role stereotypes and could become the corporate gadfly of tomorrow unless these inconsistencies can be resolved..." (p.72).

The writers suggest that such investigation is the direct result of feminist criticisms, that 'the increased participation of women in the labour force, Equal Rights Amendments, and a heightened awareness of women's contribution to society are leading marketers to examine this important market segment'. (p.72).

Such comments and expressions of interest, are, however, in the minority and, if anything, advertisers in both America and Britain appear to be overwhelmingly hostile to the feminist view of advertising imagery. In a conclusion of a review on a few studies which tended not to support the feminist view, an editorial in an American marketing journal* writes, somewhat smugly, that such inconclusive

* Marketing Appraisal, 1978

results:-

"bring a welcome breath of sense to the commercial side of the debate. That it is simply not true that the modern female consumer objects to seeing herself portrayed in her traditional role - even her traditional glamour girl role - is something that those of us who are engaged in showing ads to women have always known...." (p.1).

In Britain, the advertisers' response to feminist critics often carries a similar tone and this in itself has not helped their standing among the feminist groups. Toynbee, 1977^c for example, suggests that:-

"The ASA... has always been better at dealing with complaints about specific campaigns than at looking at broader issues and its contribution to the argument about women's image in advertising can only be described as patronising...",

while Briggs, 1978 complained recently about the 'cavalier and chauvinist way in which the ASA treats women who complain; that they are 'unrepresentative women's libbers', whereas the reactionary moralists are held to stand for a 'silent majority'."

Indeed, examination of recent advertisers' responses to the feminist critics does tend to support such a view, which appears to go beyond a simple acceptance of a 'critical misinterpretation'.

Toynbee, 1977^c, for example, catalogues an advertiser's response to the issue of female advertising imagery in his statement that, 'it's not a question that has been raised. It really isn't an issue', while it is clear from other sources, that advertisers regard feminist critics as not only unrepresentative but unbalanced. In a Woman's Report, 1976^b article on a hair shampoo advertisement which the feminist concerned perceived as an 'invitation to rape', the advertisers' published response was that 'they had received only 2 crank letters complaining that they were glamourising rape' (writer's emphasis), and did not consider such letters as serious comment. In the ASA editorial on female advertising imagery, the writers refer to feminist critiques as the complaints of the :-

"concerned and sincere advocate of unfettered womanhood, who is indignant about any advertisement which does not conform to the tenets of women's lib, generally because it shows a woman in a traditional and therefore primarily household role...." (p.1)

Certainly, in the special issues of the advertising sex-role debate, what appears is not only an extension of the critical comments by other parties, but an exaggeration of the tone of the arguments. One is left with the impression not only of conflicting interpretations of the same evidence, but of battle-lines drawn up and stances taken. To put it mildly, advertisers and feminists do not see 'eye-to-eye' either on the content of advertising, or on its interpretation and effects. One fact appears to be common to the two parties, however, and that is a relatively traditional view of 'women in general'; this implied strongly through feminist criticisms, and overtly in the advertisers' defences.

Chapter 1 : Summary

The advertising, sex-role debate appears to include two main parties - the advertising industry and the feminist critics.

Feminists see advertising imagery as an extension of the 'traditional sex-role stereotyping that they oppose, and perceive advertising as offering a particularly exaggerated type of negative female imagery, particularly related to domestic roles, appearance concern, sexual objectification, and expressions of behaviour. This sex-role imagery, or 'stereotyping' is seen as harmful in that it has some type of 'effect' on women, although the type of 'effect' is a source of disagreement, or confusion, between the critics, and also the empirical studies. Within the feminist criticisms, there is also an implication that 'ordinary' women are particularly vulnerable to the advertising images, and this is associated with an apparently 'negative or 'stereotyped' concept of 'women in general' that the feminists assume. Advertisers are consistently attacked for their perpetuation of the 'traditional role as a function of their need for women to continue to operate effectively as consumers. The advertisers' perceptions, as male, are also seen as intruding in the

imagery that they produce.

It was shown that such criticisms by the feminists groups are, in many ways, an extension of other criticisms that the advertising industry as a whole has attracted, internalised and, to some extent, responded to. The advertisers' response to the feminist critics contains many of the same traits that are offered to other critics; that advertising must reflect and not 'manipulate' in order to work effectively; that advertisers do much research to aid this accurate reflection and, therefore, know more about the average consumer, and 'women in general', than the feminists do. In effect, advertisers claim to see women with 'respect', as the 'controllers' of the medium, while feminists, by construction, see them as 'controlled'. The advertisers' view of the special status of the feminist critics was also observed. The empirical evidence for the arguments espoused in this advertising, sex-role debate is reviewed in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

The Advertising Sex-Role Debate

Empirical Evidence

Chapter 2

The Advertising Sex-Role Debate - Empirical Evidence

The arguments by feminists and advertisers in the advertising sex-role debate, were given in the previous Chapter. In this Chapter the empirical work relating to these arguments is described and discussed, and is arranged under the following main headings reflecting the main points of the arguments:-

1. The nature of the advertising sex-role stereotype.
2. Content analysis: a critique of the main studies.
3. Inference, objective evidence and the advertising/sex-role debate.
4. Mass media and advertising effects - inference and evidence.
5. 'Self' and 'stereotype' perceptions - feminists and 'other women'.
6. The role of advertiser perceptions.

Section 2:1 Evidence for sex-role stereotypes in advertising

There is no doubt that the rationales for many of the empirical studies on the presence of the advertising sex-role stereotype were derived from a desire to investigate the feminist criticisms of that medium, and some of the studies make a direct attribution to this influence (Sexton and Haberman, 1974; McArthur and Resko, 1975; Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971). The empirical studies, however, have also tended to go beyond the feminist viewpoint and investigate other aspects of the advertising stereotype in some cases, just as they have neglected to investigate some critical points in others.

It should be noted, however, that compared to studies on the sex-role stereotype in more general media, studies on the advertising stereotype are characterised by a notable paucity in number. From an extensive literature search, up to 1976, only 9 exclusive studies (those which dealt with advertising alone) and 3 indirect studies

(those which looked at advertising incidentally along with other media) can be noted. In comparison 23 studies on other media were noted for this period (see Appendix A:1).

The main studies are listed below in Table 2:1. Summaries of the sampling, coding, and analyses in these studies are given in Table 2:2. An overall summary of the findings in advertising and general media studies are given in Appendix A.

Table 2:1

Advertising, sex-role stereotype studies (numerated).

<u>Direct Studies</u>	<u>Indirect Studies</u>
1. Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971	10. Pyke and Stewart, 1974
2. Wagner and Banos, 1973	11. O'Kelly, 1968
3. Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976	12. Busby, 1974
4. McArthur and Resko, 1975	
5. Courtney and Whipple, 1974	
6. Sexton and Haberman, 1974	
7. Venkatesan and Losco, 1975	
8. Millum, 1974	
9. Hennessee and Nicholson, 1973	

N.B. To prevent overlap and repeat referencing the following discussion uses the coded reference numbers of these studies for illustration.

Feminist criticism of the advertising stereotype emphasised the portrayal of roles, and empirical studies have tended to concentrate their role investigation into a triad of domestic/nonworker/decorative roles in the same way that the the critics have. Generally, however, the studies have tended to give good support to the feminist criticism. The most agreement between the studies lies in the presence of

Table 2:2

Summary of Design of 12 Advertising Sex-Role Stereotype Studies

<u>Study</u>	<u>Advertisement Medium</u>	<u>Medium Sample</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Advertisements N (Units)</u>	<u>Coder Reliability</u>	<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Statistics</u>
1. <u>Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971</u>	general magazines	8	April 1970	729	not noted	American	'N' values percentages
2. <u>Wagner and Banos, 1973</u>	general magazines	8	January 1972	@ 700	not noted	American	'N' values percentages
3. <u>Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976</u>	general magazines	8	April 1970 January 1958	729	not noted	American	'N' values X^2
4. <u>McArthur and Resko, 1975</u>	television (weekday) morning/evening	18 hours	Spring 1971	199	3 coders	American	X^2
5. <u>Courtney and Whipple, 1974</u>	television (all times) (4 study summary)	6 weeks	1971-1973	5411 (all studies)	not noted	American	X^2 cross-tabulation
6. <u>Sexton and Haberman, 1974</u>	general magazines women's magazine	4 1	1950-1971	1827	2 coders	American	'N' values percentages
7. <u>Venkatesan and Los 2, 1975</u>	general magazines men's magazines women's magazines	4 4 4	1960-1971	14,378 (3 periods)	3 coders	American	'N' values percentages
8. <u>Millum, 1974</u>	women's magazines	6	March September 1969	830	not noted	British	'N' value percentages
9. <u>Hennessee and Nicholson, 1973</u>	television (peak time)	n.a.	1972	n.a.	not noted	American	'N' values percentage
10. <u>Pyke and Stewart, 1975</u>	television (all times)	n.a.	1974	2662	not noted	Canadian	'N' values percentages
11. <u>O'Kelly, 1968</u>	television	28 hours	1973	n.a.	not noted	American	'N' values percentages
12. <u>Busby, 1974</u>	television	20 hours	1972-3	n.a.	6 coders	American	'N' values percentages distance analysis

n.a. data not available

the 'decorative' or 'sex-object' role as being exclusively female. It was found in one study that this role accounted for over 70% of all female role portrayals (1), while another study reported that the decorative role had increased between 1971 and 1973 to 94% of all female role portrayals (2). In general magazines, it was found that over a 13 year period, the most frequent roles for women were 'woman as sexual object' and 'woman as physically beautiful', (7), while in another study, although most women were rated as attractive, at least 30% were principally defined by their appearance and were 'obviously alluring'.(6). In all studies where comparison was possible, females were rated in this 'appearance' or 'decorative' role more so than males.

There was similar agreement in the studies for the greater propensity of males to be shown in the 'worker' role than females, and for females to be shown in domestic roles at the expense of worker roles. In a review of 6 sub-studies, one conclusion was that 'females are over-represented in family-home occupations while males dominate the media/celebrity and business/sales/management occupations' (5. p.114), a result echoed in other studies whose demonstrated imbalances between the portrayal of male and female out-home employment varied from ratios of 57%:13% in 1958 to 45%:9% in 1972 (1,2,3).

Specifically in relation to domesticity, one study (9) found that 43% of women in advertisements were involved in household tasks and that they performed these tasks significantly more than males, while the particular domesticity of women was reported in a defined 'family' role in 3 studies (1,2,3). Only one study (2) found radically different proportions, wherein the domestic role accounted for only 8% of female portrayals, although this finding is modified first, by the large proportion of decorative role ascriptions for women in this sample, and secondly, the highly particularised role definition of domesticity - 'the over-achieving housewife'.

A problem in the role definitions of these studies, however, lies in the fact that rarely did they investigate other role alternatives for women or men. The only

investigated alternatives were in relation to 'friend' and 'other directed' roles (spouse, parent or girl-friend) which were found to be overwhelmingly female, (4) and 'recreational' roles which were largely male (1,2,3,11). In the last role, it was found that males were more likely to be engaged in sports and games when not working and that males were more likely to be engaged in leisure activities than females, who only increased their incidence of this activity when in the company of males.(1,2,3).

Feminists have also suggested that there are tendencies in advertisements for females to be shown in low, and traditionally female status occupations, and in lower status work than males. Three empirical studies investigated this aspect of the stereotype and broadly supported the feminist view. One study was able to reject at the .05 level their hypothesis that 'there are no employment status differences between the ways men and women are portrayed in print advertisements'. Over the years 1959-1972 there had been a very slight increase in the number of women shown in middle management jobs, but the number of women in non-professional white-collar jobs had decreased from 74.4% in 1968 to 46% in 1972.(3). Another study noted that while there had been some increase in the number of women shown working over a 20 year period, their tasks had remained traditional (6), a point supported in (5) where it was stressed that female-portrayed work was not only still highly traditional, but also offered a narrower range of work-alternatives than for males:-

"Women are still seen in a limited variety of occupational roles than they actually perform. Although this imbalance seems to be changing, the men shown in commercials are engaged in, on the average, twice as many different occupations as are the women shown...."(5, p.14).

Finally, it was stressed by the feminist critics, that a feature of the roles shown for women, and particularly in relation to the decorative role, was that of youth. No study attempted to link youth to 'decorativeness', but several studies did note that

women were often markedly younger than men. One study found that while 61% of the female actors were under 25 years, only 16% of the men were, and men's ages were more evenly distributed in every age group to 60 years than were women's.(8). Another conclusion (5) was that 'the stress is on youth, especially for women' (p.116); in this study it was found that the female product representative tended to be significantly younger than the male for all product groups.

As was noted earlier, however, the empirical studies by no means investigated all aspects of the feminist criticisms. In the case of behavioural variables, for example, no study attempted objective investigation, and where conclusions on behaviour were made, this was always in the absence of reference to an objective coding schedule and, thus, impressionistic comment on the part of the researchers. A conclusion in one study, for example, that women 'did not drink, travel, drive in cars and use banks except in the company of men' was made outside the coding schedule.(1). It is only in one study(6), concluding that 'a general impression remained that rarely were women depicted in a leader capacity' (p.45) that an observation was made on the desirability of such a coding category; that 'one drawback to the rating system was its failure to show a superior-inferior or dominant-passive relationship among the people in the ads' (p.45). Nevertheless, empirical validity apart, these two findings did broadly support the feminist contention that women are shown as passive and dependent, and indirect support is also given in (4) where it was found that men were more likely to benefit from tasks and activities performed by women product representatives than vice versa, and that men were more likely to give orders relating to the product. No study, however, examined the aspects of ridicule and incompetence that feminists perceive to be associated with women's behaviour.

Studies also neglect to examine advertisement stereotypes in relation to the product appeals, which feminists perceive to be related to traditional 'emotional blackmail', through the use of family and male approval. Only one study indirectly

investigated this aspect but its conclusions broadly supported the feminist view. It was found that in terms of rewards reaped by characters for using a product, in the sub-category of 'social enhancement', females were more likely to be offered the rewards of family approval, while males, more than females, were likely to have the approval of friends, social advancement and career advancement.(7).

Nevertheless, just as empirical studies have tended to fail to investigate all the criticisms of feminists, they, nonetheless, have investigated aspects of the stereotype which the feminists, concentrating as they have on the more obvious and 'available' aspects of the sex-role stereotype, tended to ignore. While it can be argued that these findings are generally related to feminist criticism, as specifics they are worthy of individual note. These are that:-

i. Women are likely to be more 'inner-directed' than men

Only one study examined this aspect but concluded that women were more likely to be attending to middle-distance or themselves, while men were more likely to be attending to another person. Women were also more likely to be touching themselves - three times as often as males - and males to be touching an object or another person.(8).

ii. women display more neutral expressions

Men were found to display a wide range of expressions ranging from the 'glad-eye' to the 'paternal'. For women the predominant expression was a 'catalogue', or vacant, 'model' expression.(8).

iii. women are more likely to be associated with interior settings and products

Several studies noted the association of sex with setting. For example, it was found that females were more likely than males to be in the home and, more specifically, in kitchens and bathrooms. (1,2,5,8). 75% of women in one sample were shown in this setting.(5). Another study showed that this division between female-interior, male-exterior held true for both non-

domestic and domestic products, 'so that it was the sex of the central figure which accounted for the differences in location' (4,p.215). Males were proportionately more often in occupational settings (4).

This setting factor was also supported, incidentally, in terms of the type of product associated with each sex. Females, for example, were more often associated with domestic products and males with external products (1,2,3), and in one study (5), it was found that women were 7 times more likely than men to be in personal-hygiene advertisements, whereas men were 3 times more likely than women to be in advertisements for cars, trucks and related products. Another study concluded that females were significantly more than males to be found in advertisements for home and domestic products (4), and in (6) it was found that it was only in office-equipment advertisements that women were associated with non-domestic products. A direct support for this stereotype was found in (7) where it was noted that while 78% of 'body' products had a male representative, only 33% of the males used them.

iv. women are more relevant and apparent in women's media

By a more detailed analysis across media studies, it may also be observed, although the studies themselves do not do so, that there is also a stereotype of the sexes in terms of their respective relevance in media types. The more general the media, the less likely it is that women appear alone, or indeed appear at all, a finding reversed in the specifically women's media. General magazine studies report, for example, that male to female proportional incidence is 61%: 39% (3), 60%: 40% (1), while studies on women's magazines report a reversed incidence. Millum, 1974, for example, found that the male to female proportion in women's magazine advertisements was 6%: 70%, while in a study comparing men's, general, and women's magazines it was found that there was a perfect gradient between

the groups in terms of female incidence, so that 2,323 female advertisement characters appeared in men's magazines, 4,777 in general magazines and 7,178 in women's magazines. (matched samples).

Similar, although not striking, findings are reported for television. It is accepted that day-time television is largely a women's audience media in America (Crowley, 1976) and studies on this medium show that while 70% of characters in evening television are male, they represent only 52% of characters in day-time programmes (4). There is also a strong relationship between the time of day a commercial is shown and the sex of the product representative, with significantly more females than males shown in this role during the day, a finding reversed for the evening.(5).

It is also true that 'the woman alone' is more common in 'women's' media. In general media advertisements men are more likely to be shown alone than women (1,2,3), while in women's magazines it is found that the incidence reverses (8).

In summary, it can be noted that among empirical studies there is evidence for the feminist assertion that women are 'stereotyped', in the sense that they are notably decorative, young, domestic, are less likely to work outside the home than men and are shown in the domestic more than the worker role.

There is little evidence provided by the studies, however, for the feminist arguments that women are shown as less intelligent or competent than men, are more passive and dependent, or that they are appealed to through traditional factors such as male and family approval. It is also true that little evidence exists on the appeal and attractiveness of advertisements in presenting non-traditional roles. Empirical studies do add to the feminist argument, however, by showing that women are more likely to be inner-directed or to be devoid of expression, to be in interior settings and to be associated with 'interior' and domestic products. Further

analysis of the studies indicates that the relevance and 'aloneness' of female characters appear to be related to media type.

Nevertheless, on the whole it is fair to say that the feminist critics are not well-served by either the quality or range of the empirical studies. It is only by a liberal and often wide interpretation of the existing data that the criticisms can be shown to be valid or otherwise. It is also ironic that the studies on the sex-role stereotype in more general media, which do not attract the same proportion of feminist attention, are often more wide-ranging and careful in their investigation than those for advertising media. This question of the quality of the empirical studies is examined in more detail in the next section.

Research examples for *****

Section 2:2 Content analysis : its nature and assumptions

Content analysis is a technique which has mainly been associated with journalism, and exerted a strong influence in the early studies in political science. Over the years, however, it has made contributions in many other fields including anthropology, education, history, politics, psychology and sociology. The research interests in which it has been employed are many and varied. It has been used to analyse suicide notes, public speeches, diaries, folk-lore, linguistics and, dating from 1640, it has even been used in the study of hymn content. (Stone, et al, 1966).

Its units of measurement are also varied. It has been used to quantify the amounts of space, sizes of headlines, number of topics devoted to by various communications, and its popularity is witnessed by Barcus' review in 1959, which estimated that 1700 studies between 1900 and 1958 had employed content analyses, three-quarters of such studies being completed since 1940.

Although its use has been noted in wider spheres, such as in the study of paralinguistics, (Allport and Vernon, 1933, Ruesch and Kees, 1956), and as Stone et al, 1966 observe, in 'all aspects of communication or symbolic behaviour' (p.12), the use of content analysis has been mainly noted to apply to verbal analysis. There is

also no doubt that content analysis as a research technique has grown in popularity along with the growth of research interest in media-content and effect, including books, and as Berelson, 1952 observes, 'by far the greatest number of studies in the content-analysis literature is undertaken with a view to describing the content of some set or sets of communications' (p.67).

There are three main texts which have grown to be considered the definitive works on content analysis procedure; those by Berelson, 1952 and Stone et al, 1966, noted above, and more recently, that by Holsti, 1969. Each of these texts offers separate but overlapping definitions of "content analysis". Berelson, 1952 in the first and perhaps most quoted definition sees it as a:-

"research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p.489)

while Stone et al, 1966 extended the scope of content analysis into the realm of inference with the observation that:-

"Upon specification of texts and procedures, the content analysis process makes systematic and objective measurement on the texts by identifying occurrences of specified characteristics. These measurements then serve as a reference for drawing inferences." (p.16).

This definition was shortened and reviewed in conjunction with Holsti, 1969 into a view that:-

"Content analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within texts..." (p.5)

The later emphasis on inference is an important and contentious one which will be returned to in more detail in the next section, but between the three definitions, there is a consistent emphasis on system, objectivity and specification of characteristics to be measured. There is also a recognition of the flexibility of the technique. Nonetheless, all the texts noted above recognise that there has been, in many studies utilising content analysis techniques, an often cavalier, careless and unscientific approach. The studies also appear to have suffered from an absence of

clear aims. Stone et al, 1966 observe that many of the studies have been 'mechanical, superficial tabulations of who says how much of what to whom. The procedure has often become its own raison d'etre' (p.23), while Cartwright, 1953 suggests that one of the most serious criticisms that can be made is a 'sheer fascination for counting' (p.447). There are many other criticisms available of existing studies, most of them originating from a violation of the needs for 'system', 'objectivity' and a 'scientific' approach, and it may be noted that many of these violations are evident in the content analyses on advertising media for sex-role characteristics. These are noted below, in the context of content analysis procedure as specified and emphasised in the texts by Holsti, Stone et al, Berelson and others, and using the numerical notation for studies set out in Table 2:1.

1. Definition of categories

One of the most important tenets of validity and reliability in content analysis is the coding of raw data into the pre-defined categories chosen by the investigator. These categories may, in their own right, be referred to as 'codes'. This categorisation, which Holsti, 1969 defines as 'the process whereby raw data are systematically transformed and aggregated into units which permit description of relevant content characteristics' (p.94), depends largely for validity on how well the categories are chosen, both in their precision and lack of ambiguity. As Berelson, 1952 observes, a 'content analysis stands or falls by its categories. Particular studies have been productive to the extent that the categories were clearly formed and well adapted to the problem and to the content' (p.147). The problem of adaptation will be dealt with later, but Berelson emphasises that such categories should be explicit, capable of replication by other analysts and should be objective. Stone et al, 1966 also specify that this categorisation and its validity depends on the clear 'specification of the content characteristics to be measured and the application of rules for identifying and recording characteristics when they occur in the data'. (p.7).

A major problem in the advertising stereotype studies is that the 'codes' or 'categories' used by the researchers are either not defined at all, or are defined broadly or narrowly in a variety of seemingly idiosyncratic ways. This not only makes individual results difficult to understand and evaluate, but also renders cross-study comparison difficult, if not logically questionable.

In relation to 'domesticity', for example, some studies use general terms such as 'family' roles (1,2,3), while others use specifics such as 'housewife', 'mother', 'wife', 'spouse' or, simply, 'domestic'. (5,6,7). One study (4), even uses a highly defined role of 'over-achieving housewife'. In examining the 'decorative' role, some studies use this more global term (1,2,3), while others use more subjective judgemental terms, such as 'alluring', 'attractive', or 'sexual object'. (4,6,7). It is not indicated whether these definitions refer to the entire role allocation for the character, or are merely incidental to other roles. Similarly, when coding for occupation, some studies measure this by simply noting every employment portrayed (8), others code in line with government measurement methods (15), while others use even wider terms, such as 'blue-collar' and 'white collar' (5). The task of the reviewer is, in addition, made harder by the fact that not all the studies give a detailed definition or indeed, in some cases (1,2,3), any definition at all of these categories. To be sure, Stone et al, 1966 do stress that in category construction, 'the categories into which content is coded vary widely from one investigation to another and are dependent on the investigator's theory and the nature of his data' (p.7), but all these studies were ostensibly measuring the same thing - that is, the presence or otherwise of sex-role stereotypes.

What would, therefore, appear to be necessary is some generic category system for catholic application within studies aiming to measure sex-role stereotypes. If the coding categories are adequately defined, they should also be capable of 'collapsing' in response to varied sample adequacies.

Investigated in this context is now

2. Category definition and its relation to theory and rationale

Another important issue in the choice of categories is whether or not they proceed logically from theory and are well-justified for their presence in the final coding schedule. Holsti, 1969, for example, stresses that an indicator of good research through content analysis is that:-

"the investigator has clearly thought out the rationale for his inquiry: that he is able to specify the type of evidence needed to test his ideas...." (p.27).

This is also emphasised by Stone et al, 1966 who note that 'the problem of category construction is widely regarded as the most critical aspect of content analysis' (p.9) and stress that 'it is the step in which the data are tied to theory and serves as a basis for drawing inference' (p.9). In short, if the categories chosen are not clearly relevant to the problem under investigation, then inferences drawn therefrom may be construed as invalid. This problem of adaptation, noted by Berelson, in point 1 above, to contribute to whether a content analysis 'stands or falls', needing to be 'well adapted to the problem and to the content' is considered by Holsti, 1969 to strike at the total validity of the study. This form of validity which he considers to be the 'extent to which an instrument is measuring what it is intended to measure' (p.142), is vital to the analysis and, like Stone et al, he points out that this will 'enhance or diminish the likelihood of valid inference' (p.142). This question of content validity is most important in those studies which are purely descriptive ones - as are many of the sex-role stereotype studies. The weakness of such approaches to category construction can be that they rely on the 'informed judgment of the investigator' (Holsti, 1969 p.142) and the best, if not only way in which 'fishing expeditions' (Stone et al, 1966), and potential invalidity can be avoided is for these categories to proceed logically and unambiguously from theory. They should be clearly derived. As Stone et al, 1966 observe:-

"what is measured in content analysis depends on the theory being investigated this context is needed not only to gain a proper

perspective on content analysis but to differentiate it from other activities that may appear to be similar but are for other purposes..." (p.14).

In ensuring that categories chosen are valid, in that they are clearly relevant to the aims of the study, a further requirement is also that they should be extensive and take in all the relevant aspects of the study's aims. As Berelson, 1952 suggests, part of the 'systematisation' required in content analysis is that 'all the relevant content is analysed in terms of all the relevant categories' (p.489).

Thus, in addition to clear category definition and unambiguity noted in the previous point, categories should be well derived from the theory which the study is a part of. They should be defined in the context of the aims of the study and should attempt to take in as many of those relevant aspects as possible.

In this respect, several criticisms of the sex-role stereotype studies on advertising can be made, criticisms which, to a large extent, can also be applied to the content of feminist criticisms of advertising.

In the first place, nowhere in the feminist criticisms of advertising, and rarely in empirical studies have the stereotypes chosen for comment or examination been independently justified as such, or a rationale for the 'stereotyping' noted in those critiques and studies been made.

In many of the empirical studies the 'sex-role stereotypes' chosen for analysis appear to have sprung as much from the ingenuity of the experimenters as from recourse to any objective judgment or rationale. Some studies appear to avoid this issue by a process of derivation; for example, by noting that their 'stereotypes' examined are derived from feminist criticisms, the potential invalidity of assumptions in those criticisms notwithstanding. (Venkatesan and Losco, 1975;

Sexton and Haberman, 1974). Other studies examine a variety of attributes - in a manner similar to the 'fishing expeditions' noted by Stone et al, 1966 - and then label them post hoc as 'sex-role stereotypes'. It may be true that these choices of

attributes and behaviours are, in fact, related to conventional sex-role stereotypes, but if the studies had pretensions to validity then they should have been derived objectively. There exists, after all, a respectable body of studies which have measured the common sex-role stereotype (see Appendix A), but these were never referenced in any of the studies on advertising sex-role stereotypes.

A further problem, in the rationale and definition of sex-role stereotypes, is the question of whose 'sex-role stereotypes' and conception of them the studies were measuring. It is a common observation in the general work on stereotypes that different groups may not necessarily hold the same stereotype of another group. Kretch, Crutchfield and Ballachy, 1962 in a review of such literature suggest that 'a judgment of any particular individual member of a group is influenced by any stereotypes of the group to which he belongs' (p.67). Thus, are the academic researchers, and the feminist critics, working with their own perceptions of 'stereotypes' or those of men and women 'in general'? Such a distinction should be made.

Another problem lies in the question of what is a 'stereotype' in the first place? No study offered a definition, which gives rise to ambiguity as to the concepts chosen between studies. For example, a stereotype is known to have important distinguishing characteristics. Tajfel, 1969, for example, has written that 'when a perceiver differentially evaluates 2 groups, then the particular content associated with these evaluations constitutes the basis for stereotypic perceptions' (p.80). If this differentiating quality of the stereotype is assumed then, in the case of the 'sex-role stereotype', the degree to which an attribute occurs significantly more in one sex compared to the other, could be an important indicator of its claims to stereotypy. This approach to the existence of 'sex-role stereotypes' could not, however, be inferred from many of the studies, for the simple reason that not all of them measured male and female attributes, and of those which did, even fewer used some form of statistical analysis to prove that such portrayals had occurred

other than by chance. When Venkateson and Losco, 1975, for example, conclude that 'woman as physically beautiful' and 'woman as sexy' are female 'sex-role stereotypes', their case is not helped by the fact that they did not measure these attributes for males. This is an observation in a vacuum; and to what extent, therefore, might the portrayal of physical beauty be a function of advertising imagery, for both sexes? Those studies, furthermore, which did measure for both sexes, also clouded the issue on occasion, by using different codes for measuring male and female behaviour so that one behaviour could not be shown to occur more for one sex than the other. (e.g. Millum, 1974)

Finally, in the context of 'sex-role stereotype' definition, it should be observed that definer bias, and other factors notwithstanding, several types of 'sex-role stereotype' can be noted in the literature, of which there are at least two main kinds. There is, for example, the 'average' or 'common' sex-role stereotype, which is held by large numbers of men and women, and which describes the everyday notion of what men and women are thought to be like. There is also, however, an 'ideal' sex-role stereotype, which is equally common in that there is extensive agreement on its nature (see Chapter 4), but in which the characteristics assumed are often different in quality to those of the 'average' stereotype, and, furthermore, detract from the conventional description of 'stereotypes' (see Tajfel, 1969) in frequently being common to both sexes. No study in its discussion of results noted the potential influence or importance of the ideal stereotype in advertising strategy.

In summary, despite the suggestions in the texts on content analysis that important validity considerations involve the clear derivation and definition of attributes measured, that these should be relevant to the study rationales and be derived clearly from theory, content analyses on sex-role stereotyping in advertising have tended to approach stereotype measurement from an ad hoc and ill-defined perspective. Minimum consideration has been given to potentially different types of stereotypes, and to objective studies on stereotype definition, both in code

derivation and in result discussion. It is reiterated, however, that these studies, despite their 'hit-and-miss' or apparently random choice of attributes for measurement, may well have succeeded in noting valid sex-role stereotypes, but a content analysis coding schedule would appear to be necessary in which such ambiguities and potential 'fishing expeditions' are rationalised.

Finally, one further point should be made on the range of stereotypes or attributes measured by these studies. It was observed by Berelson, 1952, as noted above, that, as far as possible, all the 'relevant categories' to a study should be measured. It is observable, however, that when reviewing the literature on the results of those studies in Section 2:1, the combined conclusions of the studies were used to build a picture of stereotyping of sex-roles in advertising media. It was notable, however, that the range of attributes measured within studies was highly variable with some studies measuring more characteristics deemed to be potential 'sex-role stereotypes', and others less. There were some overlaps between studies, where code definition permitted such an inference, but no one study could be said to cover all, or most of the potential characteristics available for measurement. In short, as well as better derivation of codes, a schedule also appears to be needed which attempts to cover a catholic and extensive range of sex-role stereotype characteristics to give a more composite picture of any one medium.

3. Coder reliability

To a large extent, the coder reliability of content analyses depends on the clear and unambiguous definitions of codes or categories. As Holsti, 1969 observes:-

"If research is to satisfy the requirements of objectivity, measures and procedures must be reliable, and repeated measures with the same instrument on a given sample of data should yield similar results". (p.135).

This reliability, he stresses, is not just a function of the coder's skill, but also the 'clarity of categories and coding rules which guide their use' (p.135). This point has also been raised by Schutz, 1958 who stresses that categories should be well-

defined so that 'competent judges will agree to a sufficiently high degree on which items of a certain population belong in the category and which do not' (p.512). This problem of category definition has been raised and discussed in the first point in this section, but the wider issues of coder reliability, implicit in the quotations from Holsti, 1969 and Schutz, 1958, have not.

Content analysts, if concerned with the reliability of the judgments made on content, should also attempt to ensure maximum agreement between coders on how the content is categorised. Briefly, this is the reliability of application of rules of coding to the data. This form of reliability is estimated empirically by the degree of correlation between results obtained by independent coders, scoring the same data and using a common set of categories. In computer analysis, where all definition is clearly defined for mechanical analysis, this problem is less apparent, but in studies employing 'human' coders, it becomes paramount in the validity of the final assessments. (Stone, et al, 1966)

This question of coder reliability must be raised in the context of the content analyses on sex-role stereotyping in advertising, for it is notable that only 3 out of the 12 studies in this genre (see Table 2:2) used any form of inter-coder reliability. The remaining studies either did not use such a test, or did not mention it. Since several of the advertising studies used assessment codes which could be interpreted in a highly subjective manner (e.g. 'attractive', 'over-achieving housewife'), then this is a serious omission and must cast doubt on the reliability of some of the results.

4.3.2 Sampling

The writers on content analysis validity and procedure are consistent in their emphasis on the importance of sampling as a basis for good content analysis. In the first instance, the range of documents sampled should be established and defined.

As Stone, et al, 1966 write:-

"the first task is to select documents relevant to that topic ... procedures for choosing text to be included in a study should be explicit'... (p.13).

This, he notes, is an important factor in between-study comparisons, because 'research findings are always relative, based on the characteristics of one text as compared with another' (p.13). The issue of sampling will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 4 but in the context of the advertising sex-role stereotype studies, two points which are raised by Holsti, 1969, Berelson, 1952 and Stone, et al, 1966 are that for valid inferences from data, the initial sample should not only be fully representative of the group to which it claims to belong, but should also be sufficient. In the cases of the media examined by the studies under discussion, this should include a valid range of television advertisements or, in the case of print media, magazine advertisements from a good representative sample of programmes or magazine types, within the scope of the study.

Since the scope of the studies noted is wide and variously defined, it would be unjust and misleading to compare the different sampling techniques from this basis, particularly in the light of different and, in some cases, exclusive media types.

Nonetheless, it is notable that in the genre of press media, with which this thesis is most obviously concerned, studies have used methods of magazine sampling based on circulation figures (Venkatesan and Losco, 1975), which is, in effect, a measurement of reader exposure, and methods based on simple sampling of magazine types, that is, 'N' issues of several magazine types, circulation considerations omitted. (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971, Sexton and Haberman, 1974). In addition, studies vary in omitting certain advertisements - such as on criteria of size, or of certain character emphases and composition. Again, it is a function of the aims of the study which method of sampling should be used, but it must be emphasised that such discrepancies in sampling methodology do contribute to problems of comparability between studies. The relevance of which advertisement and magazine groups are chosen would benefit from standardisation

and stipulation, based on certain criteria such as advertisers' aims in design and in reader receptivity. It is established in consumer behaviour research, for example, that the main character is the one most designed to act as an 'identifier' with the reader expose and, therefore, it would seem that some distinction should be made between this main character as is done in some studies (Venkatesan and Losco, 1975) and the more global 'all-character' analysis used in other studies (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971).

Although this cannot be a problem in the wider aims of the content analyses, it should also be noted that there are problems involved in the cross-cultural comparisons of samples. Overwhelmingly, the work on advertising sex-role stereotypes has been done on American media, and very few British studies exist on advertising sex-role stereotypes, whether informal and anecdotal (Toynbee, 1977)^{a,b} or formal (Millum, 1974). There is evidence that cultural differences will affect media content (Engel, Kollat and Blackwell, 1968) and it is therefore possible to construe that different studies in different countries may not be validly comparable, particularly where inference is drawn from the data. In the context of the 12 advertising sex-role stereotype studies, cultural differences apart, it is also notable that no one set of studies adequately or validly investigated any one sample of media.

5. Statistical analysis

The problem of numerical and statistical analysis is viewed largely by Holsti, 1969, Berelson, 1952 and Stone, et al, 1966 as one dependent on the investigator and the aims of his study. Nonetheless, in a requirement as to good research in content analysis, Holsti does emphasise that among the factors which determine the validity of inference from content analysis is that the investigator should know 'the kinds of analysis he will make once the data are gathered and coded, and the inferences they permit him to make' (p.27). This is an important point in all good research design, but in the case of the 12 advertising sex-role stereotype studies,

the inferences from the data often go wider than the often unsophisticated analysis methods would suggest was feasible. In the first place, a crucial omission in the advertising stereotype studies is the lack of formal statistical analysis. Only Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976 made direct reference to this general omission and corrected it, therefore, in their study.

Only 3 out of the 12 advertising studies under discussion used a form of statistical analysis to show that their results had occurred other than by chance (see Table 2:2), while other studies omitted crucial data on sample sizes which rendered such analysis impossible on the part of the observer. The most common method used in these studies was a simple comparison of 'N' values and percentages. The extent to which these results were related to chance, and the degree to which this renders the studies incapable of inter-study comparisons is therefore open to question. To what extent, for example, are the significant differences in 'blue collar' work noted between the sexes in the Courtney and Whipple, 1974 study comparable with the differential percentages of 40% male and 17% female workers in that category in the Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971 study, where 'N' values for samples are not given?

There are many ways in which the advertising, sex-role stereotype studies could have been more sophisticated, and been brought into line with the more rigorous investigations in general media, but the wider use of statistical analysis, would have been a major contribution.

In conclusion, there are several grounds on which the advertising sex-role stereotype studies may be criticised, both casting doubt on their individual results, and suggesting that inter-study comparisons may be inefficient, if not directly misleading. Criticisms have been based largely on criteria of content analysis validity noted in the work by Holsti, 1969, Stone, et al, 1966 and Berelson, 1952 and have included observations relating to category definition, scope, derivation and relevance; coder reliability, sampling, nationality, range of studies and statistical

analysis. To these criticisms, however, may be added a further one, and that concerns a lack of scope or imagination.

In the first place, no study examined the potentially interesting question of differences between 'main' and 'filler' characters. Feminists and some studies (e.g. Millum, 1974) have observed that anti-traditional characteristics in advertisement characters may be related to either dullness of presentation or less 'relevant' positioning. This alone could have been investigated and was not in any study but, also, might not this factor of 'relevant' imagery extend too, to the position of characters in the advertisements? There is also the question of 'minor' and 'major' stereotypes. The lack of statistical analysis, and equal emphases on all stereotypes measured did not allow a distinction between the more highly persistent and the less evident stereotypes. The tendency has been merely to emphasise the 'major' trends. As Lasswell, Lerner and Pool, 1952 have observed 'content analysis is a statistical procedure, and like all statistical procedure, it disregards the individuality of the particular case, for the sake of discovering the uniformities in the mass'. (p.52), but this does not obviate the potential for examining 'minor' trends. Few studies aimed to investigate the greater detail of, for example, different advertisement types, individual role/product emphases, any patterns in the less and more frequent stereotypes.

Furthermore, no study made a positive attempt to analyse the results of their advertising investigations in the light of advertisers' defences to criticisms of advertising sex-role stereotyping, in particular that role portrayals often equate with logical product use. The role of men in such advertisements has also been underestimated.

Finally, however, one important point should be made about the relative criticisms of the advertising sex-role stereotype studies compared to those in more general media. Although many of the criticisms applied to advertising studies could equally apply to certain of the general media studies, it is nonetheless true that the

advertising studies emerge as consistently 'worse' in many respects, and suggest a potent need for reformulation and rethinking of the aims and designs of these studies. In the case of category definition and scope, general media studies are, for example, more efficient and more fertile. While they note and measure many of the characteristics observed in advertising studies, they also examine more specific aspects of domestic labour (Busby, 1974), details of personal appearance (Long and Simon, 1974), competence, intelligence and other behavioural variables (Manes and Melnyk, 1974, Crowley, 1976, Sternglanz and Serbin, 1974), and marital status (Gerbner, 1972, Manes and Malnyk, 1974 and Long and Simon, 1974). For the most part, these categories are usually clearly defined and, within studies, there is a generally wider range of attributes measured. In addition, statistical analysis and coder reliability studies are more common, and sampling is more extensive.

In summary, if feminist critics or advertisers needed empirical backing for their claims and assertions within the advertising sex-role debate, they are not well-served by those studies which are available. Fundamental to the problem appears to be the need for a catholic, well-derived and defined coding schedule based clearly on the investigation of sex-role stereotypes, and available to statistical analysis. Studies are also needed which utilise such a schedule, and then perform pragmatic and imaginative analyses in the light of both feminist and advertiser arguments.

The advertising studies are not alone in the inadequacy of their technique - this is a problem which has been seen to apply to other studies in other fields. Nonetheless, the overall critique by Holsti, 1969 of these inadequacies would seem to apply to those in the specific mass media advertising field; that such studies are guilty of:-

"questionable categories, generalisation from an unrepresentative sample, absence of a well-defined criterion of the dependent variables that content data are assumed to index...." (p.93)

Section 2:3 Inference and evidence in the advertising sex-role debate

Content analysis, whatever the aims of the researchers, is fundamentally only a measurement of what exists in any one medium, at any one time. It is essentially a measurement of manifest meaning and, therefore, whatever the faults of the studies in the genre of advertising sex-role stereotypes, any conclusions further to the measurement of content, must fall into the area of inference.

What the review of the arguments in the sex-role debate, outlined in Chapter 1, showed, was that inference may vary between different parties. Inference as to the content and effects of advertising imagery, and how 'ordinary' women perceive it, was seen to vary between the views of the feminist critics, and those of the advertising industry. Empirical studies were also shown to have their own view of the content they measured, a view which, for the most part verged towards the 'feminist' one, however cautious and restrained the researchers attempted to be.

In this Section, observations on the use of 'inference' as a tool for the content analyst are reviewed, since this must be an essential first stage in helping to understand and resolve aspects of the advertising/sex-role debate.

The remaining sections in this Chapter, reviewing empirical evidence in the advertising sex-role debate, are seen as following from this factor of inference, while consideration of inference per se, is also, to some extent, an extension of the critiques of advertising content analyses, reviewed in the previous section and again utilises comments and conclusions in the work by Berelson, 1952; Holsti, 1969; Stone et al, 1966 and others on the methodology of content analysis.

Content analysis, whether formal as in the case of the advertising empirical studies, or informal and anecdotal, as in the case of feminist critiques, are essentially mechanical and descriptive tools for determining the existence of certain traits in communications. Many studies in the genre have limited themselves purely to a description of that content, even going to extremes in that

direction suffering from what Cartwright 1953 has termed guidance by a 'sheer fascination with counting', or what Stone et al, 1966 see as 'mechanical superficial tabulations of who says how much, of what to whom', this procedure becoming 'its own raison d'etre.'

Berelson, 1952 tended to stress this purely descriptive aim in content analysis as paramount, and, in effect, the limits of the research method, making, as Stone et al, 1966 suggest little further emphasis on its research purpose. In fact, Berelson saw many inferences from data, as simply 'nothing but reformulation in other terms of the content analysis itself'. (1954, p.517), and not true inferences at all.

In their later works on content analysis and its applications, both Stone et al, 1966 and Holsti, 1969 chose to place a much greater emphasis on the importance of inference. Stone et al, 1966, for example, state that:-

"making inferences from communication content is considered the primary function of content analysis, ... it imposes upon the researcher the burden of integrating theory with method, of being dissatisfied with mere description of phenomena'... (p.17).

Holsti, 1969 demonstrated his preference for emphasis on inference by making it an important component of his definition of content analysis, that:-

Both "content analysis is any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages." (p.5)

He also observes that emphasis on inference in content analysis is the trend in that research field, with perhaps the most liberal interpretation being expressed by Osgood, 1959 who saw content analysis as a 'procedure whereby one makes inferences about sources and receivers from evidence in the messages they exchange'. (p..36).

Nonetheless, despite their later emphasis on the importance of inference as a logical procedure in content analysis, both Stone et al, 1966 and Holsti, 1969 placed elaborate and careful restrictions on when and how inferences should be drawn

from data. In the first instance, inferences made by the researcher should have carefully defined boundaries which are made available to the reader, that 'its rationale, purpose and implications when applied to the data should be made explicitly', and the researcher has 'an obligation to himself and to his public to explicate clearly the inference he is making' (Stone et al, 1966 p.14).

This is, however, perhaps an obvious caveat which should be applied to any research study, but in relation to content analysis inference special problems arise. Two problems, in particular, revolve around the 'encoding' process, that is, what did the investigator mean, and what were his motives in using that form of communication; and the 'decoding' process, that is, what does the audience to that communication 'get' from it, what effect does the communication have? The problem of 'encoding' inference will be returned to in more detail in a later Section, in the context of inferences that writers have made about the motives advertisers have for using sex-role stereotypes in advertising. The second problem, however, that of 'decoding', has special relevance in the context of assumptions by feminists, advertisers, and certain empirical studies of the effect advertising imagery has on the women exposed to it, and this will be discussed here.

Both Stone et al, 1966 and Holsti, 1969 stress that great care should be taken in assuming that content of a communication equates with effect. They both strongly criticise a tendency among content analysts to assume a form of stimulus-response behaviourism in inferences from their work, and refer to evidence on 'media effects', that the exposee is a potent source of content assimilation and perception. Holsti, 1969, for example, writes that:-

"persons tend to seek out information which supports pre-existing attitudes and to avoid contradictory communications'.... (there is) strong evidence that persons interpret and assimilate the content of communication in the light of their beliefs about the credibility about the source, situational, personality and other factors..." (p.88).

He also points particularly to the false effect assumption, that:-

"one danger in research assessing the effect of communication is the possibility of falling prey to the post hoc, ergo, propter hoc, fallacy, i.e. the fallacy of assuming that the antecedent, (the content of A's message) carried the consequent (B's behaviour)...." (p.36)

He concludes that 'many definitions of content emphatically exclude its use for purposes of inferring the antecedents or causes of content' (p.27), that the most that can be assumed in inferences from content is that certain aspects of culture and cultural change are indicated through that content. Content can reflect a cultural set of values at any one time but 'any direct inferences as to effects from content is at the best tenuous' (p.87). Stone et al, 1966 make much the same point as Holsti, 1969. They note that 'when content analysts did seek to link their work to a systematic theory of human action, they often drew off stimulus-response behaviourism' (p.24) and although there had recently been a small trend to link content analysis to the more sophisticated 'information theory', many studies still did not, and 'behaviourism theories had the unfortunate effect of allowing the investigators to be satisfied with a low level of inference' (p.24).

To say the least, these comments and criticisms on content inference by Stone et al, 1966, and Holsti, 1969, can be seen to apply not only to the content of feminist criticisms of advertising content and its perceived effect upon women, but also to many of the conclusions that content analysts of advertising for 'sex-role stereotypes have arrived at, conclusions which were reviewed in Chapter 1, Section 1:3. It was observed in that Section that certain analysts did depart from this view, namely in the studies by Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976, and Courtney and Whipple, 1974, in that they restricted inference from their results to a 'reflection of cultural standards', or a purely descriptive basis, but such careful study inferences were in a minority.

Nonetheless, given these riders to inference, Stone et al, 1966, and Holsti, 1969 and other commentators do give emphasis to the role of inference in content analysis, and not only within the framework of 'cultural standards'; but in what

circumstances should such inferences be made?

Overwhelmingly, it appears that all inference, particularly that on effect, should only be made within the modifying influence of external and objective research.

Stone et al, 1966 write, for example, that:-

"Often an important part of the inference process, is information external to the texts themselves, with comparisons made within the text resources. Such external information is used to support inferences made from the content analysis of the texts. (p.16).

Holsti, 1969 reiterates this point observing that :-

"the effects of communication cannot be inferred directly from the attributes of content.... without independent validation...." (p.88).

In the context of the advertising sex-role debate then, it would appear that inferences about the content of advertising, particularly about how it is perceived, received, and what assumed effect it has on the women exposed to it, should not be made without independent evidence on that effect, perception, and reception. Without this evidence, as Holsti, 1969 has noted (op. cit.), such conclusions are 'tenuous', but, as is also pointed out, particularly by Stone et al, 1966 the results may equally and rationally, be interpreted in different ways by different observers. As Stone et al, 1966 observe, 'while the content analysis process is objective and direct, the inference drawn from the results may be quite subtle and indirect' (p.16), and in an observation which could be directed to the specific problems of interpretation of sex-role imagery, he writes that:-

"Often different inferences will be drawn from the same content analysis measure. Thus, in one study, a category, 'male-role', consisting of the terms 'he', 'king', 'man', 'prince', and so on, might be inferred to indicate simply that overt, manifest attention is being given to persons in male roles, (but in another study).... the same category may be used to infer an unintentionally expressed concern about masculinity"....(p.17)

The problem in the advertising debate has always been whose interpretation of the manifest content of advertising is the correct one. Feminists assert that such

content is an actuality of inaccurate sex-role stereotypes, and that this has an effect on the women exposed to it. Advertisers assert that their advertising does not have an effect in this sense, and that, anyway, such images are not sex-role stereotypes in the inaccurate sense, but accurate reflections of the women to whom the advertising is directed. The interpretations and inferences from the advertising content are conflicting, but according to the writings of Holsti, 1969, and Stone et al, 1966, such contradictory inferences, should be resolved by independent evidence. Just what independent evidence does exist to support either or both the feminist and advertisers views of content and effect are reviewed in the following sections. These include evidence on mass media and advertising effects; and evidence on advertisers, feminist and other women's perceptions of factors affecting the advertising sex-role debate.

Section 2:4 Mass media and advertising effects - inference and evidence

Many feminists, and some empirical studies, it was observed in Chapter 1, prefer to see the advertising sexrole stereotype as having a manipulative or direct effect on the women exposed to it. Advertisers, in their response to this charge, certain critics (e.g. Willis, 1971) and some empirical studies are more cautious, suggesting that advertising cannot be construed as having an effect in this sense at all; that its aim is to reflect; that consumers do have control over the advertising they receive, and reception is intimately related to perception. The two opposing views emphasise, respectively, the power of the media controllers and the media receivers. Both these views are strongly held, and represent different inferences from the same data.

Independent evidence on media and advertising effects are reviewed in this section, and while it is, in effect, artificial to separate them, since advertising is a medium within a medium, some conclusions as to the effect of general mass media are

included in this discussion of empirical research, since the evidence on advertising effect is only a logical extension of the wider mass media research.

1. Mass media research

In reviewing the literature on mass media effects, it is fair to say that, for the most part, the evidence available tends to support a much more complex view of effect than certain feminist critics hold. This evidence is extensive and the subject of many books, reviews and articles, but McQuail, 1977, an accepted and respected media empiricist, does emphasise that the popular view of media as producing and effecting direct changes in behaviour is no longer appropriate; that the effects of mass media are more complex, subtle and minimal than such a view would suggest. In a review of the data on 'effect', he concludes that:-

"Numerous investigators have by now seemed to establish that the direct effects of mass communication on attitude and behaviour are either non-existent, very small, or beyond measurement by current techniques... the proved direct effect seems not to match the intentions of expectations of mass communicators and investigators, given the massive investment in time and attention". (p.190).

McQuail, 1977 also suggests that the concept of effect commonly espoused by media critics, including feminists, is usually inappropriate; that evidence for this sort of learning is 'thin' (p.81).

He notes that this 'manipulative' view of media was only the first in a continuing tradition of mass media research. In this tradition, media were assumed to 'shape opinions and beliefs, change habits of life (and) adversely mould behaviour' (p.72).

This tradition of research gave way, however, in the 1960s to a development which affirmed the 'relative ineffectiveness of mass media as an autonomous force', that they were subservient to the 'more fundamental components in any potential situation of influence' (p.73). In short, recent investigations of mass media effect tend to see media as only part of a much more complex process of learning and, as

Klapper, 1960 suggested:-

"... a shift away from the tendency to regard mass communications as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, toward a view of media influences, working among other influences, in a total situation..." (p.5).

The important part of this shift in mass media research was not to look for a direct effect of media, but rather to investigate the perceptions of the media recipients, believing this evidence to be a more reliable indicator of what information from media was received and responded to. The power of the perceiver was emphasised, rather than that of the transmitter. As Davison, 1959 writes:-

"... the communicator audience is not a passive recipient, it cannot be regarded as a lump of clay to be moulded by a master propogandist. Rather the audience is made up of individuals who demand something from the communications to which they are exposed, and who select those which are likely to be useful to them...." (p.360).

This power of the perceiver is reiterated again and again in the mass media research reviews. McQuail, 1975 suggests, for example, that:-

"Influence is not just a matter of learning, or understanding, or acquiring information, or imitating, or reacting or gaining attention. All these may be, and often are, elements in the whole process, but the central and universal feature of communication influence, is the voluntary compliance of the receiver to a sender. The relationship between them is a power relationship...." (p.163).

Katz, Gurevitch and Haas, 1973 write simply that 'people bend the media to their needs more easily than the media overpowers them; media are as much agents of diversion or entertainment as of information and influence' (p.164).

Despite the recent trends in mass media research to a model of effect which emphasises the inherent power of the recipient, it is true that the view does not have much popular support among media critics. Comparing the earlier models of media effects as direct and measurable (the behaviouristic model) and the later one of recipient power and perception (the functionalist model), McQuail, 1977 observes that 'neither public anxiety ... nor professional opinion was much changed by the verdict of science' (p.73), a comment which was directed to the on-going debate on

political propoganda and media violence effects, and which can now be equally directed to feminist concern over the effect of the advertising sex-role stereotype. There is still a continuous conflict over the interpretation of the two types of media effect, a battle which shows no sign of abating, fuelled, as it is, not only by critics who prefer a manipulative view of media, but by mass media researchers who oppose them.

Mendelsohn, 1974, for example, in an assertive and abrasive critique of the stances taken in the defence of the two models of media effect, offers some pertinent comments directed to these critics. A more constant assertion of the behaviouristic model among devotees is, he suggests, an assumption that 'effect is always equated with simple exposure, and the more frequent the exposure, the more intense will be the effect' (p.381), an observation that would appear to have relevance to feminist critics, who do assume an exposure/frequency relationship, but is also typified by the comment by McArthur and Resko, 1975 that advertising exposure and stereotypes, 'can affect our attitudes toward certain attributes and behaviours exhibited by men and women simply by exposing us to some of them more often than others...' (p.219).

Mendelsohn, 1974, in effect reiterating the comments made by Holsti, 1969 and Stone et al, 1966 reviewed in the previous section, concluded that such an attitude is erroneous in that it assumes that 'content is always equated with stimulus', and that the essential perceiver power is ignored by the critics:-

".... what the communicator puts into a message is not necessarily what the recipient gets out of it.... In essence all content analysis, whether formal or informal, qualitative and quantitative - must be normative. Without accompanying data on how these signs are transformed into actual stimuli by audiences, analyses alone have the same value for media policy as any other speculative data...." (p.383).

This view is also propounded by McQuail, 1977 who notes that:-

"what we lack is much evidence of the impact of these selective versions of the world. In many cases, discount by the audience of the

availability of alternative information must make acceptance of media portrayals at face value, extremely unlikely or unusual. We should not take evidence of content as evidence of effect..." (p.82).

In summary, then, it appears that the body of mass media research tends to discount a model of media effect as direct, in whatever form. The more recent and empirically based approach emphasises the importance of the role of the perceivers in de-coding the information available; of having power over what they are exposed to. Any assumption that content equates with the stimuli that the perceiver receives is questionable without independent evidence on what the perceiver wants from that media and what, in fact, his or her self- and other perceptions actually are. In addition, what the critic perceives in media may not be what the 'other audience' perceives and the critical assumption of effect is erroneous, not only from the stance of neglecting these perceptions, but also in assuming that he/she knows what they are.

In short, an examination of the 'effect' of advertising, to be not only fruitful, but also in line with current empirical evidence, should seek to isolate consumer perceptions of that advertising as an aid to understanding how it works. To search for, and assume, only a direct effect, would appear to be not only misguided, if not fruitless on the evidence of mass media effect reviews, but to step unwarily where many other researchers and studies have failed. If this point needed further emphasis, then the evidence on the tradition of 'violence' effects provides a chastening example. This area of research which, in many ways, approaches the same methodological problems as that of sexism effects is prolific, yet despite the literally hundreds of studies in this genre and the historicity of the work, has reached little or no agreement on the 'effects' of violence from the direct approach. The conclusions on 4 major reviews of the work in this area may be noted with interest and caution:-

"The fact that the IBA's working party interim report has not other ideas more conclusive than those behind the Code revisions 2 years

ago reflects the inconclusive nature of the later evidence rather than the lack of it".

Fiddick, 1973 on the IBA Report 1972.

".... the evidence reviewed here is consonant both with the interpretation that violence viewing leads to aggression to a limited degree and among a limited number of people, and with the interpretation that both the viewing and the aggression are the products of an, as yet, unidentified third variable...."

IBA Report 1972 (reviewing 5 major British and American studies and reports).

".... the Mass media do not have any significant effect on the level of violence in society. This view arises from our consideration of the available social scientific research from social psychology, sociology, and psychiatry. However, in arguing that the weight of the evidence against any adverse effect of the media, we violate what would appear to be the established wisdom of science and that of popular mythology...." (p.viii)

Howitt and Cumberbatch, 1975

"In spite of the long-standing interest, however, the net result of research including the recent report of the US Surgeon - General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behaviour (1971) is that the issue is still imperfectly understood and other consequences of television and other media violence unknown...." (p.25).

Howitt, and Dembo, 1974

2. Advertising effects

The work on advertising effect is largely derived from the principles of functionalist effect in mass media research, and the same emphasis on the power of the recipient to decode imagery in line with the individual gestalt is emphasised. The overwhelming emphasis is on the perceptions of the advertisement viewers.

Perception is a process by which the meaning is attached to a sensory input. It is a function of both the stimulus attributes of the environment and the personal and

cognitive world of the observer. Within this world reside the attitudes, needs and past experiences of the observer. These factors may contribute to an expectation of future sensory input, a selective facilitation of certain inputs, or spurious distortion or interpretation of some such input.

Several classical studies (Bruner and Goodman, 1947; Jones and Bruner, 1954; Hastorff and Cantril, 1954; Postman, et al, 1948 and Atkinson and Walker, 1956) illustrate the importance of the individual's cognitive set, personality and need-value systems in the perceptual process. These studies explain that perception is selective and organised. Bruner, 1957 suggested that perception is an act of categorisation. Perceptual readiness or accessibility depends on the perceiver's past experiences, the learned probability of a particular input, and the observer's needs. The system tunes the perceptual process to the elements of the environment important to the observer.

The consumer and advertising industry was quick to realise the importance of perception to consumer behaviour, in that the consumer's attitudes, needs and values may influence not only her purchasing decision, but also her response to advertising and particular advertisements. In short, how well an individual consumer perceived and responded to a particular advertisement depended on how well it agreed with her personal world, or, as suggested by Kretch, Crutchfield and Ballachy, 1962 and Bruner, 1957, her relevant environment, activities displayed and values upheld.

The literature on identification, perception, relevance and interest in advertising is based ultimately on this precept and is extensive, and cannot be adequately or extensively reviewed here. A few relevant findings on this tradition may, however, be noted, and particularly those findings which emphasise the role of self-perception in 'connecting' with advertising, and which form the bulk of such work.

Self-perceptions may be defined from broader or narrower bases and, on the

'broader' side, relevance in terms of sex and race have been found important components of advertising effect. Kanungo and Pang, 1973, Ogilvey, 1963 and Stutteville, 1971 support findings in non-advertising disciplines that same-sex models are important in terms of identification (Maccoby and Wilson, 1957) and also similar evidence in more general media research. (Himmelweit^{et al}, 1958; Schramm, Lyle and Parker, 1961 and Defleur, 1963). In terms of race, various researchers in America have found that use of black models in integrated advertising has significantly increased perception of advertisements among black consumers. Barry and Hansen, 1973, for instance, found that black children's stated preferences were positively influenced by the presence of black characters in advertisements, while Tolly and Goett, 1971; Schlinger and Plummer, 1972 and Choudhury and Schmid, 1974; among many researchers, found similar effects for black adults. Identification with self-image in terms of age, class and environment are reported by Engel, Kollatt and Blackwell, 1968 in their review of consumer behaviour.

The narrower issues of consonance with self-perception, that is, in terms of behaviour, environmental detail and life-style are noted even more extensively in the literature. The behaviour of models in advertisements has particularly been shown to be an important factor in identification and perception, and the work on behaviour is usually related to theory on self, real and ideal, and associated concepts, such as life-style and social character. (Wilson, 1964; Donnelly, 1970).

The investigation of self and ideal-self is perhaps the most important component of work on advertising effect and provides the core assumption for many of the studies in this genre.

Relationships of product-image, advertisement-image and self-image have been derived largely on a theoretical basis from work and writings by Maslow, 1968, Riesman, 1954 and Rogers, 1961, and the fundamental component of these views is that the individual has an 'ideal' and 'real' self. The theory and the research built

upon it suggest that individuals perceive and respond to advertisements, or products, in terms of what they are, or would like to be, or would like to own. Kassarjian, 1971, in a review of this literature, suggested that there was good evidence that the congruence between the nature of the advertisement (and product) and the consumer leads to a greater possibility of positive evaluation, receptiveness and recall. The 'self' theory approach to consumer behaviour emphasises striving for consistency, and the interaction between the self-image and its significant references. Since products and advertisements are given 'images', and these are then interpreted and decoded by the consumers, it would be predicted that the consumer would recognise, and respond to, only those images that are acceptable or consistent with their self and ideal image. Kassarjian reviews many studies which postulate and support this precept over a wide variety of products and images, noting results which overwhelmingly support the view that the consumer will express most interest in those images which are consistent with self-images. Cadet, 1967, in a study in this tradition, concludes that:-

"If, therefore, advertising wishes to preserve its efficiency, it must therefore, in each of its appeals, utilise the same system of values as that which exists in the group which it seeks to reach...." (p.49).

If advertising projects a coded image of self which is not reflective of that in the target group of consumers, then a series of defensive reactions are provoked:-

"One is only interested in a particular advertisement to the extent that is harmoniously integrated with the personality whom one thinks one embodies or sends back to us an image in conformity with our own stereotype.... Advertising must try to make as intimate as possible the bond which exists between the significant part of the stereotypes and the desires people have to express their roles, rules and self images". (p.51).

The emphasis by Cadet on not only the self-images but also stereotypes held by consumers to whom an advertisement is directed is particularly interesting, and appears to uphold the contentions by advertisers, noted earlier, that they must reflect all the held images of their target consumers.

In summary, it is concluded that

Other factors of self-image are also given weight in the literature. On incidental detail, Book, 1957, for example, found that identification with environmental factors of advertisements, such as 'home/office', 'living-room/kitchen', led to significant increases in the recall of the advertisements, while a study by Thomassen Research, 1964 (noted in March and Swinbourne, 1974) showed that recall could be related to such factors as window coverings, table settings and model's clothing.

That advertisers are so interested in reflecting self-images of consumers in their advertising, as part of receptiveness and recall, is further demonstrated by another area of research in advertising - that of consumer 'interest'. It has been found through studies in this tradition that 'connection' via consonant self-imagery not only leads to attention to the advertisement, but goes beyond this into 'interest' and a perception of the advertisement in positive terms, factors which considerably enhance the possibility of product-image retention and purchase probability. Lucas and Britt, 1963, for example, demonstrated that there was a correlation between 'liking' and 'interest' in advertisements so that 'interest' in advertising copy, through identification with the subject matter, 'is usually reflected by continued favourable attention' (p.6), while Murphy, 1971, in a factor analysis of judgment of advertisements, found that 'interest' loaded equally highly on both 'Attention' and 'Significance' factors wherein 'Significance' was characterised by 'attract attention' and 'sit and watch'. Wells, 1964 also found that 'interest' in advertisements gave rise to judgments of 'meaningfulness' and 'attractiveness', while March and Swinbourne, 1974 found that judgments of 'valuable for me', 'important for me' in relation to the advertisement content was the most powerful predictor of consumer interest in product messages for a number of regularly purchased household items. Further support for such findings may be found in work by Ferber, 1966 on doctors' responses to pharmaceutical advertisements, Steadman, 1969 on sex in advertisements, and Murphy, 1971 and Gerbner, 1972 for specific products.

In summary, it would appear that advertisers have tended in their research on

effect to reject the 'direct' or 'manipulative' approach that was observed earlier to be now discounted, if still adhered to by certain followers, in the general area of mass media research. As was asserted in Chapter 1, advertisers stress the role of the consumer's self-perceptions as an important factor in whether an advertisement 'connects'; that is whether it is received, perceived, attended to and remembered. The evidence in this research strongly supports the view that such an approach is effective and leads not only to greater consumer attention, but also 'interest'; factors which combine to produce a greater probability of purchase.

Certainly, such research does give weight to the advertisers' assertion that their advertising is designed to reflect the actual perceptions of 'ordinary' women, and adds credence to their claims that they know what the average consumer is like. Considerable research is evidently expended in an effort to establish and understand what consumers' self- and other perceptions are like.

The review of this literature is mainly important, however, in helping to understand how the data in content-analysis results may be interpreted. It would appear that before any inference is made on the results of sex-role stereotyping in advertising, evidence is first needed on how 'ordinary' women not only actually perceive these images, and interpret them, but also the extent to which the images do reflect women's self-imagery. The advertisers' claims to reflect this reality in their advertising certainly appear to have stronger bases in empirical evidence than do the wider assertions of 'manipulative' effect on the part of feminist critics, and investigation of this reality should logically provide some basis to inferences about sex-role imagery in advertising.

In the first place, evidence from content analyses of advertising for sex-role stereotypes should attempt to assess the extent to which they are really measuring 'stereotypes', or merely reflections - even exaggerated - of the real state of affairs for 'ordinary' women. This, in effect, can only be done inferentially on the essentially normative data derived from content analyses, but should at least be

attempted. Certainly, none of the studies on 'sex-role stereotypes' in advertising attempted to do so. A major assumption in many of the studies, was that if a characteristic existed, and the researchers believed this to be a stereotype, then its chief claim to harm was that it had little to do with reality. Yet, whose 'reality' the studies, and many feminist critics, were referring to, was never made entirely clear.

It is this lack of consideration which has perhaps found most disfavour with the advertising practitioners, and if the researchers had hoped to convince the advertisers that some imagery is gratuitous and inaccurate, then this discussion should have been paramount in their research conclusions. Furthermore, ignoring this fundamental aspect in advertising theory has created some confusions and anomalies which greater consideration of 'reality' factors would have uncovered. For example, Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971, stressed the fact that 9% of women were depicted in advertisements as 'employed' and this did not, therefore, reflect the real employment figures in the United States at that time. Although they observed, however, that the male employment levels were also only 20%, they did not go on to conclude, as they should have done, that both sexes were underrepresented in employment status and, therefore, that the advertising was 'unreal' in its employment depictions for men and women. Women were not alone in this 'stereotype' and advertisers apparently disfavoured the work role for both sexes. Similar ambiguities are observed in studies by, for example, Downing, 1974 and Crowley, 1976. In the latter study, it was found that while incidences of housewife and employment levels were over- and under-represented for women compared to males, when it came to a comparison with the real position, not only was the status of work done by women actually over-represented, but their general employment levels were exaggerated, and the role of the housewife under-represented. The exaggeration of female employment levels compared to males in advertisements and to reality, may also be noted, on further inspection, in the

study by Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971. In short, by omitting a comparison with reality, along the lines of the advertisers' defence to sex-role stereotyping, the advertisers have been under-estimated. Compared to reality, they have, in fact, flattered women as part of their imagery. It is not surprising, therefore, that advertisers greet such studies with scepticism, seeing them as only extensions of the generally negative view of that medium. Certainly, the advertisers' view, that female-directed imagery reflects reality, should at least be considered, and content analysis results interpreted from this basis.

A second angle from which the advertisers' claims to 'reality' reflection should be approached, and which would also help interpretation from normative data, is an investigation of the way in which 'other', non-feminist women perceive not only themselves, but also advertising imagery. These perceptions may not only be set against those of feminists, but also against each other to investigate what congruence actually exists for these 'other women' between their 'selves' and the image of women in advertising. This is the sort of 'independent' evidence that is needed, according to Holsti, 1969 and Stone, et al, 1966, for adequate inference to be drawn from the results of a content analysis. While researcher inferences on how advertising imagery reflects the 'reality' of life for 'ordinary' women may be made inferentially on the basis of evidence of female self-perceptions in say, masculinity-femininity tests, such direct studies on female perceptions would enrich and reinforce the inferential data. Such data derived from feminist and 'other women' alike, would also give greater depth to a consideration of the status of feminist critics, the confusions as to how feminists perceive 'other women', as well as adding to, or detracting from, the advertisers' perceptions both of feminist and 'other women'.

Such inferential backing, through objective evidence, is needed, and a review of the research which has been done in this area, as an aid to interpreting the content analysts' results, is given in the next section.

Section 2:5 Feminists and 'other women' - behaviour and perceptions

In the previous Section it was observed that considerably more evidence existed in the context of advertising, sex-role imagery, for a consideration of effect from the angle of the exposees involved. This should be not only from the viewpoint of 'other women', how they perceive themselves and advertising imagery, and how the two concepts relate, but also as an aid to understanding the perceptions and role of the feminist critics in the debate. Inference from content analysis needs this sort of objective evidence, particularly to resolve and explain the apparently opposite attitudes of advertisers and feminists to sex-role imagery in advertising.

In this Section, evidence is reviewed on what is known of the perceptions of feminists and 'other women' of factors which logically might intrude in the advertising debate.

Three main strands of data are reviewed.

In the first place, the 'special' status of feminist critics is investigated, since not only has this view been put forward by advertisers to explain why feminists are so opposed to advertising imagery, but also such data is an aid to interpreting the feminist stance. Secondly, evidence is reviewed on how feminists and 'other women' view 'women in general', since not only might this aid inference as to the feminist views of women but also indicate how 'other women' perceive 'stereotypes' compared to feminist critics.

Thirdly, the data on perceptions of 'women in advertisements' held by feminists and 'other women' is reviewed as an aid to inference about the feminists' critical stance, how these views compare with 'other women', and whether such imagery held by 'other women' is as 'neutral' or 'positive' as advertisers assert, or as 'distanced from women's reality' as 'feminists' assert.

Further evidence of perceptions of people.

Other work on the behaviour of people.

1. Feminists and 'other women' - self-perceptions and behaviour

A constant assertion by advertisers is that critics are motivated in their antagonism to advertising through a special status. In the context of the advertising, sex-role debate, this assertion was made of the feminist group; that they were, in effect, 'extraordinary' women, to whom the majority of advertising represented misplaced imagery. Advertisers asserted that feminists do not have the same self-perceptions as 'other women', and it was this assertion that allowed advertisers to discount the feminist interpretation of advertising content. The evidence which exists on the 'special' status of feminists is reviewed below.

Studies which have attempted to quantify the ways in which 'feminist' or, more broadly, 'non-traditional' women differ from either 'other women', or more 'traditional' women have supported the contention that the former group may, in fact, be 'extraordinary' in a number of ways. The definition of 'feminist' varies between the studies, but all agree on this type of woman as having a distinctly non-traditional orientation in terms of role, attitudes to work, and holding of 'feminist values'.

Feminists differ from women who are not like them in being significantly more self-actualised (Siegal and Haas, 1963; Lipman-Blumen, 1972), with higher incomes, education and occupation levels. (Albrecht, Bahr and Chadwick, 1976). Feminists also demonstrate higher achievement motivation (Alper, 1974) and are less likely to seek fulfilment through relationships with others, preferring to be 'in control of their own destinies'. (Burke and Weir, 1976). They are significantly more assertive and aggressive than other women (Birnbaum, 1971) and have more self-esteem, and a higher sense of their own competence. They are not self-sacrificing, and are more unconventional and competitive than 'other women'. (Birnbaum, 1971). They have a higher degree of personal autonomy, and are likely to score higher than other women on such behavioural and attitude traits as self-confidence, dominance,

capacity for status, autonomy, self-control, assertiveness, risk-taking, and activity. They also have greater priority on educational and political values, and score higher on theoretical reasoning. (Fowler and Van der Riet, 1972; Rand, 1968; Chervis, 1972; Baker, 1972; Pawlinski and Almquist, 1973; Tipton, Bailey and Obenchaim, 1975; Ball-Rokeach, 1976; Athanassiades, 1977).

Although these studies have attempted to quantify in what ways 'feminists' score more or less than other women on certain attributes, other studies have attempted a more mixed-attribute approach, particularly for male and female characteristics, and the evidence from these studies is that 'feminists' are not only likely to display male characteristics more, and female characteristics less, than other women, but appear simply to have a greater androgyny of personality. In short, they tend to display male and female characteristics more so than other women. Hoyt and Kennedy, 1958 found this to be true in job motivation, while Rand, 1968, in a study of 'career' and 'traditional' women, concluded that:-

"the career-orientated women deviates from the traditional feminine role and has redefined her role to include behaviours appropriate to both sexes. The home-orientated freshman woman, by contrast, appears to adhere closely to the traditional female role...." (p.449).

These results are also broadly supported by Bem, 1974 who suggested that the less sex-typed the personality, the more it tended to exhibit androgynous characteristics.

These results on 'feminists' and 'other women' have been reported to give emphasis to the 'feminist' subjects, but it should be noted that the non-'feminist', or more 'traditional' women scored in directions on the male characteristics significantly less than the 'feminists' and thus in directions which orientated to the more traditional 'female' or 'feminine' roles. 'Other women', for example, score lower than 'feminists' on 'dominance', and with lower 'achievement motivation' (Alper, 1974). The studies did not, however, indicate that the scores of 'traditional' women were always significantly more in the purely feminine direction. For example,

there is a large difference between being 'less dominant' and 'more submissive', and in several of the studies, the 'other women' did not score clearly in the traditional 'female' direction. (Alper, 1974; Athanassiades, 1977). Nonetheless, in other studies, there was a clear direction in certain aspects. For example, non-'feminist' women in the studies were more willing to give up power and authority and were more likely to want others to take responsibility for decision making; they also had greater needs for affectionate and intimate relationships, with housewives scoring highest in this final respect. (Birnbaum, 1971). These 'other women' were also, more often than 'feminists', likely to marry early, stay at home rather than work after marriage, show compliance, and concern with appearance. (Rosen and Aneshensel, 1976). Throughout the studies, moreover, perhaps the greatest absolute differences in self-perception between the two groups of women concerned their orientation towards 'domestic' or 'career' roles, and attributes implicit in those roles - such as early marriage. (Rosen and Aneshensel, 1976; Rand, 1968). The fewest and lowest differences in absolute terms for the traditional male and female behaviours ('dominance', 'need for achievement' etc.) occurred in certain behavioural dimensions, (Fowler and Van der Riet, 1972; Chervis, 1972)

Nonetheless, the conclusions inherent in the studies, noted above, do tend to support the notion of the 'feminist' as being significantly different in a number of important ways from both non-'feminist' and 'traditional' women. This appears to occur in the more mechanical notation of income, class, and occupation but also, importantly, in terms of self-perception and personality.

2. Feminists and 'other women' - perceptions of 'women-in-general'

The work on differences between 'feminists' and 'other women' in terms of perception of 'women' or 'women in general' is not so extensive, nor perhaps so clear-cut, as that on self-perceptual differences. The main problem in reviewing this literature is that, for the most part, the studies have tended to rate subjects'

assessment of 'women' in a sex-comparative way. That is, 'women' are rated against 'men' and there are few studies which appear to investigate absolute perceptions, that is of 'women in general' per se.

The studies which have investigated 'feminist' and 'other women' perceptions in a sex-comparative manner do, however, conclude, that when this method of rating is used, 'feminists' see fewer differences between the sexes than do 'other women'.

Cristall and Dean, 1976, for example, found that 'feminists' perceived fewer differences between the sexes than 'other women', while Albrecht, Bahr and Chadwick, 1976 found that the strongest correlate of occupational sex-typing was attitudes towards the women's liberation movement; persons most in favour of the movement were least likely to sex-stereotype occupations in the traditional manner. In this vein, Hawley, 1971 found that women in traditional, feminine occupational groups tended to think men viewed behaviour in a sex-linked way as appropriately 'male' or 'female' (e.g. men are 'analytical', women are 'intuitive'). Vogel, et al, 1970, examining sex-role preferences held by male and female college students with mother in full-time employment, (women found by Broverman et al, 1972 and Siegal and Haas, 1963 to be more non-traditional than children of non-employed mothers) found that they perceived significantly smaller differences between male and female roles, than did men and women with homemaker mothers, - a group tending to be more traditional. Age, income and education have all been correlated in the past with a propensity to assume traditional and non-traditional sex-roles (see earlier), and it is interesting, therefore, to observe that younger respondents, and those with higher incomes and better education have been found less likely to sex-type various personality traits, than other respondents. (Albrecht, Bahr and Chadwick, 1976).

The most recent study in this genre, and perhaps the most direct measure of different sex-role 'stereotype' perceptions between 'feminists' and 'traditional' women, supports the general trend of the data. Suggesting that there were two

possible sources of bias in sex-role attribution - over-emphasising and under-emphasising those sex-differences which are proven in reality (as per Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974 and Hochschild, 1973), Greenberg and Zeldow, 1976 hypothesised and found that the conservative or more 'traditional' women tended to make sex-attributions where they were clearly not appropriate; that is, not proven in the sex-difference literature. Extremely 'non-traditional' women tended to make fewer sex-attributions than were empirically appropriate; that is, saw fewer sex-role stereotypes and differences between the sexes than are borne out by reality.

These results, however, make an interesting contradiction with the observations in Chapter 1, Section 1:4, which suggested that in feminist criticisms of advertising, there was a tendency to assume special effects of that imagery on women, a tendency which, in the criticisms, appeared to contain a relatively negative or, in a manner, 'stereotyped' view of women.

As pointed out earlier, however, most of the studies which have examined perceptions of sex-role stereotypes have done so on a comparative basis, and not in absolute terms. 'Feminists' have been asked to rate their concept of 'women' in relation to 'men', through which comparison, few differences in perception were recorded. The author, however, has found no study which examined the absolute ratings of 'women in general' by 'feminists' and 'other women', in isolation and in comparison. This is an interesting and potentially vital omission in the context of the advertising, sex-role debate, for there is no doubt that when feminists have made their criticisms of advertising content, particularly in the context of its effect on women, they have rarely, if ever, made it in a sex-comparative way, seeing the absolute image of 'women in advertising' compared with an apparently absolute image of 'women in general'. It would thus appear that the investigation of such absolute and comparative perceptions, comparative both between 'feminists' and 'other women', and between the two concepts, would provide a profitable insight into the feminist view in the advertising sex-role debate, and

perhaps illuminate the apparent contradiction between the evidence reviewed here, and the tone and direction of feminist perceptions of advertising effect reviewed in Chapter 1, Section 1:4. It could be, for instance, that the context of the sex-comparative research process might evidence a different view from feminists than a purely absolute rating of 'women in general'.

3. Feminists and 'other women' - perceptions of 'women in advertisements'

In the context of the perceptions of 'women in advertisements', the literature on differences between 'feminists' and 'other women' is notably lacking. The actual perceptions of feminist critics in relation to 'women in advertisements' is reviewed in Chapter 1, but this is an assessment of published writings, and a composite view of what is common to those writings. The author has found no study which makes a direct comparison of 'feminist' and 'other women' perceptions of 'women in advertisements' on an experimental basis.

Nonetheless, three studies were found which did examine this issue from the more oblique perspective of asking women to 'make-up' their own advertising imagery, and two studies, which investigated attitudes to products, companies and advertisements from a sex-role perspective.

Discussing the three common studies first, these, by Wortzel and Frisbie, 1974, Duker and Tucker, 1977 and Peterson and Kerin, 1977 are perhaps most alike, not only in their methodology, but also their conclusions. The conclusions are, moreover, extremely interesting in the light of potential differences between 'feminists' and 'other women' in that they report few, if any, differences in choosing roles for certain products and advertisements between 'non-traditional' and 'traditional' women.

In the first study, Wortzel and Frisbie, 1974 asked the two groups of women to relate role-images to product types, in advertisements which the subjects made up themselves. In the first experiment quoted in the study, it was found that both

groups of women did not show any consistent preferences for specific female roles - whether conventionally 'traditional' or 'non-traditional' (worker/housewife), across all product types. Both groups of women chose the role for the advertisements on the basis of product characteristics. The researchers concluded:-

"If these data support any conclusion beyond the original hypothesis it is that women react primarily to the product-use situation with which they are confronted, and do not wish to be stereotyped into any particular role cutting across situations in advertisements; they recognise and prefer to see themselves in a variety of roles, not excluding the more traditional ones..." (p.44). (writer's emphasis)

Partiallying out the subjects by positive or negative attitudes to 'feminist' aims, that is, in relatively extreme attitudes, they also found, in a second experiment that the two groups did not markedly differ in role preferences. In fact, for many products, these women holding 'anti-traditional' values preferred traditional family roles for certain products.

In a third experiment, where even more extreme rating of the women's attitudes were taken, similar results were found, although the highest scorers did start to show a tendency to 'no preference'. Nonetheless, a preference for 'traditional' roles in certain product advertisements was evinced for both groups of women. Wortzel and Frisbie, 1974 concluded on the basis of these results that:-

"Perhaps the most realistic conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that women are both reasonable and reasonably rational in their preference with regard to role portrayals in advertising. They tend to select role preferences on the basis of product function, rather than on the basis of ideology...." (p.46).

In the study by Duker and Tucker, 1977, 7 advertisements for 7 products were utilised illustrating different female roles, ranging from the 'mother' to the 'professional'. A sample of women were asked to respond to the advertisements and the results were scored as either 'traditionalist' or 'women's lib.'. The groups were divided as to role-position through the scale used in the Wortzel and Frisbie study. The results showed no differences in reaction to any of the advertisements between

three groups of respondents, 'pro-feminist', 'traditionalist', and 'neutral'. The authors concluded that:-

"The holding of pro-feminist opinions does not significantly alter the subjects' regard for the roles assigned to women in adverts.... apparently such attitudes toward such traditional and fundamental roles as motherhood and femininity do not actually change as rapidly or on as large a scale as many would believe...." (p.474).

Similar results were found in the study by Peterson and Kerin, 1977, in which roles and products were grouped in advertisements for two products; baby oil and a ratchet set. The roles chosen were representative of a demure female model, a seductive model and a nude model. The advertisements were shown to a group of middle-class adults of mixed sex-role attitudes, and the results showed that while the nude model scored least well for both products, the seductive model, believed to be 'disliked' by feminist critics, was the best-scored and received, a result consistent over the whole sample.

There are several methodological and inferential criticisms which can be directed at these studies. None of them, for example, showed a full range of roles available, or in differing degrees; the last study mentioned only showed a limited range of roles. There is also some doubt as to the studies' assessments of women's sex-role rating by tests, particularly that devised by Wortzel and Frisbie, 1974, which were arbitrary, and did not have the validation of, say, the 'Attitude to Women' scale. (Spence and Helmreich, 1972).

Nonetheless, the results of these three studies are consistent, and notable in showing that the sex-role orientation of the female subjects did not appear to affect to any great extent the perception of roles which were right for certain product advertisements, and none of these studies noted any extreme views of the subjects as to sexism, in the advertisements tested.

These results, however, provide striking contrast with the views on 'women in advertisements' as evidenced in the feminist critiques noted in Chapter 1, where

not only was there wholesale rejection of traditional female roles in advertisements, independent of products, but an apparently far from 'reasonable' (Wortzel and Frisbie, 1974) acceptance of those images.

In this respect, one important point can be made, which applies equally to observations of apparently discrepant results noted above in the context of the 'women in general' concept. In none of the studies discussed in these two areas were any of the subjects 'political feminists', that is, members of feminist groups, or committed to political feminism in the way that the writers of feminist critiques would be expected to be. In all the studies, the female subjects were, in effect, 'ordinary' women who had greater or lesser attitudes to traditional and non-traditional values. It would, for example, have been interesting to compare the ratings and attitudes of such 'political feminists' with these simply non-traditional women, as well as with the 'other' or more traditional women, noted in the studies. This must be important, since one cannot ignore the evidently vituperative responses of such 'political feminists' to advertising imagery, either for its own sake, or from the view that such women appear to have had an extraordinary effect in impelling research into sex-role stereotypes. If 'political feminists' differ in their views from all 'other women', not only should they be seen as a distinct minority group, but a relatively unrepresentative minority group, to boot. In short, it may be that it is only the 'political feminists' and not the merely non-traditional women, who perceive a profound sexism in advertisements; that, in fact, 'political feminism' may have a status and set of values exclusively, and separately of its own.

In the light of such a conjecture it is interesting to make certain observations on the two remaining studies. In the work by Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia, 1977 various assessments were taken of the attitudes of women and men to products, advertisements and the companies who produced them, from a sex-role perspective. Broadly, the results of this study do not detract from the results of studies noted

above, in that few differences were found between different groups of women according to sex-role status and other variables, and that 'the attitudes of the women in the sample towards sex-role portrayals were not overtly critical' (p.75). Nonetheless, the writers did note that if there were any marked departures from this point of view, it was among those women who were 'more highly educated; come from higher income households and (were) younger' (p.74). These women were also least likely to agree that advertising imagery of women was 'changing for the better', and were most likely to find such advertising 'offensive'. This group of women was not only in a marked minority, but represented extremes not only in socio economic criteria, but also in their ratings of attitudes. If it can be recalled that such socio economic data in the first part of this section was shown to be strongly related to more extreme anti-traditional views, particularly among those studies which investigated members of feminist groups then there is some case to suggest that such extreme feminists, with related extremity of views, may exist. It may also suggest that 'political feminism' has a wider range than simple attitudes and may be related to class, income and educative criteria.

A second set of observations in this context may be made, and this concerns a study of women's advertisement perceptions which was made by two such 'political feminists'. Stemple and Tyler, 1974 asked 30 college women to rate their attitudes to certain advertisements featuring women in certain roles, much in the same way as did Wortzel and Frisbie, 1974 and others, noted above. The results of the Stemple and Tyler study gave rise to results markedly similar to the other studies, in that the college women did not see any inherent sexism in the advertisements presented to them, advertisements which the writers described as 'blatantly sexist'. In fact, the college women even expressed liking for some of the more 'traditional' and rated 'sex object' portrayals. The authors concluded in a manner which compares interestingly with the conclusion on other, similar data by Wortzel and Frisbie, 1974, that:-

"... most women are aware of the fact that advertising is sexist in the traditional sense. However, when asked to evaluate patently sexist ads, perceptivity fell far below what was expected.... Some college women seem to fail to perceive a sexist slant.... Another disappointing outcome of the survey was a lack of consciousness.... To us, however, these ads are a blatant co-opting of the Women's Movement'.... (p.273) (writer's emphasis).

In short, while Wortzel and Frisbie, 1974 see such results as 'reasonable', Stemple and Tyler, 1974 perceive them as 'disappointing'. If the two parties making the two studies might be considered as representative of the two sides of the advertising sex-role debate, the advertisers and the feminists, such contrasting conclusions pointedly illustrate the discrepancy between the two parties both in perceptions and attitudes, not only of advertising imagery, but of the 'ordinary' women in the middle, the subjects of the two studies. This judgment by Stemple and Tyler, 1974 also adds to some suggestion that 'feminists' are distanced, judgmentally, from the views of 'ordinary' women.

In summary, 'feminists' do appear to be 'extraordinary' women in their self-perceptions compared to 'other' and more traditional women. This is most evidenced in certain socio-economic ways, and in relation to roles and career factors. Data on perceptions of 'women in general' also show important differences but, in this respect, 'feminists' tend to diminish sex differences in their stereotypy, and 'other' women to exaggerate it. Suggestions were made that such results provide contrast with what has been observed in feminist critiques, and that this might be related to the context of existing research which does emphasise relative 'male-female' comparisons. It was, therefore, postulated that a fruitful investigation might be into the absolute rating of 'women in general' by 'feminists' and 'other women'.

Finally, the results of studies on women's perceptions of 'women in advertisements' were noted, in which sex-role orientation did not appear to be associated with preference for traditional roles in advertising and where few, if any, perceptual

differences were recorded between 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' orientated women. It was suggested that such results again provide strong contrast with the views of 'political feminists' and that two groups of 'anti-traditional' women might exist, of which the 'political feminist' group may provide the more extreme and critical responses to advertising imagery.

Overall, however, if inferences are to be made from the results of content analyses of sex-role stereotypes in advertising, then much more objective evidence is needed. This is particularly so not only in the context of 'perceiver power' interpretations of advertising content, but also in investigation of the roles of both 'feminists' and 'other women' in the advertising, sex-role debate. At present, all inferences from content analysis data in this genre are taken from a unilateral stance, which, to a large extent, is feminist-orientated, or as Duker and Tucker, 1977 observe:-

"Most of this literature is normative in orientation, in that it contains either overt or implied judgment concerning the undesirability of the current state of advertising as it relates to women".... (p.470).

If the advertising, sex-role debate is to be given greater credence and depth, particularly in respect to the advertisers and their stance, then a wider range of independent evidence is needed, governing all parties to the debate. This evidence is lacking, and it is notable that only the writer and a few isolated observations in recent studies have made this essential point:-

"Beyond the content analysis studies of advertisements and the public statements of advocate organisations, little empirical research has been reported which examines the question of how the consumer in general, and women consumers in particular, view sex-role portrayals in advertising.... little empirical evidence exists regarding consumer attitudes toward role portrayals in advertising.... (p.74).

Lundstrom and Sciglampaglia, 1977

"(no study) has attempted to investigate empirically the impact of such messages on women consumers".... (p.470)

Duker and Tucker, 1977

"Empirical evidence is, of course, necessary, to evaluate adequately the assertion that the media mould sex-typed behaviour.... there is not much evidence directly related to the question of whether people imitate the sex-role behaviour of television models.... direct evidence assessing the impact of media models on sex-roles is needed...." (p.209)

McArthur and Resko, 1975

Few feminists, in their critiques, note the absence of independent evidence which might add to the quality of the advertising, sex-role debate. What comments that do exist are restricted to the empirical studies. It is only Willis, 1971, always an exception in her feminist view of advertising imagery, who suggests that the relationship between women and advertising sex-role imagery requires investigation, and needs to be subjected to critical debate. The current feminist view, she suggests, is not sufficiently evaluated by feminists themselves, who tend to accept their views on advertising imagery as having the 'invulnerability of religious dogma' (p.658).

Advertisers do accept the need for such evidence, and even if their concern with the issue is not entirely that of the feminists, their priorities must be considered, not least if change is to be effected. As Duker and Tucker, 1977 suggest:-

"Advertisers, especially those who look to the long run, should be cautious about confusing what might be considered alleged 'in-vogue attitudes' with more deeply rooted value change.... Women's Lib attitudes may be an affectation or a fad, or both. Marketing or advertising policies which cater to affectations or fads should do so consciously and deliberately. To alter product-image in a mistaken belief that the changes to be accommodated are long term, when they are not, can be costly...." (pp.470, 475)

Section 2:6 Inferences as to advertiser motives

In Section 2:3, the restrictions on inference from media content were noted particularly through the work of Stone et al, 1966 and Holsti, 1969. It was observed that a strong partner in inference should be independent evidence. The previous sections have reviewed certain areas of independent evidence pertinent to inferences about female perception and reception of sex-role images in advertising. A similar approach to inference should be taken in the case of the evidence reviewed in Chapter 1, Section 1:5, that feminists believe advertisers to have strong motives in their use of advertising sex-role stereotypes. Although some writers have suggested that advertisers' influence on the final images they produce may be indirect and unconscious, other have suggested that a more conscious and manipulative motive may be construed.

Interpretations as to the motives behind communicators' use of content was noted in Section 2:3 to be part of the inferences as to the 'encoding' process in content analysis. Both Holsti, 1969 and Stone et al, 1966 emphasise the pitfalls in making such inferences, which is not, however, to ignore the importance of investigating such motives. Hobbes, 1928, for instance, has written that words, and presumably symbols, 'not only reflect the signification of what we imagine their nature', but 'have a signification also of the nature, disposition and intents of the speaker' (p.17). The nature of the speakers includes their personality, characterisation and style of expression, and their expression can also derive from their 'work situations'.

Reflections by Stone et al, 1966 on the character and influence of the 'speakers' in the content of their work would appear to have peculiar relevance to the advertiser and the advertisements he produces, and Hobbes would even appear to have a certain sympathy with the points of view of certain feminists in his observation that:-

"the disposition and intent of the speaker partly reflects the pressures of the current social situation which may determine the topic being discussed and engender a need to make a particular effect on others...." (p.5).

Nonetheless, both Stone et al, 1966 and Holsti, 1969 provide a rider to the assumption in Hobbes' writings. Both emphasise, as with the 'decoding' process, noted in Section 2:3 that care should be taken in inferences which connect the speaker's, or writer's, or, one presumes, designer's, 'finished product' with the motives and perceptions which preceded that product. Holsti, 1969 for example, suggests that:-

"The relationship between a person's statements and his motives, personality, intention and the like is at best only vaguely understood...." (p.32),

while Stone et al, 1966 observe that :-

"the analyst cannot assume simple correspondence between the content of a message and the motives, values or attitudes of those who produced them...." (p.35).

Again, before valid inferences can be made about the motives or perceptions of the author of a written communication or , in this case, advertisement construction, independent evidence is needed. As Holsti, 1969 writes:-

"it is hazardous ... to assume without corroborating evidence from independent non-content data, that inferences about the author may be drawn directly from content data".... (p.32).

What, therefore, does there exist as independent evidence of how advertisers either perceive women, or of the motives they have for portraying women in certain ways?

How businessmen or advertisers, in particular, perceive women, has not been a fertile area of research. What evidence can be cited is essentially derivative, drawn from other contexts, and wider implications from this data are, therefore, restricted.

Most data derived from businessmen, for example, has been extracted within the

context of the work-situation, and not in any absolute sense. The evidence does, however, tend to point to a relatively traditional, or even negative view of women among businessmen.

Bass, Krussell and Alexander, 1971, for example, found that women were perceived by businessmen as 'uncomfortable to work with', likely to display a 'lack of dependability', because of biological and personality attributes, and were preferred in a subordinate role, while Schein, 1973, in a study of managers suggested, in conclusion to her study, that male attitudes toward women in the professional and managerial level were still overtly traditional. Studies have also shown that managers believe women to be unsuited for management positions because of beliefs shown to be largely related to sex-role stereotypes. Rosen and Jerdee, 1974, for example, illustrated by case-study the fact that businessmen, when presented with problems of men and women at work, tended to solve them by recourse to traditional role allocations, while Gilmer, 1961, noted that 65% of male managers believed that women would be inferior to men in supervisory jobs. Prather, 1971, furthermore, suggests that businessmen still work with an image of women which revolves around concepts of 'sex symbol', and 'servants', and are hampered by an image of work in masculine terms.

Nevertheless, as noted above, all these studies do emphasise the businessman's perceptions of women in the work situation, and do not investigate their absolute perceptions of 'women in general' or, indeed, 'women in advertisements'. It was also noted in the review of attitudes to businessmen in Chapter 1, Section 1:5 that some observers believe that a businessman's or advertiser's perception of the 'woman closest to him' might influence his judgement of 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' and no study was found, either, which investigated this concept among any groups of such men.

It was also observed earlier, that the studies noted deal with businessmen as a generic group, and certainly no study in this genre partialled out particular

attitudes of either advertisers or, more broadly, marketing personnel.

One study was found, however, which did make some comparison of 'business students' with those of other disciplines, and this study tended to support what can be inferred from the data noted above, that businessmen do tend to have relatively traditional attitudes to women. Doyle, 1977 found that social science students did express significantly more liberal or non-traditional attitudes towards women's roles than Business Administration students, but neither this study, nor others, investigated how businessmen's perceptions of women compared with those of women, or 'feminists' in particular.

In summary, inferences as to the perceptions that advertisers have about 'women in general', 'women in advertisements' or the 'woman closest to them' have not been investigated in the literature to date. What evidence does exist on businessmen as a generic group does tend to indicate that they hold relatively traditional and even stereotyped views of women, but mainly in a work-situation. Other studies on students tend to support the general direction of this data. Certainly, it would appear that what is necessary in the context of the advertising, sex-role debate is some estimate of advertisers' and marketers' perceptions of concepts relevant to that debate, as well as some broad indication of their relative sex-role orientation.

Chapter 2 : Summary

From a review of the direct and indirect literature on the issue of advertising, sex-role stereotypes and their effects on women it emerges that considerable empirical work is needed to clarify certain areas and add to knowledge in others.

The following studies would appear to be necessary :-

1. A well-designed and derived content-analysis schedule to investigate the presence of sex-role stereotypes in advertising media.

2. The application of such a coding schedule to any one medium so that a systematic and catholic investigation of the stereotypes present may be made.
3. An investigation of how such images found in such a medium might support or refute feminist assertions of stereotyping, and, equally, support or refute advertisers' claims that they reflect 'ordinary' women; that such images are necessary for product-based reasons.
4. An investigation of the ways in which 'ordinary' women and 'feminists' perceive the advertising stereotype, and how these perceptions - given the evidence on the feminist as 'extraordinary woman' - relate to the statuses of feminists and 'ordinary' women.
5. An investigation of how the advertising stereotype of women relates to women's self and ideal-self concepts, and how these perceptions might vary according to the status of women as 'feminists', 'antitraditional' or 'ordinary' women; also, an investigation of how the stereotypes of 'women in general' held by feminists and 'ordinary' women reflect in the advertising images of women.
6. An investigation of the sex-role orientation of advertisers and marketers and their perceptions of the concepts 'women in general', 'women in advertisements' and 'the woman closest to them', to investigate how these factors relate and compare with perceptions held by 'feminists' and 'other women'.

Such studies are necessary over the whole gamut of advertising and throughout all media. In this thesis, however, the investigations were felt to be relevant to one medium in particular - that of women's magazines.

The reasons why this medium was considered in particular, and why it was felt to be a crystallisation of the problems in the whole advertising stereotype field, are

given in the next Chapter.

Chapter 3

Women's Magazines

Chapter 3

Women's Magazines

The previous chapters have noted, respectively, the main polemical arguments between advertisers and feminists in the advertising sex-role debate, and the empirical evidence for and against such arguments. A suggestion of needed research referred to an empirically sound investigation of sex-role stereotypes in advertising media, and the investigation of perceptions of feminists and 'ordinary' women in the context of the female advertising stereotype, as well as some evidence on the perceptions of advertisers.

The advertising, sex-role debate may be viewed as a global one, and research is needed over all the main mass media - television, radio, press, posters - but the one medium where the interests of the three relevant parties - the women exposes, the advertisers and the feminists - collide and crystallise is notably in the medium of women's magazines.

Women's magazines represent the crystallisation of all the noted arguments and vested interests. First, they are of striking importance to women in general as witnessed by the purchase rates, financial outlay and identification that women bring to these journals. Second, they are of great financial importance to advertisers, typifying as they do the main means of reaching the powerful female consumer buying both in her own right, and as representative of her family. Third, they are important to feminists, who, seeing sex-role stereotypes as harmful, view those in women's magazines as the apotheosis of all that is traditional and counter-progressive to the aims of the Women's Liberation Movement.

The importance of women's magazines to the three main parties in the advertising, sex-role stereotype debate are delineated in the following sections.

Section 3:1 Women's magazines and women readers

The importance of women's magazines to women is suggested by the factors of exposure/expenditure, attention and identification. Each factor will be discussed separately.

1. Exposure and expenditure

Holbrook, 1973 has observed that women's magazines comprise the 'largest field of all periodical publication' (p.170), and the important fact, in effect a truism, is that it is mainly, if not only women who are exposed to them, and more so than for any other media. The National Readership Surveys show that while minimal sex differences exist for exposure levels of other media groups, with women's magazines, there is a strong sex difference in favour of females. For weekly magazines the ratio of exposure is 61%:20% females to males while for monthly magazines this is 54%:27% (Patel, 1973). Other sources confirm the high readership of these magazines among women. In 1973, for example, estimates showed that 58% of women read a monthly women's magazine and 65% a weekly one (Retail Business, 1973), while in simple numerical terms National Magazines group alone have estimated that over 6 million women read their women's magazines, a figure which is matched and often exceeded by publications from the giant International Publishing Corporation (IPC) who regard their total market as the 21 million women over the age of 15 years, and who are the 'rationale behind the continuing success of women's magazines as a modern phenomenon' (Retail Business, 1973 p.31). Other estimates of exposure levels include that by White, 1970 who noted that the sale of the top seven women's magazines alone were in the region of 7½ million per issue, and that by Faulder, 1977 who observed that six million women 'view the latest issue of one magazine or another every day' (p.178). For America, Embree, 1970 suggests that 50 million women buy a woman's magazine every month; that is, three-quarters of the adult female population.

The importance of these exposure figures, however, is best understood by comparisons with exposure levels of women to other press media. While an average of 60% of women in the United Kingdom will read or buy a women's magazine at least once a month, the circulation and readership figures for other women-exposed media may be at or around 40% at the most, and often as low as 2% of the female population. According to the National Readership survey, 1973, only 2% of all women read 'The Guardian', 2% 'The Times', 29% 'The Daily Mirror', 6% 'The Observer', while 'The News of the World' - which claims the largest female readership of all papers - only reports a maximum of 42% exposure among the female adult population. The average female readership of 9 major national dailies is 11% and of major national Sunday papers, 18%. For the top selling national dailies this proportion is still only an average of 20% of all women, and for Sunday papers, the top five have an average exposure among women of 30%.

In general magazines ('Radio Times', 'Reveille', 'Weekend' etc), again the proportions of women who read them do not compare with the figures for women's magazines. The highest magazine in this group - 'TV Times' - attracts a 30% female circulation, while the average circulation among women of the top 4 is 21%.

In short, in terms of readership and circulation levels, women's magazines not only attract a significant proportion of women readers, but attract them considerably more than other press media groups.

Not surprisingly, then, the financial outlay on these magazines by women has reached respectable proportions, and if expenditure may be taken as an indicator of commitment, then women have been committed at a rate of £35 million per year. (Retail Business 1973). This figure, for 1971, must now be considered a considerable under-estimate, and given the fact that expenditure on women's magazines by women has been growing at 6% p.a., is now about £60 million p.a. This is despite the fact that cover prices have been rising at 8% p.a. and by 47%

between 1966 and 1971, compared to the retail price index of 32%. Between the 1966 and 1975 period, the fastest growth has been in the 'young women's' titles which have attracted an extra £2 million over this period. Expenditure by this group of women on women's magazines also compares favourably with other products they buy. IPC, for example, in their 1970 survey of unmarried 15-24 year old women, record that such women spent £6.5 million on magazines compared to £ 3 million on newspapers, and this expenditure was twice as much as on books or cinema, and almost as much as on records, meals, skirts, and boots respectively. (Scott, 1976, Table 3:20).

2. Attention

Exposure and readership levels, however, are not the only criteria by which women's interest in these magazines might be measured. One might argue, for example, that women expose themselves heavily to television and, in fact, the archetypal television viewer, as described by IPC, is a '40 year old housewife whose husband is a skilled manual worker' (IPC, 1971). Women also compose the largest group of 'heavy' television viewers (25% compared to 18% for males) (Scott, 1976^b Table 6:12). Exposure, however, is not the only relevant factor; attention to the medium exposed is also important and from this point of view, while women may be exposed as much to television as women's magazines - more so in fact - there is good evidence that, medium for medium, women attend more to the magazines. According to IPC, about 35% of women may be doing, or looking at something else while television commercials are shown, making this medium, as they note, 'an expensive sound track'. In contrast, the average page traffic scores for women's magazines is around 90%, with full attention and noting rates of 85%, compared to 55% on television. (IPC, 1971).

It has also been shown that despite the high exposure of women to television, comparing the two media, women are more involved in the women's magazines, and that from this angle, women's magazines may be the better medium for advertisers.

Harrison, 1968, for example, in a study of the comparative efficiency of television and women's magazines, and using a rating factor calculated by rating each member of the audience according to the degree of attention during page-exposure and commercial-track, concluded that:-

"Assuming a 30 second television spot and magazine full-colour page are considered equally suitable for carrying the advertising message, the press schedule, using women's service weeklies, is likely to prove 3 times as efficient as the TV schedule on the basis of a given appropriation." (p.25).

3. Identification

Noting of circulation, readership and attention levels for women's magazines are salient factors in understanding the importance of these magazines to women, but, as essentially mechanical measures, they do not underline or explain the more abstract commitment that women have to them.

Why these women's magazines are so important to women has been the object of considerable speculation on the part of feminists and other observers, and the subject of considerable research on the part of advertisers. Many explanations are offered. Retail Business, 1973, for example, suggest they provide a variety of needs and:-

"these needs which encompass leisure, escapism, relaxation, information about the family and the home amongst others, provide the market place for a wide range of written material, within which (women's) magazines are arguably the most important medium" (p.31).

Faulder, 1977 reports a survey which examined the more available reasons for the magazines' popularity, namely that they can be picked up and put down easily, are relaxing and varied, and give practical guidance. Sharpe, 1976 suggests that the women's magazines' 'immense circulation figures reflect the need women have to find ideas for their homes and children' (p.108), but these and the other reasons noted can only be part of the whole. Studies and commentaries also suggest that these magazines offer more indefinable factors of comfort, friendship and,

importantly, identification and support. Women meet 'other women' through these magazines, something not found in other mass publications. As Whitehorn, 1978^b observes, 'women may cling to their mags because newspapers like 'The Sun' and 'The Mirror' are increasingly male-orientated', while Sharpe, 1976 sees this 'meeting' as a form of social experience, that the magazines 'help isolated women to find reassurance and a sense of solidarity from reading about other women's experience and problems.....' (p.108).

This social factor may also be enriched by a sense of identification, or friendship. Lamburn, 1972 in a 'Times Special Report' on women's magazines, conducted in 1972, noted that 'a woman's magazine is its readers' ideal friend' and that:-

"readers choose these magazines because it represents the way they want to look, to feel; to think; the emotions they want to express; the life they would like to lead. This factor is paramount in women's magazines and an editor must be an up-to-date psychologist"....

Mary Grieves of 'Woman' magazine, who brought the magazine from a disastrous beginning to a circulation of 3 million in 20 years, and firmly established it as one of the most popular magazines in this genre, notes:-

"Since a woman's magazine strives to reflect the life of the reader, it is of the first importance that she should see her own life reflected in the pages not the life of some luckier, richer, cleverer creature....."

(Grieve, 1964, p.90-91),

a view reiterated by Lawrence, 1976, who as the first male editor of the magazine, suggests that 'we are trend-setters. We simply follow the underlying trends and filter them through'.

The popular image of women's magazines is of a generic group with homogeneous interests and contents, a point which some observers find surprising, considering the diversity of roles into which women have now spread. Whitehorn, 1978^b, for example, writes that:-

"You would think that with so many women out at work, their work interest would divide them as men's do. Yet somehow it is still

possible to address us collectively, even now; even when we're not talking about cooking or baby-care or lipsticks"...., but such a view, which is necessarily subjective, is not the one shared by the magazine publishers, who prefer to see the women's magazine market divided into many subtle and different categories, each aimed at different types of women. This is no more testified to than by the vast range of magazine titles, of which over 70 are regularly published and nationally distributed. Part of the 'reflection' and 'identification' factors in women's magazine publishing is seen by their publishers as covering different appeals, contents and emphases. As White, 1977 observes, the 'lowest common denominator' approach to women's journals does not stand in reality, that:-

"The women's magazines have been at pains to develop separate and distinct 'pictures of the world', which they hope will find acceptance among like-minded people. Their editorial concepts match the attitudes of groups thought to exist within the female population and run the whole gamut from the 'traditional domestic', to the 'progressive involved' Thus women's weekly readership no longer represents the 'mass market' in women's journalism, but a massive sub-group within it, alongside which other sub-groups of varying size and characteristics are ranged...."

(quoted in The Times Higher Education Supplement, 1977)^a

It would be misleading to suggest that every magazine type is completely different in appeal and content from others, since there is much overlap in areas such as fashion, cookery and problem pages but throughout the literature on these magazines, 3 main groups are assumed to exist. There are the mass market, 'traditional' magazines including top sellers such as 'Woman', 'Woman's Own' and 'Woman's Weekly': the 'young womens' titles, such as 'Cosmopolitan', 'Over 21', '19' and 'Jackie', and the 'up-market' and fashion 'glossies', usually published monthly, which appeal to a broad sector of women, and also many men, wherein the readership to circulation ratio may be high; 'Vogue', for example, has a ratio of 30

to 1.

Several writers, including the government publication, Retail Business, choose to group their analyses of magazines in this way, but Faulder, 1977 and Toynbee, 1977^a have made the most recent and detailed investigations and commentaries.

The first group of magazines, as Faulder notes, is typified by the 'home-loving, family-orientated domesticated women, who naturally wishes to be reassured and sustained in their chosen role' (p.188). Toynbee, writing of 'Woman's Realm', which she considers to be a typical example of this group, quotes the editor describing her readers:-

"She wants a nice home; nutritious, interesting meals; reasonably behaved children.... She lives in a suburb, a high-rise, or on a large estate and is lonely. She either has or would like a job, typing or serving in a shop. She works for money, but also for the social contact she so desperately needs."

It is arguable the extent to which one magazine may typify a group, and opinions on this group are, by definition, global, but this 'mass market' sector in women's magazines, on consensus of publishers' and observers' opinions, does, perhaps more than any other group, typify the more 'domestic orientated or traditional image of women. Whitehorn, 1978^b suggests that the market for these magazines may, in fact, 'be more conservative than the ribald world of media supposes'. She quotes a survey on 'Woman's Realm' which showed that 84% of the readers 'want to be married and not laid', and that conventional images of female beauty are inherent in its philosophy; that 'there's a great urge to be small as well as pretty' among its readers. Readers of this magazine represent a great stronghold of the traditional female values, interests and roles.

The second group of magazines, those for the 'young woman', is typified by Faulder, 1977 through the magazine, 'OK', the 'completely new kind of magazine for the completely new generation of girls under 18' (p.182). Toynbee sees this group epitomised by 'Cosmopolitan', of whose readers she records the editor's comment

that:-

"Women want to be told, need to be told, that they've got to get out there and work. They can't just stay at home and live their lives through one man or a couple of children. They must have lives of their own...."

This group of magazines is the growing sector in the market, and varies in emphasis from a relatively sophisticated angle in, say, 'Over 21', to the younger approach in 'Mirabelle' and 'Jackie', but is no doubt the sector in women's magazines that the publishers are most eager to promote and, if possible, further segment. As Whitehorn, 1978^b observes, 'plenty of attempts have been made, on both sides of the Atlantic, to reach the post-liberated woman, if she exists', and refers colourfully to the publisher's eye for 'spawning of more commercial ventures aimed at what I can only call the working, wanking woman'. Alone among the observers of such magazines, Whitehorn also notes the increasing number of advertisements, such as those for cars, brief-cases and life-insurance, 'things not previously thought worth trying to sell to women'. Nonetheless, opinions on their content apart, it would seem that just as the 'mass market' magazines emphasise an image of 'average' and 'domestic' woman, the 'young' magazine group is aimed to appeal to the 'new woman', and relatively 'liberal' or, in the broad sense, 'liberated' concepts.

The third group of magazines is perhaps the most difficult to define, being composed of largely interest titles which relate both to the home ('Homes and Gardens') and to fashion (Vogue') but in an overwhelmingly 'up-market' sense. If such concerns may be said to be traditional realms of women, then, in their own way, these magazines are in the same general genre as the 'mass-market' ones, but distinguished by their 'glossy', and expensive image. The style of these magazines, however, is seen by Faulder, 1977 as the most homogeneous in appeal of all women's magazines. This sector is, she suggests, the most likely to appeal to all groups of women, and is most likely to present a pragmatic and factual approach to contemporary female problems and interests. 'Good Housekeeping', which she sees

as representative of this group, is 'reliable, practical, packed with information and beamed straight at the middle-class woman running a home and bringing up a family, and possibly doing a job as well' (p.189), a description with which Toynbee, 1977^b agrees, although she emphasises the escapist and idealised luxury element in these journals, as typified by 'Vogue' and 'Harpers and Queen'.

Magazines come and go, rise and fall in circulation within these three segments but, as noted earlier, all of the group maintains its ground, and increases its value sales. Although the most striking growth in sales has been observed in the 'young women's' sector, it must, however, be noted that the largest group of magazines is still, both in circulation and value-terms, the first one. The 'mass market' group still remains massive in comparison with the other two groups, and even the more traditional and domestic of the titles within the 'mass market' sector - such as 'My Weekly', 'Family Circle', and even specialist 'knitting' and 'sewing' magazines, are showing proportionally higher sales increases. (Retail Business, 1973). White, 1977, observing this trend, writes:-

"The conclusion cannot be avoided that, although there is some scope for progressive writing in the women's press, its largest sub-group is still composed of women, whose first priority is the Family; who do not seek social participation, and who are less interested in discussing the foremost issues of our time in their magazines as they are in poring over the legion examples of common emotional problems which abound in their personal relationships...."

(quoted in the Times Higher Education Supplement, 1977^a)

In summary, women's magazines evidently have central and unique importance to many women. This can be noted not only on the more mechanical grounds of exposure, expenditure and attention, but on more intangible grounds of identification, support, friendship or simply reflection of life-styles. The group as a whole is typified by three main segments, and although the fastest pace of growth is seen in the 'young women's' magazines which reflect more contemporary values

of womanhood, the largest sector remains the 'mass market' segment, appealing to, and apparently reflecting, the more traditional and 'domestic', female values.

Given this assessment of women's magazines, however, the issue of advertising, and the imagery of that advertising which these magazines carry, then assume a particular relevance and interest. The issue of advertising, sex-role stereotypes, while important in any medium, must be assumed to be of critical interest in this one where so much attention, interest and, presumably, devotion is offered by its readers.

If we should be interested in women and advertising imagery, then we should be particularly interested in the advertising imagery in women's magazines. Not only what that imagery is, but also how women perceive it would appear to be vital information in the context of the advertising, sex-role debate. Furthermore, it would appear that we cannot ignore, as feminist critics apparently have, that whatever is thought of traditional roles or contemporary roles, women in general have, through their purchase patterns in women's magazines, apparently got there before us. Voting with their magazine choice, they do have views and attitudes which must be considered.

Section 3:2 Women's magazines and advertisers.

"When she gets involved with herself and fashion, in any magazine she's a captive from cover to cover. And you can be sure that she's looking at everything. Right down to the tiniest ad. Think about that the next time you want to tell her what you have to sell...."

This quotation from Advertising Age, (21st April, 1969), typifies and illustrates the obvious interest that advertisers have in women's magazines. Given the importance of the magazines to women, and the interest and investment that women are prepared to bring to them, it is scarcely surprising that for advertisers, women's magazines have become the ideal vehicle for reaching the female consumer. This importance for the advertisers is also succinctly reinforced by an IPC advertisement in 1972, which noted that 'women's magazines are not only read; they also command a respect and trust that is quite unique. And this respect and trust is an extra bonus for all women's magazine advertisers' (The Times Special Report, 1972). Embree, 1970 in a more cynical approach, however, suggests that 'women's magazines provide a captive audience for women-minded advertisers....' (p.187).

Why advertisers are so 'women-minded' is related quite simply to the enormous purchasing power that women in Western economies have. The female consumer is economically very powerful. Estimates suggest that she makes between 75% and 90% of all consumer purchase decisions, and that expenditure on goods she buys, either for herself or as agent for her family, is formidable, representing at least £20,000 million in 1973 (Scott, 1976).^a This expenditure includes at least £ 750 million on clothes, cosmetics and other personal items for herself, while other general expenditure on food, clothing/footwear for herself and her family, amount to a further 12,230 million. This, of course, does not also include expenditure on household and chemist goods and many consumer durables, on which women have considerable influence, and which amounts to another £6,000 million. (Scott, 1976).^a In short, the largest items of consumer expenditure - food, clothing, household and

consumer goods are those which are bought largely by women, and consequently are those to which the largest categories of advertising expenditures are devoted. Those advertising expenditures on the major products which are also largely female purchased, are given in Table 3:1. The product order in terms of national advertising expenditure in the United Kingdom is given in the right-hand column. It can be seen that female-dominated purchases lie high in the list of advertising expenditures.

Table 3:1
Female dominated advertising expenditure

<u>Product Group</u>	<u>% of all advertising expenditure</u>	<u>Order in all advertising expenditure</u>
Food	19.1	1
Retail and Mail-Order	10.9	2
Household Stores	7.0	3
Toiletries and cosmetics	7.0	3
Household appliances	3.1	12
Household equipment	3.7	10
Pharmaceutical	3.1	12
Wearing apparel	2.2	15
Total	<u>56.1</u>	(25 categories)

Source: MEAL Statistics 1973.

Given, then, the extent of female expenditure on major consumer goods, and given the importance of women's magazines to women, it is almost a truism to observe that women's magazines are one of the most important advertising vehicles in this country and, in fact, throughout most Western economies (Retail Business, 1973).

About one third of magazine pages in these journals are devoted to advertising, although few magazines allow this proportion to rise above half of total issue size. Of this advertising, trade sources estimate that 85% of it is directed specifically at

women, and most of the rest at men and children in order to influence women as the 'gatekeeper' of the family. (Festinger et al, 1950; Campaign, 1973). That advertising has become, in turn, an important component in the continuing survival of these magazines is discussed by Walker, 1977 who also quotes an IPC employee to the effect that, in order to attract and retain advertising interest, the accountant in women's magazines is becoming more powerful and the creators less so, and that 'the advertisers of beauty-products, clothes and baby-products are influential in all magazines'

Women's magazines rely on advertising for about 55% of their revenue, and for most of their profits. In 1973, of the £30 million spent on advertising in these magazines, £25.5 million was revenue that the publishers received (Retail Business, 1973). Table 3:2 illustrates the percentage revenues derived by these magazines from the main categories of advertising expenditure, and, notably, these figures relate to the major items of consumer expenditure which were noted in Table 3:1, and which were observed as female-based.

Table 3:2
Percentage of revenue from main consumer product advertising
in women's magazines

	<u>Weekly</u>	<u>Monthly</u>	<u>All women's</u>
Food	27	16	23
Toiletries and Cosmetics	20	18	19
Clothes	9	13	10
Household Equipment	5	15	9
Retail and Mail-Order	9	5	7
Pharmaceutical	7	5	6
Household Stores	6	4	5
Tobacco	7	2	5
Household appliances	3	5	4
Drink	2	4	3
Other	5	13	9
All products	100	100	100

Source: Retail Business (1973)

Why publishers depend so much on advertisers is largely related to the problems of printing economies. The fundamental problem in large circulation magazines, which produce most of the publisher's profits, is that the revenue from the sale of 1 copy does not pay for even the marginal cost of printing and paper, let alone its share of the fixed costs of preparing and setting up the presses for running. If added to this is the fact that advertising expenditure tends to follow the national economic situation - in times of depression, advertising budgets are the first expenditures to be cut - then it becomes clear that publishers rely on keeping and attracting advertising monies and loyalties for the continuing success of their magazines.

Publishers need advertisers, advertisers need the women's magazines, and the female consumer lies at the centre of this profitable equilibrium; but the publishers are the lynch-pin for their own continuing survival and so need to be continually aware of the two sides of their market. As Retail Business, 1973 point out, 'a magazine is sold into 2 distinct markets; copies are sold to women, and the audience that the magazine reaches is sold to the advertisers'. (p.40).

To help the advertisers, publishers buy liberally from such research organisations as the Joint Industry Committee for National Readership Surveys (JICNARS), and the information is then sold to the advertisers to help them formulate accurate campaigns in the light of the potential audiences of each, tightly-segmented magazine. Consequently, it is no exaggeration to suggest that the women's magazine market is the most intimately understood of all the press media groups. As Faulder, 1977 notes, 'editors are not short of material facts about their readers', (p.177) and quotes a comment by an IPC spokesman, that reader identification has been refined to the point where 'readers are marketed like processed peas' (p.182). In short, as Faulder concludes:-

"The focus of attention in women's magazines has shifted from the reader to the much more demanding commercial interests which have

been persuaded to place advertising in their pages...." (p.182).

In summary, advertisers have a special and vital interest in women's magazines and their readers, and owing to the publishers' interests in keeping them informed, have access to detailed, continually up-dated information about the life-styles, self-images, income, occupations and pretensions of the women's magazine readers. Other press media do research of this type as well but, overall, the extent and scope of the advertisers' knowledge of the women readers in the women's magazine market appears to surpass that of those other media and, importantly, suggests that advertisers, as they themselves assert, do have special and accurate information about women exposees. As a corollary to this point, it is also possible that advertisers must, to make their advertising effective, as was noted in Chapter 1, Section 1:7, keep up with the changes that occur in women's position, not only in their self-imagery and socio-economic status, but also in their product/advertisement preferences. To some extent, this final point is illustrated by a recent article on female consumption in the drink market. Noting that women now consume more alcohol, in fact more sherry, port, table-wines, aperitifs, vermouths and liqueurs than do men, drink producers have now switched much of their advertising to women's magazines. 'Guinness', noting suddenly that one third of its customers were women, 'now advertise heavily in women's magazines' and the company 'Bols', 'decided to switch their advertising from television to women's magazines' (Sunday Times 1/1/78). In short, rapid changes in female consumer behaviour are equally rapidly reflected in advertising media choice, so, inferentially, might changes in their behaviour.

Observation of the advertisers' interest in women's magazines and their readers, therefore, adds an extra dimension of interest to the advertising imagery in those magazines. Not only is the advertising imagery important because of its high exposure to women, but also because, as has been suggested by Courtney and Whipple, 1974 and Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976, such imagery would also appear to

reflect the information that advertisers have about women. One interpretation of such imagery is what advertisers know, or think they know, about women or, possibly, what many women are actually like. Certainly a content analysis of women's magazines should take care to examine and interpret the results of such a study in the light of whether sex-role stereotyping is, in fact, accurate reflection of female behaviour in the 'mass market' sense. Finally, evidence on women's perceptions themselves would also be useful, to investigate whether the advertisers' pretensions and research, and the content-analysts' interpretations of results, also concur with what women themselves think; does such advertising reflect their self-images, and what self-images does it reflect?

Section 3:3 Women's magazines and feminist critics

If women's magazines are important to both the women who read them and the advertisers who use them, it is no less true that they have not escaped the attention of feminist critics, who evidently regard them with a very jaundiced eye. To a large extent, however, the criticisms that feminists have directed to women's magazines do not differ either in tone or vituperation from criticisms directed at all advertising imagery. For the critics, it appears that women's magazines provide an important part of the wider wrong that is perceived in advertising sex-role stereotyping, but it would be misleading to suggest a different feminist emphasis in their criticism of women's magazine advertising to that which they direct to all advertising. If there is any particular emphasis that the feminist critics direct to women's magazine advertising in particular, then this revolves around a view of its inherent 'domesticity', and this is the most common criticism among feminists of women's magazine advertising content. As Faulder, 1977, for example, observes:-

"How to get your man and keep him has been the basic message hammered home and home again in every conventional women's magazine over the last 50 years, and never more than in the last 20,

when it has suited powerful commercial interests to add their voice and pressure to confirm women in their traditional role of docile homemaker, serene, selfless guardian of the hearth and the family...."

(p.173).

This sex-role image which is 'constantly projected by the advertising in women's magazines' is, to her, the 'most familiar stereotype' (p.175) in these journals. This observation of domesticity in women's magazine advertising is also noted by Oakley, 1974^a who suggests that the role of women in all advertising is a 'statistical mean of the wife, mother and housewife' but that 'a particularly clear representation of this image appears in women's magazines' (p.9), while Toynbee, 1977^c enlarges on this point suggesting that:-

"there is a kind of nonsensical female conspiracy perpetrated by (these) magazines to bring women... down to the lowest common denominator. However serious, glamorous or exciting any woman's life, however important her work, when it comes down to it, her mind is just as full of fish fingers, frilly knickers, laddered tights, Johnny's cough, and Tesco's bargains as every other woman's. It implies there is no escape from real womanhood...."

Few, if any, feminist critics offer other interpretations of women's magazine advertising content, preferring to see it as overtly domestic. This is interesting, particularly in the light of the few studies which have examined women's magazine advertising and conclude it to be relatively undomestic (see next Section), but much of this emphasis appears to spring from a feminist belief that women's magazines are only interested in woman as consumer of domestic goods, and that 'women's magazines are the special vehicle in the printed media for the message of commercialised woman... the function of women's magazines is to reach the woman as consumer, rather than the woman as thinker' (Embree, 1970, p.187). Such a 'domestic' perception also appears to spring from their generalised perceptions of women's magazine content. For feminist critics, it appears that women's magazines are a vehicle of domesticity 'in toto', and the tone of the advertising criticism springs naturally from this assumption. As Sharpe, 1976 observes about

the content of women's magazines in general, they are:-

"mainly geared towards housewives and mothers, but the young and single girl can learn a lot from them about her future role... Everything seems geared towards doing and making things for other people, and a gentle blanket of emotional blackmail adds an extra layer to the contents... the effect is inward and home-directed as to exclude the concept of real happiness in the world outside...." (p.108).

Certainly, this omission of the world outside and a corollary assumption of overriding 'inside' domesticity is common to many feminist critics. Adams and Laurikietis, 1976, for example, complain about the avoidance of 'articles on politics, the economy and all those other areas that are assumed to interest only men' (p.107), an argument reiterated by Firth, 1968 who writes that:-

"women's magazines work on the assumption that a woman's world is restricted to her home; self-assertion is in terms of dress or adornment, and if she must dream, she will dream of romance; larger issues exist in terms only of conventional moralising, and the outside world is largely the world of mass entertainment...." (p.53).

These arguments about the content of women's magazines are interesting since, to a large extent, they suggest that there has been little change over time. This form of criticism was levelled at women's magazines by Friedan, 1963, over 15 years ago, in her opinion that:-

"the image of woman that emerges from the big, pretty magazines is young and frivolous, almost child-like; fluffy and feminine; passive; gaily content in a world of bedroom and kitchen, sex, babies and home... the only goal permitted a woman is the pursuit of a man.... but where is the world of thought and ideas, the life of the mind and spirit?...." (p.32).

Few feminist critics suggest a wider interpretation of women's magazine content, and only Winship, 1978 offers a more complex interpretation of the advertising content; that it has a wider boundary than pure domesticity. Winship, 1978 suggests care in interpretation of women's magazine advertising, and that a global view based on perceptions of content is misleading; that such advertisements are 'particularly complex in their ideological construction of femininity. They both

support and contradict other construction in the magazines'... (p.154).

If the feminist criticisms of advertising content bear a marked resemblance to advertising content generally, with little consideration of the narrower nature and functions of women's magazine advertising, then neither do their comments on the effect of such advertising differ from observations common to the broader advertising debate. In criticisms of women's magazine advertising, the same assumptions of effect appear, with the same relative distillation from the hard-line direct effect to the simple belief in reinforcement of traditional roles. Toynbee, 1977, for example, takes a hard if cautious approach in her suggestion that women's magazine advertising, 'if it plays any role in moulding the readers' thoughts, it is to reassure them that home and family are enough'. Millum, 1974 covers his options and takes a more mixed approach, suggesting that women's magazine advertising acts as 'a moulder of female outlook', but that it also 'serves as a legitimiser of those roles in which women find themselves'. (p.179). Oakley, 1974 prefers the more reflective view, although with inherent assumptions as to the nature of women's self-images'. She asserts that such advertising:-

"in psychological terms.... enable the harassed mother, the overburdened housewife to make contact with their ideal self; that self appears to be a good wife, a good mother, and an efficient homemaker...." (p.9).

White's views as to women's self-imagery assumes a domestic orientation, but at least in positive terms. In other assumptions of effect of women's magazine advertising it is possible, in feminist criticism, to note the same assumptions of a negative view of women in general as was observed in the broader advertising, sex-role debate. Feminist assumptions of 'ordinary' women, in the context of effects of women's magazine advertising, hold the same tone of patronage; of women in general as child-like, passive, gullible and solely male-orientated. Goldfeld, Munaker and Weisstein, 1970, for example, write that:-

"woman exists for man is the message of the woman's magazine....

Disgusting as these magazines may be, they serve as an important function as self-defence manuals for females who are forced to spend their days either catching a man or keeping one...." (p.9), while Reed, 1970, writing of women's magazines, suggests that they exploit not only an 'inherent sense of inferiority', but also a sense of 'distress and defeat' (p.86); that reading such magazines:-

"sends women into fresh purchasing sprees, in an effort to overcome their anxieties and sense of failure. Very often as a quick restorative, they rush to buy a new fashion or some magic item of beauty in a bottle.... our task therefore, is to expose both the capitalist system as the source of these evils and its massive propoganda machine which tells gullible women that the road to a successful life and love is through the purchase of things...." (p.86).

Although not a feminist critic himself, Williams, 1966, in his work on women's magazine advertising, perhaps best encapsulates the feminist view in his assertion that:-

"an impression is left of a magazine teaching partly-educated people not just what to consume, and how, but which trends in society to condition themselves to...." (p.59).

It is ironic that such a view as offered by Williams as a male observer, and in any other context, would be regarded by feminist critics as overtly sexist, if such a view did not appear to pale in comparison with the feminist view itself.

Again, in the light of such feminist comment, the same question is raised as was in the earlier review of general criticisms of advertising, namely, just how do feminists view the women they claim to represent? On the one hand, the vulnerable, domestic and gullible image inherent in the criticisms would appear to reflect at least part of the imagery that feminists perceive to be present in women's magazine advertising; but, on the other hand, there are critics who feel that this image is harmful since it does not reflect 'women in general'. Copsey, 1978, for example, writing of her caricature of 'Magazine Mary' suggests that 'I just do not think you would ever recognise her on the street. I even wonder, just

occasionally, if Magazine Mary exists at all'; a point similar to that raised by Faulder, 1977, who asks whether women's magazine advertisements are 'appealing to real women, or are merely promoting images of femininity....?' (p.175).

As was observed in Chapter 2, there are few detractors among the feminist critics from the broad, critical view of all advertising, and the same paucity of alternative interpretation is observed in the context of women's magazines.

In the first place, a feminist assumption is that women are helplessly drawn to these journals, and then deeply affected by their content, including the advertising.

As Sharpe, 1976 observes:-

"sadly, girls who are attracted to the commercial appeal of the other women's pages and magazines may reject 'Spare Rib' (a feminist magazine) for not exploiting the things which are closest to their hearts." (p.107)

To feminists, a weakness in women is their preoccupation with these journals, which are also assumed to occupy the majority of women's reading matter. That women might choose to read these magazines and enjoy them because they cover 'topics closest to their hearts' is rarely accepted by feminist critics, and the inherent importance of this fact is not explored. In the same way, rarely is it accepted that women either might view women's magazines objectively, or even seek sources on other subjects from other media. Only Stott, 1976 suggests a wider perspective on women's magazines that they might have a partial, and not a whole function in women's lives; that:-

"the role of women's magazines has certainly not disappeared.... It has not entirely changed, but, strangely it has both intensified and narrowed. For most of our mental fodder we can go elsewhere, but even in the 1970's we still need to define our roles, discuss our relationships, build up our confidence. In fact, talk to one another...."
(writer's emphasis)

Among the detractors from the general, feminist view of women's magazine advertising, Winship, 1978 is notable. In many ways, her views tread the same

ground as those of Willis, 1971, in the more general advertising sex-role debate, in offering more thoughtful and complex interpretations of advertising content and effect. In the first place, Winship, 1978 recommends care in the interpretation and inference to be made from women's magazine advertising:-

"As feminists we may dismiss the cover the magazine invites us to as yet another 'exploitation' of women, a patronising abuse and trivialisation of women's real position in society ... (but) to dismiss women's magazines as make-believe and trivial is not only to discount and disregard those women in their millions who read them, who we might think are easily deceived by them, but also to mistake the necessarily intricate relationships between magazines and their readers as a causal one. It is not magazines that determine what women are".... (p.133).

This view of 'women in general' and the magazines they read appears, in the context of all feminist criticisms, as original. As a view, it bears interesting comparisons not only with advertisers' claims about women in general, but also the evidence on media and advertising reception. Mooney, 1978 provides another view on the same lines as Winship, 1978, although her comment does move perilously close to the form of patronage that Winship implicitly suggests is common to feminists. In response to an attack on the women's magazine reading among 'ordinary women', Mooney, 1978 writes:-

"Is it surprising that these women should choose to read Woman's Own instead of Wittgenstein, when such magazines (limited though they may seem) consistently present women with mostly sensible advice on how best to cope with their lives."

Any attack on such magazines, Mooney suggests, is derived from 'appallingly snobbish ignorance' of the way women in general are, and behave.

It remains for Winship, 1978, however, alone among feminist critics, and further to her comments on the relevance of women's magazines, to go so far as to suggest that feminists in their way are not always so different from 'women in general' as they themselves think. In what is an apparently isolated and revolutionary

comment among the feminist critics, she suggests that even feminists read women's magazines, are influenced by them, and cannot be detached from their content and perceived effect :

"If in the Women's Movement we are challenging the construction of our 'absent' femininity, our feminism does not and cannot break wholly from it. Our femininity is not something any of us can escape. All of us as women 'achieve' our subjectivity in relation to a definition of women which in part is propounded by women's magazines. We may be struggling against such a definition, but none of us, though we might like to, can eliminate the modes of subjectivity in their patriarchal form by disparagingly ignoring them; as if we, too, do not live within them, having to find our place within the parameters they set. As feminists we frequently negotiate the tension between our secret reading of magazines for their 'useful' diets and zany fashion, and our attempts to break with the modes of femininity they represent...." (p.134)

This is a fascinating, and honest, view of the feminists as women, not only as critics, and certainly is not one that has been explored by other feminists and empirical work, where there is always an implication of distancing of feminists from 'other women', by behaviour, perceptions and media usage.

Yet, by interpretation of other evidence, if not intuitively, such a view cannot be a complete surprise to the reviewer. Further exploration of feminist-directed media elicits certain assumptions and observations which do not detract in tone from those on more general women's magazines. In the first place, if feminists are different from 'other women', they still appear to have some of the same needs, and, furthermore, a need for an identifying media vehicle, as 'other women'.

In an article on the 4 year anniversary of 'Spare Rib', the leading feminist magazine, the editors of that magazine observe that:-

"The article about emotions, about what life is like for women, about relationships, sex, housework, having babies, are all essential and will go on being so, for Spare Rib anyway. For a lot of our readers, Spare Rib is their only contact with the Women's Movement. They need

it....".

In other words, the feminist basic interests do not appear to detract much from those of 'other women'; only the interpretation and approach to discussion on these issues are different. Winship, 1978 supports this view:-

"While women's magazines can deny subordination by acclaiming femininity and the centrality of women in society (is it not true that women, indispensably, bear and bring up children?) feminism embraces certain aspects of that femininity - including 'child-care' and 'personal life' as central sites of political struggle".... (p.134).
(writer's emphasis)

Indeed, such observations help to bring the feminist stance down to a more common female concern. It also helps to accentuate the differences between feminists and 'other women' as based on a set of different perceptions, and reinforces the status of feminist critics of general advertising, not only of women's magazines, as potentially elitist. More specifically, such views suggest some common ground between feminists and 'other women', a common ground which is then polarised according to some set of ideals, whether political or personal. Most importantly, however, such observations strongly underline the need for some independent evidence on feminist and 'other women' perceptions, which can take account of the differences between the two groups of women, but is also open to observing, or 'forcing' notation of the similarities. If a breath of fresh air is needed in the advertising sex-role debate, then such independent research would provide it. Inferences as to advertising content from a sex-role stereotype basis must become much more complex, and defy the unilateral judgmental stance observed in studies and critiques to date. Exactly where, and how, does the potential polarity in views between feminists, advertisers and 'other women' actually occur? Is it, essentially, as globally polarised as the writer and other sources have suggested?

It has been commonly observed in the discussion of feminist views in the context of

women's magazine advertising that many of these views are common to the broader advertising sex-role debate, and in one final respect another observation of this ilk may be made.

Just as feminists have chosen to perceive advertisers' perceptions of various concepts as intruding into the advertising they produce, so is such a view promulgated in the narrower context of women's magazines. In the comments by Reed, 1970 and Goldfeld, Munaker and Weisstein, 1970, noted above in the context of feminist perceptions of other women's vulnerability, the active role of the advertising industry in creating sex-role imagery was integral.

Further to this, Reed, 1970 also suggests that the use of women as 'commodities' in women's magazine advertising is a function of the advertiser's needs to view women as commodities, both as a businessman and a man, and that this fuels a highly successful sales motivation, 'that the women who purchase the most are the most happy and successful of women' (p.85). Goldfeld, Munaker and Weisstein, 1970 also take this view, and suggest that a further advertiser perception of women as 'sex objects' has been 'enormously successful to the advertising industry. Both men and women have been conditioned to look at pretty, young women'. (p.9).

The view that the integration of advertiser perceptions in advertising is relevant to the imagery produced, is not as common in women's magazine advertising critiques as in the general field, but, where it exists, this appears to be an over-spill' from the broader area, and is also mentioned by Toynbee, 1977^c and Faulder, 1977.

In summary, it has been noted in this Section that the feminist criticism of women's magazine advertising shows trends and characteristics which are common to the advertising, sex-role debate in general, and appear merely to be extensions of it, particularised and repeated in the women's magazine field. This extension of the general debate is seen most clearly in the assumptions of advertising effect, the negative views of 'women in general' to whom the advertising is directed, and in the

belief in advertiser perceptions intruding into the advertising they produce. Similarity with the general debate is also seen in feminist perceptions of advertising content, although there is, more than in the general field, an emphasis on 'domestic' imagery, which was seen to be an apparent continuation of the general feminist view of women's magazines.

Certain detractions from the feminist view were discussed, and it was shown that more data is needed, not only on feminist and 'other women' perceptions in the general, advertising debate to aid interpretation of women's magazine advertising results, but also on women's magazine exposure among feminists, apart from 'other women'.

Section 3:4 Empirical work on women's magazines

The previous 3 sections have critically examined the importance of women's magazines to women in general, the advertising industry, and have shown that feminist critical interest in advertising content generally is also found in similar tone and direction for these magazines.

Overall, it has concluded that more data is needed on the party perceptions of the main protagonists in the advertising, sex-role debate, in order to illuminate the issue of interpreting women's magazine content.

In addition to this need for data, however, it should also be noted that other research is needed, and this particularly in the area of women's magazine advertising content itself. Some research has been achieved in this area, but it is sparse and in many ways unsatisfactory. This research will be reviewed in this Section, but it should be noted that the same criticism on methodology, as was observed in Chapter 2, Section 2:2, must be applied to women's magazine content analyses. The design and execution of women's magazine studies have shown the same shortcomings in terms of code definitions, sampling, inference and data bases

as was noted in all sex-role stereotype content analyses.

The paucity of research into women's magazines, however, needs particular emphasis. Despite the relative lack of research into advertising, sex-role stereotypes generally, that on women's magazines is even more conspicuous by its absence. Importantly, given the relevance of women's magazines to women, it would be feasible to assume that much of the empirical work that exists would have been directed to these journals but, strikingly, this has not been the case. Empirical studies which do exist have either ignored women's magazines, or relegated their investigation to a partial and unenthusiastic side-line.

Of those studies which have examined press media - 6 among those available and reviewed in previous chapters - three omitted women's magazines on the ground of assumed, over-specific imagery.

Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971, Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976 and Wagner and Banos, 1973, all building on the same coding schedule, make the same omission of women's journals. The first study omitted them because, 'they were directed primarily toward women as housewives, whatever their other roles' (p.93), while the second study stated its preferences for general magazines because they were 'more likely to show women in a greater variety of roles, than specialised journals such as women's or family-orientated journals' (p.169).

This summary and assumptive dismissal of the imagery in women's magazine advertising is interesting, not only because it appears that the researchers have formed stereotypes of the imagery in these magazines in a way that they went on to criticise the advertisers for doing, but also because they choose to dismiss the journals simply because they are important and interesting to women. At best, such a rationale is illogical and, at worst, careless of the aims and functions of their studies. To some extent, such an omission, and the reasons given for it, also smack of the same attitudes to 'women in general' as the feminist critics may be

shown to hold.

Of the remaining studies, Sexton and Haberman, 1974 do include one woman's magazine in their sample but, given the wide segmentation of magazine type in this market, were erroneous in assuming that their results could represent the whole of the women's magazine group. Notably, the magazine they chose is not a mass-circulation journal, and as an 'upmarket' magazine cannot be assumed to represent more than about 15% of total female readership. (i.e. 'Good Housekeeping'). The results of this study are reviewed among others in Chapter 2 and summarised in Appendix A:2, but are of little help to the reviewer in that they did not detail the results for women's magazines in particular. It may, however, be assumed that the content of 'Good Housekeeping' did not differ markedly from that of other journals, since, when a difference did emerge, this was noted, and that was for the magazine to contain a disproportionate number of advertisements for articles of 'female interest'; that is, for home appliances, soft drinks and other domestic goods.

Only the two remaining studies which examined women's magazines can therefore be considered to provide some contribution to an understanding of women's magazine advertising content, and of these two (Venkatesan and Losco, 1975 and Millum, 1974) various problems of methodology and content remain. That by Millum, 1974, for example, is not only old, (made during the late 1960's) but is disappointing because of the idiosyncratic coding schedule which used different codes for males and females, the lack of statistical analysis, and the tendency to generalisation, obscure observations and confused reportage of results. Again, Millum's results are summarised in Chapter 2 and Appendix A:2 and like Sexton and Haberman, 1974, it would appear that the bulk of the results do not depart in general direction from those observed in other advertising media. Of interest, however, is his notation of stereotypes concerning the 'inner-direction' of women advertisement characters, their expressions, settings and greater frequency than male characters.

The most interesting study of this genre, however, is that by Venkatesan and Losco, 1975. Again, it contains some important methodological flaws, such as the use of highly particularised and subjective codes, and it only measured for women characters. It is, however, the most recent study and has, among all the studies, the most extensive and well-derived sample, using magazines to represent different sectors of the women's magazine market.

In addition, while the two other studies noted did not show results which appeared to depart much from other observations on advertising media, where such inferences could be detected, and where the coding schedules over-lapped with other studies, Venkatesan and Losco, 1975 in their results indicated that the 'stronger' female stereotypes noted in other media, such as 'domesticity' and 'dependence' were markedly reduced in women's magazines, particularly compared to 'men's' magazines and those of a 'general' nature.

For example, only 14% of the advertisements in women's magazines were for 'woman dependent on a man' compared to 48% in men's and 27% in general magazines, and only 12% were for 'woman as sexual object', compared to 65% in general and 53% in men's magazines. Women's magazines led the percentage categories for 'woman as over-achieving housewife', but at 12% of all categories was not predominant. Like Millum, and other press media investigators, Venkatesan and Losco, 1975 note, however, that women in a broadly 'decorative' role was the most frequent portrayal (61%), and only 'a small percentage of the advertisements were in this category in the men's and general magazines'. (p.52).

An even more interesting result from this study - and which by omission from studies elsewhere was lost to investigation - was the evidence of important 'anti-traditional' trends in women's magazines. The researchers conclude that:-

".... while the trend analyses indicated a decline in the categories considered unfair, unrepresentative and/or obnoxious by several women's groups, the highest percentage of ads., both in the men's

magazines and general magazines, still seek to portray women as sexual objects and dependent on men ... (but)... while some changes appear important and significant, the sources of these changes is mainly in the women's magazines...." (pp.52, 54).

One observation can be made from such a conclusion on women's magazine advertising, and that is to underline the fact, that by omitting to investigate women's magazines in their studies, other researchers may have emerged with an unjustifiably pessimistic view of female advertising imagery, particularly from the viewpoint of what women are most exposed to. A conjecture may also be made, that advertisers are, in women's magazines anyway, making some attempts to use a relatively less 'traditional' image of women in their advertisements. Whether this is part of a conscious trend by advertisers, or merely a function of a rather idiosyncratic study and sample, is difficult to decide. Certainly, neither of the other two studies demonstrated results upon which such a construction could be placed. If the data of the three relevant studies are compared, it is difficult, in fact, to make any implications or observations of trends at all.

For the most part, the results of the three studies, with the exception of the particular observations by Venkatesan and Losco, 1975 noted above, do not broadly differ from observations on imagery made in other press and television media. Yet, such a conclusion must be guarded not only because of the methodological problems and sampling inadequacies, but also because the same codes are not examined in all studies. Millum, 1974, for example, notes the 'stereotypes' of 'inner-direction' among female advertisement characters, but no other study has ever examined this characteristic, and so it is difficult to conclude whether this is a function of women's magazine, or all advertising.

The most useful data in the Venkatesan and Losco, 1975 study does, however, suggest that women's magazine advertising departs in certain important ways from other media, and if these results are taken and compared with the other two on women's magazines, some implication can be made of a greater frequency of the

'decorative' role and products, and a relative infrequency of the 'domestic' role and 'dependent' behaviour in women's magazine advertising. These alone must be interesting and important trends, and should be investigated adequately, but helped and enriched by a coding schedule which takes a more systematic and thorough view of potential 'stereotype' imagery than the studies noted above have done.

Chapter 3 : Summary

In this Chapter, the arguments in the general advertising sex-role debate were discussed in the more particular field of women's magazine advertising. It was shown, in addition, that women's magazines have a central relevance in the general debate since they are of evident importance to the main parties to it; namely, the 'ordinary' women who read them, the advertisers who use them as an important vehicle for reaching the powerful female consumer, and the feminist critics who regard such magazines as a particular source of sex-role stereotypy.

It was observed in Chapter 2 that research is needed in all fields of advertising to aid inferences as to the sex-role stereotypy or otherwise of the imagery, and in Chapter 3 it has been noted that such research would be of particular relevance in interpreting the important women's magazine advertising. It was also noted, however, that what was particularly needed was a good content analysis of women's magazine advertising. This was necessary for several reasons.

In the first place, women are evidently exposed to and involved with such imagery more in women's magazines than in any other single press medium and, this apart, appear to have a greater involvement in the content of these magazines. Women's magazines are evidently liked, sought and trusted, and it may be supposed that the imagery of the advertising they contain will be especially attended to. What this imagery is, and what it espouses is perhaps more important than previous research emphases have assumed.

Second, advertisers evidently perceive women's magazines as important vehicles for reaching the powerful female consumer, and invest much time and money in reaching women through their pages. It is a principal medium for reaching women, and may be construed as an important and central advertiser-female contact. Thus, it may be suggested that the advertising imagery used in these journals would reflect, more so than any other medium, the common, contemporary image that advertisers hold of women - whether by research or perception - and this imagery may be an important indicator of advertisers' attitudes to women.

Third, the issues of women's magazine advertising are of some importance to feminist critics, who appear to perceive the content of women's magazine advertising as a particular example of sex-role stereotypy. It is important in discussing the feminist criticisms of advertising to have some objective measure of the sex-role content of that advertising, and while some, if faulty, evidence is available for other media, there is little, if any, good data available on sex-role stereotypes in women's magazine advertising.

In short, from the views of all parties to the advertising, sex-role debate, an investigation of the content of women's magazine advertising would appear to be not only central to that debate, but long overdue. The principal issue, however, must still be whether the advertising in women's magazines does represent a rich vein of sex-role stereotyping, as feminists suggest, or more prosaic, reflective images of women readers' actual life-styles, as advertisers suggest. In tandem to this issue, the question of interpretation and inference is paramount, and evidence on perceptions, self-imagery and media exposure of the exposees - feminists or 'other women' - and the attitudes and perceptions of the advertisers, must provide an essential contribution.

Part 1

Summary and Conclusion

In Part I of this thesis, three chapters have reviewed, respectively, the general arguments in the wider advertising sex-role debate, the empirical evidence for such arguments, and the application of such arguments to the women's magazine field of media.

It was shown that there are essentially two parties to the main and particularised debates - the feminist critics and the advertisers. At the centre of the debate lies the 'ordinary' woman.

For the feminists, sex-role imagery in advertising is perceived to be a bastion of stereotypy, which is, in turn, considered to be an important contribution to the held roles and self-perceptions of women. Such stereotyping is considered to have various types of effect on women, ranging from a direct effect, through a factor of reinforcement, to a minority stance of non-effect or 'perceiver power' of women to take from advertising what is consonant with their existing self-images. Certain empirical studies, which take a para-feminist stance, prefer the last view of effect.

For the advertisers, such a view of advertising imagery is considered to be largely a function of the status of feminist critics, who are perceived as extreme in their views, 'extraordinary women', and unrepresentative of 'ordinary' women who are seen as still largely traditional in their self-perceptions, roles and behaviour.

Feminist critics are believed to be angered through the agency of misplaced imagery. Advertisers' defences to feminist critics, it was suggested, are merely an extension of the larger role of advertising in society and its negative image, that many parties, including the general public, evidently hold.

The main factor in the debate between feminists and advertisers was seen to be the different inferences drawn from the same data, advertising imagery, although

certain feminist critics do see the advertisers as an active agency in the advertising they present, through the input of traditional, male perceptions of women.

The empirical evidence reviewed suggested that there is some evidence to support the feminist view of relatively traditional and negative sex-role stereotypes of women in advertising, although the various studies in this genre were strongly criticised for methodological short-comings. It was, however, suggested, that the study data and design notwithstanding, the interpretation of such evidence has been made largely from the feminist stance, but that before such inferences from content analyses are made, more objective evidence was needed to assess the stances of all parties to the debate, not least the stance of 'ordinary' women, about whom all conclusions, inferences and allocations of effect have been made. It was shown that content analysis is, finally, only normative data, a measure of manifest content, and that to bring greater depth and understanding to the advertising sex-role debate, the roles and statuses of all parties, in particular their perceptions of relevant inputs, should be investigated. This is needed, not least, to give weight to recent trends in mass media research and evidence on advertising effects, which supports the argument that the perceiver is the main source of variance in any attributions of effect and media content inference.

Finally, the evidence was reviewed both in the case of argument, and for empirical evidence, in the narrower field of women's magazines. It was shown that such magazines are of importance to women in general who read them, to advertisers who consider them an important advertising vehicle, and to feminist critics who do not separate these magazines from the general direction of their criticisms.

It was argued that women's magazines represented a crystallisation of all the elements in the advertising debate, but showed that if research is lacking in the general field it is even sparser in the field of women's magazines, particularly in the case of content. Data on perceptions of the three parties in the general

advertising, sex-role debate would also aid interpretation of women's magazine content.

At the end of Chapter 2, observations were made of the main types of research which were felt necessary to enrich and extend the advertising, sex-role debate as it now stands. This thesis, however, is principally concerned with women's magazine advertising, although it is accepted that in the case of inference from the content of women's magazine advertising, there must necessarily be an overlap with that of the general field of advertising inference.

Review of Research

From a consideration of the polemical arguments in the advertising, sex-role debates; the review of needed research in the general field of empirical work surrounding the debate, and in the light of the evidence that women's magazines are a crystallisation of the elements in the debate, the following rationales for research were derived:-

1. The need for a properly and empirically sound content analysis of British women's magazines, sampled to reflect the range and circulation of all magazine types and groups in this genre.
2. To this end, the need for an objective and carefully derived coding schedule to measure the advertising sex-role stereotypes present or otherwise in these magazines. Such a coding schedule would also provide a contribution to the wider advertising, sex-role debate, and future empirical studies.

The content analysis is needed to measure the presence of sex-role stereotyping in women's magazines and to attempt to answer the following broad questions:-

- i. does women's magazine advertising sex-role stereotype its characters?

- ii. what patterns exist in this stereotyping other than from a global approach?
- iii. does this stereotyping vary over the different magazine types?
- iv. how does such stereotyping relate to the advertisers' product/role congruity arguments, and provide views of the advertisers' motivation and function in presenting such images?

Broad inferences may also be made from the normative content analysis data, including interpretation of the evidence from the advertisers' perspective, and issues of reflection for women in general.

3. To aid inferences from the content analysis results, the need for some data on the perceptions of the main parties to the advertising, sex-role debate; that is from 'feminists', 'other women' and 'advertisers'. Also, in accordance with observations made in Chapter 2, Section 2:5, the perceptions of non-'feminist', but non-traditional, 'ordinary' women. Such data would aid inference by providing the following information:-
 - i. how groups of women view 'women in advertisements', 'women in general', 'ideal self' and 'self'; how these concepts compare and contrast within and between groups of women.
 - ii. how groups of women view not only the concepts noted in 'i.' but also the more particular 'women in women's magazine advertisements'.
 - iii. how advertisers view 'women in advertisements', 'women in general' and the 'woman closest to them'; to compare and contrast these perceptions with those of different groups of women, and with each other, in the light of arguments set out in Chapter 2, Section 2:6.
 - iv. how different groups of women are exposed to different types of media including different women's magazines.

Chapter 4

Women's Magazine Content Analysis

Coding Schedule, Sample And Methodology

Chapter 4

Women's Magazine Content Analysis - Coding Schedule Methodology And Sample

The first and major study of this thesis, as noted in the summary section of Part I was to be an extensive content analysis of women's magazines to measure the presence of sex-role stereotyping in the advertisements.

This Chapter outlines the methodology used in that study and, particularly, the derivation of the coding schedule used. It also describes validity studies, observations on the coding schedule, sampling criteria and method, and details as to the coding rationale.

Section 4:1 Coding schedule - rationale

The essential basis and determinant of the validity of a content analysis is its coding schedule but, as established in the early part of Chapter 2, such a coding schedule, as a pre-tested and valid instrument, is not available from previous work. The criticism of the coding schedules used during those studies revealed a paucity of codes and some important inadequacies of technique in schedule use and derivation. While not so extensive, similar criticism may also be levelled at coding schedules used in general mass media studies on sex-role content.

Before embarking on the content analysis proper, therefore, extensive consideration needed to be made of the coding schedule, and it was decided that, rather than simply synthesising and correcting the codes of previous schedules, a fresh system which considered these schedules, but which went beyond them in definition and scope, could be profitably derived. This schedule, which could be modified, tightened and developed in the main study findings, would not only improve the relative validity of the main study findings, but also provide a basis for other researchers working in the general media and advertising fields.

The derivation of the main coding schedule thus became a secondary study in its own right.

The rationales for the coding schedule, and factors which were considered in its derivation are given below:-

(i) Dictionaries

In most studies it is possible to refer to a certain 'dictionary' of terms, pre-defined from independent research, and which is considered to be relevant to a particular class of media investigation. Such a 'dictionary' of terms exists, for example, in the fields of newspaper analysis, party-platforms, anxiety-measures, radio talks, character-trait measurement, theatre-values, propaganda and rhetorical style. (Holsti, 1969). Such a dictionary, however, does not exist for the measurement of sex-roles, whether for simple enumeration of perceived differences, or for sex-role stereotypes. It was, therefore, accepted that the derivation of a coding schedule for sex-role stereotypes should aim to be wide enough to figure as a 'dictionary', not only for the particular field of women's magazines, but also for many other potential areas of media investigation. In short, by aiming to be extensive and exhaustive, its use could be more catholic than for any one particular medium.

(ii) Categories and signs

Development of a coding schedule for a content analysis should include some notion of 'categories' and 'signs' (definitions) which are mutually independent and descriptive so that, according to Stone et al, 1966, a valid coding schedule should include both 'classification of signs into a set of theoretically relevant categories', and, by converse, 'the definition of categories by signs specific for them' (p. 208).

Such a notion also includes the concept of 'collapsed' categories; that categories should be capable of measurement by broad grouping into major 'codes', where small sample sizes or analysis method might wish to restrict

notation of categories or 'sub-codes' alone. In the context of the derived coding schedule discussed here, a 'category' or 'sub-code' was assumed to be an individual concept of sex-role stereotyping, and 'codes', the broad groupings of sex-role stereotypes by type. Since no objective criteria exist for such 'codes', it was accepted that such labelling must derive logically from the categories or 'sub-codes', rather than vice versa.

Other observations by Holsti, 1969 as to the derivation of signs and categories were noted and observed; that they should be:-

- (a) exhaustive - that is, all relevant signs should be included.
- (b) mutually exclusive - operational definitions of the investigative variables should be 'precise and unambiguous' (p.99).
- (c) derived from a single classification/principle - that they should have a clear derivation from a specific research aim.
- (d) reflect the purpose of research - that they should aim to remain within the context of the research aims.

For the remainder of this Chapter and in reportage of results, the terms 'sub-codes' and 'codes' will be used to refer to 'categories' and clusters of categories respectively.

(iii) Definition of codes

It was observed in Chapter 2, Section 2:2 that good definition of codes and sub-codes, a lack of ambiguity, and a search for precision should improve validity of a coding schedule. It was, therefore, the intention of this study to define each code and sub-code as clearly as possible, with clear indications of what was to be included and omitted in each definition. While some of these definitions may, in content analysis, be pre-defined, it is also accepted that in the development of a coding schedule, modification and addition are also made during a pilot study, and/or during the use of the schedule itself, where such a schedule has not been pre-tested (Holsti, 1969). While only the general definitions are given in this Chapter, (see later sections) the final modified

and descriptive schedule is laid out in Appendix B:2 which includes the full definitions.

In deriving the codes and sub-codes for the coding schedule some consideration was also given to the shortcomings noted in previous studies in this genre. In those studies, as observed in more detail in Chapter 2, problems in interpretation of results were related to the idiosyncratic definitions on the part of observers, descriptions which were vulnerable to subjective judgement, and used broader and narrower categories to describe similar notions. In this context, sub-codes for the coding schedule under discussion were to be chosen in such a way as to limit such idiosyncracies, and also to be available to both male and female character measurement, a failing which was noted in other studies to contribute to difficulties in conclusions on 'stereotyping'.

(iv) Statistical and Computer analysis

It was accepted that so long as the previous two technical considerations were adhered to in the derivation of the coding schedule, then statistical comparisons within and between codes would be given stronger validity than in previous studies. The problems of 'cell size' in certain sub-codes could be met by the use of 'collapsing' where necessary; while the use of each sub-code as a mutually exclusive coding category would allow for individual sub-code conclusions on a statistical basis. In those particular instances where repetition between sub-codes occurred (noted in the coding schedule in later Sections) care was taken in making statistical inferences from the data.

To enable quick and efficient analysis of results, the SPSS computer package (see Section 4:5) was to be used for data extraction and analysis. Thus, the code arrangement in the coding schedule was to be designed in such a way as to enable easy transfer to computer coding sheets and cards. The 'coding sheet' for the final schedule is given in Appendix B:3.

(v) Validity inference

The previous three points to be considered in the derivation of the coding schedule contain implications as to the validity of the schedule from aspects of categories and signs, their accurate derivation and definition, their linkage with the aims of the study, and the use of statistical analysis. Other factors of validity such as the issue of 'coder reliability' and 'over-time' reliability, were also considered. How such validity measures were made, are discussed at the end of the coding schedule derivation in Section 4:3.

(vi) Relation to theory and rationale

The aim of the content analysis on women's magazine advertising was taken to be the investigation of the presence or otherwise of sex-role stereotypes. The derivation of the coding schedule was, therefore, considered to be inextricably linked to the measurement of such stereotypes, and to be bound to a clear definition of the term 'sex-role stereotype'. Since this concept of 'study aim' is clearly linked with the problems of defining and deriving the individual codes, and with Holsti's criteria for valid coding schedule designs (see point ii above) extensive consideration was given to it and this is discussed in Section 4:2 below.

In summary, however, the broad aims of the coding schedule were that it should have a wider function as a 'dictionary', and be available to a variety of media analyses including, but not being unique to, women's magazine advertising. To this end, and also to contain some of the criteria for effective coding schedule design observed by Holsti, 1969, in particular the need for an 'exhaustive' schedule, as many terms, or codes and sub-codes, relevant to the research design, should be included. These codes and sub-codes, which would also aid statistical and inferential analysis, as well as the needs of other researchers by being capable of 'collapsing', should be well-defined, precise and unambiguous. Importantly, the final choice of such codes and sub-codes should relate to the aims of the study, which was the investigation of the presence of sex-role stereotypes in an advertising medium, should derive from this 'single classification on principle'

(Holsti, 1969 p.100) and, overall, 'reflect the purpose of research'. (Holsti, 1969 p.100).

The most important factor which was felt to underly these criteria for the basic study design, was the understanding of the concept of the 'sex-role stereotype', its nature and its exhaustivity, as a basis for the final codes. This consideration is discussed in the next section.

Section 4:2 The measurement of the sex-role stereotype

It was evident that both for the validity of the coding schedule and to avoid the errors and weaknesses of previous studies, the nature of the 'sex-role stereotype', which must lie at the basis of the codes and sub-codes of the final design, should be fully considered, defined and understood. While other considerations of the validity of the schedule related to more technical aspects of design, defining and using the 'sex-role stereotype' was felt to be an important methodological problem from which all other validity criteria would logically proceed. What, for example, is a 'sex-role stereotype' and, to provide exhaustive codes, how many of such stereotypes, and on what criteria, should be included in the final schedule?

In searching for general definitions of a 'stereotype' it is fair to say that the perceptions of this term vary according to the interests of the researchers and, in specificity, according to the source. The Shorter Oxford Dictionary, for example, merely defines it as something which is 'conventional and unvarying', while Lippman, 1922, the originator of the concept in social psychology, summarised it succinctly as 'the pictures in our heads' (p.81). According to Lindesmith and Strauss, 1968, sociologists and psychologists have accepted the term 'stereotype' as referring to 'certain over-simplified, fixed and usually fallacious conceptions which people hold about other people (p.52), a definition which has been echoed in various other sources. Kretch, Cruthfield and Ballachy, 1962, for example, define the 'stereotype' as a 'relatively simplex cognition, especially of a social group. Stereotypes tend to be shared by members of a given society' (p.67) while

McKeachie and Doyle, 1966, define it as a 'pattern of characteristics uniformly attributed to all people belonging to a particular group' (p.524).

Etymologically, the word 'stereotype' is derived from the Greek word 'stereos' meaning 'solid, firm, hard', while Lippman, 1922 further derived the term from the printing 'stereotype' which referred to a printing plate cast from a mould of a piece of set-up type.

Obviously, other sources have defined and perceived the 'stereotype' concept in ways which simplify or expand on the above definitions, and it would be possible to continue with a complex discussion of the relationships between 'stereotypes' and 'social role', the variability of the stereotype perception under different information situations, its claims to social reality. For the purposes of the coding schedule, however, 'stereotype' was taken at its simplest and most common definition which appeared to be prevalent among sources; that is, a perception by a group of people of another group of people, which is descriptive, consistent and simple. Whether or not the stereotype is related to reality is not a consideration in this context. Contentions, for example, by Lindesmith and Strauss, 1968, that it is 'usually fallacious' (p.52) and by Goudy, Bain and Spiker, 1977 that stereotypes may contain a 'kernel of truth', are less relevant to this discussion than the simple nature of the stereotype, although such contentions and considerations will be returned to in a discussion at the end of this thesis, since this is an important aspect of the advertising, sex-role debate.

An important component of the stereotype, however, appears to be its flexibility as to group origin. Kretch, Cruchfield and Ballachy, 1962 emphasise that it is held 'by members of a given society', McKeachie and Doyle, 1966 stress that it belongs to a 'particular group', while Lindesmith and Strauss, 1968 carefully refer only to 'people' (op. cit). In short, the 'conventionality' of the stereotype may be variable to the group under investigation - a factor which was noted in the differential perceptions of stereotypes held by 'feminists' and 'other women'. (see Chapter 2, Section 2:5). This aspect of the stereotype posed perhaps the main difficulty in

deriving the stereotypes which were to be measured in the coding schedule. Should the schedule measure only the most global stereotypes, or consider also the stereotypes found in mass media and advertising studies, and the stereotypes held and perceived by feminists?

One method of code derivation which was considered, for example, was merely to examine the relative presence in the advertisement sample of the 'common' stereotype, that is those traits which large numbers of both men and women hold about men and women 'in general'. This broad definition of the 'sex-role stereotype' has formed the basis of a wide range of studies, including the principal and classic study on sex-role stereotypes by Broverman et al, 1972. If it can be shown that advertisers portray such stereotypes in their advertisements, then some good evidence on the advertising sex-role stereotype may be assumed.

This approach, however, is very restricted. In the first instance, the results based on such a coding schedule could only be interpreted as evidence of advertisers' reflecting conventional stereotypes of the sexes, and would not take into account how they also may create stereotypes, which are the function of 'advertisers as a group/society'. In addition, such studies on the 'common' sex-role stereotype tend to congregate around abstract, adjectival concepts - 'active-passive', 'dominant-submissive' (see Appendix A:3) and rarely, except by implication, note broader concepts of role (housewife, mother, worker), or more specific activities, such as domestic work (washing, cleaning) or types of employment. Since it is these more specific stereotypes which have formed the bases of feminist criticism and the coding schedules of other studies, a narrow investigation based only on the 'commonly held' stereotype would not be capable of validating or refuting criticisms and observations of other parties in the sex-role debate.

Another factor which may be considered restrictive, is that studies have demonstrated that advertisers portray stereotypes of the sexes through several product and advertising structure associations. These, obviously, are not mentioned in the 'common' stereotype studies, but are evidently relevant to the discussion of the

advertising sex-role stereotype and finally, as a corollary of this point, the coding schedule was to attempt to examine as wide a range of potential stereotypes as possible; to exclude advertising, media and feminist stereotypes from the coding schedule would negate this aim.

Thus, on balance, it was felt important to include all aspects of the sex-role stereotype. The features of the 'common' stereotype are important as reflections of what is perceived, by 'ordinary' men and women and should be considered, while those stereotypes found to exist in the media and advertising, and those held by feminists are relevant to the overall debate. If such stereotypes are found to be 'proven' by the content analysis of advertisements, then some distinction could be made in a discussion of those results as to the extent to which common group, as opposed to group specific (advertising, feminist) stereotypes have been shown to exist.

Thus, the stereotypes of sex-roles to be derived in the coding schedule were defined more broadly as those 'simple and common descriptive attributes of the sexes which are held by men and women in general, or found to be purveyed through media, advertising and feminist critiques'.

Settling on these data sources, however, then created an additional problem - that of 'overkill'. Even with grouping and elimination of euphemisms, a bank of over 300 individual potential 'stereotypes' could be used in the coding schedule, since, between them, the various studies have been nothing if not catholic in their use of traits to investigate sex and sex-role characteristics. Busby, 1974, for example, used five different coding groups to investigate the sex-role stereotype in her study, of which the 'behavioural' group alone comprised over 50 different bi-polar traits.

A modifying factor was, therefore, needed to select the strongest perceived and depicted stereotypes, and this factor was felt to be the level of differentiation of the stereotyped attributes between the sexes. Obviously, the factor of differentiation could not be used on those studies which had only investigated the

stereotypes of one sex, and in these instances such 'stereotypes' had to be accepted on face value and used only where other evidence did support their relevance as differential traits. These studies apart, however, the factor of differentiation has not only been shown as an important element in sex-role stereotyping, but has been cited as important in general stereotypes. Tajfel, 1969, for example, suggests that when a perceiver differentially evaluates two groups, then the particular content associated with these evaluations constitutes the basis for stereotypic perceptions, while Carter, 1962 has written that 'the stereotype concept has come to imply a configuration of homogeneous and polarised image elements' (p.77) (writer's emphasis).

Translating these assertions to the sex-role stereotype field, a 'stereotype' might, therefore, be said to be further strengthened when either a difference between men and women as two groups is differentially perceived, or, by implication, differentially portrayed.

In this context, then, it is interesting to observe that it is this aspect of 'differentiation' between the sexes which has commonly been observed by writers and academics in the field of sex-role stereotype research.

Broverman^{et al}, 1969 for example, observing this characteristic in their work, defined the sex-role stereotype largely on this basis, that it was the 'sum of socially designated behaviours that differentiate between men and women' (p.60) (writer's emphasis), and it is this aspect which is frequently and independently remarked upon by other writers. Richter, 1974 for example, views this differentiation in terms of negative (feminine) and positive (masculine) poles in the sex-role stereotype:-

"Manliness is considered synonymous with over-compensatory super-potential, activity, boldness, dominance and emotional stability; while womanliness is equated with helplessness and weakness, passivity, anxiety, submissiveness and emotional instability. Man is only on top, woman is only underneath". (p.17)

Kluckholm, 1954 makes a similar analogy:-

"The man is expected to be independent whereas from the woman, we all expect subordination of individualistic goals to those of the family as a group. Man's occupational role is also an action-orientated one.... while in women's role, it is expected that much attention will be given to all those things intellectual and moral which busy men define as the nice, but non-essential embroidery of....life'. (p.356).

Bem, 1974 observes the differentiating power of the common sex-role stereotype but sees this more as a complementing of roles:-

"Both historically and cross-culturally, masculinity and femininity seem to have represented two complementary domains of positive traits and behaviours. Masculinity has been associated with an instrumental orientation, a cognitive focus on 'getting the job done'; and femininity has been associated with an expressive orientation, an effective concern with the welfare of others". (p.55)

In this context, the most interesting observation, however, is by Lunneborg, 1968 who, in a study on sex-roles, asked the subjects to respond to masculinity/femininity items in a stereotypic manner. While responses relating to actual sex-roles showed in many cases a lack of differentiation between the sexes, of this 'stereotypic' study she wrote:-

"One effect of the stereotype was to exaggerate existing sex differences in eight scales; those in favour of the men in intellectual orientation, self-confidence, being the centre of attention, and leadership, and those in favour of women in cultural interests, conformity, kindness and interest in others' behaviour...." (p.163) (writer's emphasis).

Thus, in deriving the coding schedule, a factor of 'differentiation' was applied to the stereotypes in the main data sources. The existence of significant differences in certain studies obviously facilitated this task, but in those many studies which did not use statistical criteria, the stereotypes elicited were those which were independently remarked upon by the researchers as most sex-specific, and, in commentaries, those emphasised as specific to each sex. The use of the 'differentiation' principle was also useful in helping to define which 'stereotypes'

might be said to be 'proven' from the later content analysis results, and on the basis of that principle, the strongest stereotypes would be construed as those which scored significantly more for one sex or the other in the direction of the sex of the stereotype measured.

Finally, this aspect of 'differentiation' in the common stereotype concept was used as a justification for rejecting - in the coding schedule derivation - those aspects of the sex-role stereotype which refer to 'idealised' concepts. The 'ideal' sex-role stereotype has been investigated in several studies and a review of those studies and their results are set out in Appendix A:4 and will be used for discussion purposes later in this thesis. A characteristic of the 'ideal' stereotype of the sexes is, however, that it contains many traits which are common to both sexes. There is some contention as to whether such 'stereotypes' are not merely aspects of 'ideal humanity' and relate merely to concepts of 'social desirability' (Albrecht, Bahr and Chadwick, 1976; Jenkin and Vreogh, 1969) but on the basis of the common agreement that the basic sex-role stereotype is a differential one, these aspects of the 'ideal stereotype' were excluded from the coding schedule.

Review of sources

On the basis of the considerations and observations noted above, the following five sources were used for the derivation of a coding schedule of 'sex-role stereotypes'.

(i) Sex-role stereotype studies

An extensive literature search was made in psychological and sociological journals and abstracts, over a thirty year period, for those studies which have sought to measure and define the sex-role stereotype. A wide variety of definitions was used as the basis of such a search. References to 'sex' and 'sex-role stereotypes' were used, and all studies which investigated the perceptions of 'men and women', or 'men and women in general'. Other concepts accepted were terms such as 'what men and women are like', and perceptions of 'masculinity/femininity'.

Over 50 studies were found, but those studies which examined 'ideal' stereotypes were excluded and summarised separately (see Appendix A:4). In the event, 24 studies up to 1976 were accepted and those stereotype traits extracted which were felt to most concur with the 'differentiation' factor noted above. These results were collated, grouped and arranged into the major codes through which the final coding schedule was designed. These results are given in Appendix A:3. Each reference is numerated, and the differential stereotype traits are listed with reference number.

It was interesting to observe from these results, that certain traits of the sex-role stereotype were common to several studies (e.g. 'aggressive' for males, 'passive' for females) and also, how often these studies made independent reference to the commonality of such stereotypes within and between sexes. It appears that both men and women have extensive agreement on the nature of the 'sex-role stereotype'. Reece, 1964, for example, noted that 'it was surprising to find the extent to which both sexes agreed in their concepts of masculinity/femininity' (p.138).

(ii) General media studies

The main general media studies on sex-role stereotyping, to which reference has already been made in Chapter 2, were the second source of data for the coding schedule. 23 studies up to 1976 were used and only the most differentiating stereotypes extracted. These results were grouped in the same way as for sex-role stereotype studies, and are set out in table form in Appendix A:1.

(iii) Advertising studies

The 12 major advertising studies which were noted and commented upon in Chapter 2, were summarised and collated according to differential stereotypes, as in the previous two sources. The results are set out in table form in Appendix A:2.

(iv) Feminist criticism

The perceived stereotypes of advertising sex-roles which feminists have used as their basis for criticism were also included, for consideration, in the coding schedule. Many of the main feminist observations have been noted in

Chapter 2. When other observations are used which were not noted in that Chapter, the sources will be referenced in the discussion of derivation below.

(v) Miscellaneous studies and commentaries

A considerable review of the literature for the derivation of the coding schedule was made. Most of the studies considered relevant were incorporated in the previous four sources but, occasionally, studies were encountered which cast light on specific stereotypes - particularly in relation to stereotypes of employment - and were used advisedly.

(vi) Pilot Study modification

It is accepted by content analysts, that before the final coding schedule is used on the main study analysis some form of informal content analysis, using a 'pilot sample' of the main study population, should be made. The aim of such an exercise is to clarify and check the codes derived and include any aspects which the researcher feels has been excluded to the detriment of the 'exhaustive' criterion of validity, and the wider criterion of 'study aims'. As

Stone et al, 1966 write:-

"Prior to making a formal content analysis, the investigator can and should carefully inspect a sample of his data, drawing on his intuitive powers to identify the unforeseen circumstances that might be affecting the data. This inspection is used in developing categories and application rules. Formal content analysis is then applied to describe the data as a whole....". (p.16).

Although, as Stone et al, 1966 suggest, such analysis 'should not cease when the content analysis begins' (p.29), a pilot study was conducted on the first coding schedule to execute what Lasswell, Lerner and Pool, 1952 refer to as 'working out a research plan which gets the most of what one needs...' (p.73). 100 advertisements

from a random sample of the women's magazines to be used in the main study were used for such a 'pilot study'. Not only did such a study serve as a valuable guide to certain coding criteria (see notes on codes, later) but it also served to 'tighten' the definitions and scope of certain codes and, in the context of this discussion, to add certain 'potential stereotypes' which other data sources had not noted. Such 'potential' sex-role stereotypes - so termed since only the final study could illuminate their actuality as 'advertising sex-role stereotypes' - were observed to be 'sex-specific' and differentiated the sexes. These 'potential' stereotypes were included in the final coding schedule and where they were so derived, this is indicated in the notes on coding, given later.

The stereotypes which emerged from these six sources were incorporated into a general coding schedule design, which was used in the main study analysis. All the stereotypes finally chosen for the schedule were arranged into broad groups and then collated and categorised into specific codes in the manner noted earlier.

A summary of the final list of 'sex-role stereotypes' used is given in Table 4:1 following. This is followed by short notes on each code which describes how each sub-code was derived from the data. The 'masculinity' or 'femininity' of each sub-code is indicated in Table 4:1 and explained in the notes following.

Unless otherwise indicated in the notes, the allocation of sub-codes in each major code is randomised.

Table 4:1

Sex-role stereotypes

Content analysis codes and sub-codes

	Male (M) or Female (F)
1. <u>Role</u>	
sports/hobbyist	M
worker	M
decorative	F
parent	F
host	M
lover	M
ordinary	M
houseworker	F
spouse	F
2. <u>Behaviour</u>	
anxiety	F
sexuality (active)	M
sexuality (passive)	F
nurturance (active)	F
nurturance (passive)	M
aesthetics	F
mechanics	M
leader	M
follower	F
extroversion	M
introversion	F
3. <u>Work</u>	
industrial	M
clerical	F
service	F
professional (primary)	M
professional (secondary)	F
security	M
literary/artistic	F

4.	<u>Domestic work</u>	
	household labour	F
	child care	F
	household repair	F
	house repair	M
5.	<u>Leisure</u>	
	introvert	F
	non-active hobby/sport	F
	active hobby/sport	M
	eating/drinking	M
	resting/reclining	F
6.	<u>Competence</u>	
	obvious competence	M
	obvious incompetence	F
	neutral competence	F
	famous person	M
7.	<u>Expression/manner</u>	
	anxious/puzzled	F
	sexy/romantic	F
	nurturant	F
	positive	M
	negative/stern	M
	faraway/dreamy	F
8.	<u>Touch</u>	
	touch/tend self	F
	touching product/object	M
	touching adult	M
	touching child	F
9.	<u>Attention direction</u>	
	to reader	F
	to self	F
	eyes cast down	F
	to product	M
	to object (not product)	M
	to other main/second character	M
	to other person (not main/second character)	M
	to work/hobby	M
	'not seen'	F

10. Activity/position

reclining	F
sitting	F
standing	M
walk/slow movement	F
fast movement	M

11. Physique

fat	M
plump	M
muscular	M
thin	F
slim	F

12. Hair colour

light blonde	F
dark blonde	F
brunette	M
black	M
red	F
grey	M

13. Hair style

long	F
short/curly	F
short/straight	M
coiffed	F
head covering	F
bald	M

14. Clothing

female (ordinary)	F
female (feminine)	F
male	M
leisure	M
working	M
outerwear	M
smart/formal	F
sports/swimwear	M
historic/exotic	M
part/no clothing	F

15. Clothing colour

red/orange/yellow	M
blue/green	F
pink/purple	F
brown/fawn	M
black/dark	M
white/light	F

16. Marital status

married/engaged F
obviously neither M

17. Relationships

no communication F
looking M
talking F
laughing M
approach/call M
unpleasant M
hold onto F
work on F
ignore immerse M

18. Part exposed

most/all of body M
half of body F
face/shoulders F
bits of body F

19. Span of advert.

large M
medium F
small F

20. Colour of advert.

colour M
black/white F

21. Tone of advert.

ordinary M
homely/cosy F
romantic/sexual F
exotic/surreal F
enthusiasm/fun M
comedy M
just modelling F

22. Appeal of advert.

sensuality M
activity/freedom M
time-saving M
money/ability M
youth/M-F F
insecurity/male reward F
general appearance
improvement F
style/expertise M
for family F
value/economy F

23. Settings

printing colour	F
studio backdrop	M
domestic interior	F
occupational	M
other interior	F
open exterior	M
formal exterior	M
other exterior	M

24. Products

food and drink (non-alcoholic)	F
cigarettes/tobacco	M
drink (alcoholic)	M
personal (cosmetic)	F
personal (body)	F
clothing	F
small household	F
large household	M
consumer durables	M
children's	F
organisations	M
leisure	M

25. Product use

direct use	F
secondary use	M
holding/stroking	F
observe	M
shop for	F
selling	M
no attention	M

A total of 161 sub-code stereotypes were derived, of which 83 were described as 'female' and 78 as 'male'.

Section 4:3 Derivation of sex-role stereotypes by major code

The sources from which these stereotypes were derived, either directly or by implication are given in Appendix A.

Short notes on the derivation and rationale behind the stereotypes are given for each code below.

1. Roles

The 'role' code was derived as a major definitive code for all male and female main and second characters, and reflects the importance of this aspect of the sex-role stereotype in all feminist criticism, and as the common code in all media studies whether general, or specific to advertising.

For statistical purposes it was also felt necessary to have a global defining code to facilitate cross-correlation between codes.

The emphasis on the 'role' code was one of width; that is, it looked to both advertisement illustration and copy for definition, and each role alternative was chosen as the one most representative of the male or female character in an advertisement.

Each role ascription was exclusive and was coded as the major role occupied by a character. This strict definition was found to be necessary since the pilot study had indicated that certain advertisements might include sub-portrayals; that is, the central picture might define an actor as 'housewife', for example, but a smaller and related picture define her as, say, 'sportswoman'. Recourse to copy emphasis, and the visual emphasis of design, might then give her role ascription as the major one of 'housewife'. In later codes, her role as sportswoman would be analysed in type, and for this reason, sub-codes, say, on 'leisure', would not tally exactly with codes on 'role'.

Conversely, occasions arose in the sample, where a role was generally depicted and suggested, but in which no clear activity was evident enough to be coded in later specific codes. In these instances, it is accepted that the 'role' data would show a greater number of depictions than the individual activity.

Obviously, cross-correlation between such overlapping codes - as with others which will be noted below - was not attempted, being, as it would be, statistically invalid in the X^2 analyses which formed the majority of calculations.

The code for 'roles' was derived from a synthesis of all role suggestions made or perceived as 'stereotypes' by feminist critics, and empirical studies. Little in this instance was gleaned from general stereotype studies (Appendix A:3) since, as has been noted earlier, the concepts derived in those studies tended to be more behavioural and adjectival. Obliquely, however, references to 'homebody' and 'motherhood' and the importance of children, were taken as indications of the female stereotypes connected with the domestic roles.

Deriving 'role' codes from the feminist criticism and media studies did, as was noted in Chapter 2, present problems since the roles defined in those sources have often been ambiguous, idiosyncratic or multi-purpose.

The main aim for this 'role' code, then, was to broaden definitions over euphemism or, alternatively, to define narrowly to reduce ambiguity. For example, in reference to female 'attractive' roles, various terms such as 'decorative', 'sex-object', 'physically beautiful', 'alluring/attractive' (see Appendix A:2) have been used across the various studies, while such broader terms as 'family' have been used to include all references to motherhood, wife and domestic work. (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971). Idiosyncratic terms, such as 'over-achieving' housewife, have been used to describe elements of domesticity (Venkatesan and Losco, 1975) but that adjectival modification renders the role ascription highly specific. In deriving this 'role' code, then, such qualitative judgements were resisted, and it was accepted that any qualification of roles could be made by cross-reference with, say, codes on 'competence'. Given these riders, the following codes on 'role' were derived as 'stereotypes'.

(i) **'sports/hobbyist'**

Interest in sports was noted in behavioural codes to be a 'male' stereotype (see 'behaviour' code following), while to be a 'sportsman' and to be actively

involved in 'leisure' pursuits, have also been described as male advertising stereotypes. (Appendix A:2). Thus, the 'sports/hobbyist' role was ascribed as a 'masculine' stereotype.

(ii) **'worker'**

Every study which measured this role (five in general media, and four in advertising studies) observed the 'worker' role to be a 'male' stereotype and it was thus derived in this coding schedule.

(iii) **'decorative'**

Despite the variation in definitions, all roles connected with personal attractiveness and definition by personal appearance were ascribed as 'female' stereotypes. To overcome the ambiguity of other studies, however, the 'female' stereotype in this study was merely ascribed as 'decorative' and referred to all instances where a character was defined solely by his/her appearance.

(iv) **'parent', 'houseworker', and 'spouse'**

Again, despite the differing definitions in the studies all 'domestic' roles were described as 'female' stereotypes. Since these individual roles were also allocated as 'female', differentiation was made in this study and each was assigned as a 'female' stereotype.

v **'host' (pilot study)**

In the pilot study, particularly in those 'up-market' magazines such as 'Homes and Gardens' and 'Ideal Home', a role of 'host' was found which could not be adequately described in the other 'domestic' roles. More males were shown in this role, and in consideration of the emphasis implied in this role, that of the more 'leisure' orientated aspects of domesticity and an element of patronage by a home owner, this was postulated as an additional 'male' stereotype.

(vi) 'lover'

Feminist critics have emphasised the male role as 'lover' in advertisements, usually in the context of the 'male reward'. Evidence on 'behavioural' stereotypes (see below) also indicates that 'active sexuality' is a male stereotype. On these bases, and although it has not been investigated in other studies, this role was derived as a 'male' stereotype.

(vii) 'ordinary'

Faulder, 1977 has raised the pertinent point that most advertisements appear to offer a limited range of role alternatives which do not include the independent woman, acting in her own right. This role, she suggests, is limited to male characters.

Thus, a role, broadly described as 'ordinary' was used to describe all those role allocations which showed the character in ways which could not be assigned to the previous, and common, role categories but showed the character acting in an ordinary, wordly and undefined manner. This included such role allocations as 'friend', autonomous person, any character involved in completely ordinary and everyday activities (walking along a street, unconscious of appearance; talking to others). Such a role carried connotations of non-specific function, in that the person could not be described as 'parent', 'worker', etc. It implied a certain independence and, as such, and on the basis of Faulder's critique, was ascribed as a 'male' stereotype.

2. Behaviour

(i) Anxiety

A stereotype of the female as a rather insecure and anxious personality emerged from the findings of general stereotype studies. (Appendix A:3). This image has also been noted in general media studies which showed women to be more 'weak', 'emotional', 'sensitive', 'less stable' than men (Appendix A:1). Studies on the perception and reportage of mental health have also

observed the existence of this female stereotype. (Rosenkrantz et al, 1968, Phillips and Segal, 1969, Korn and McCorkle, 1962, Rossi, 1964, Parsons and Bales, 1955, Barker, 1953 and Zelditch, 1960).

The 'anxious' female stereotype is noted in the dichotomy of sex-role stereotypes by Richter, 1974, who typified an aspect of the female image as 'anxious' and 'emotionally unstable'.

That this is essentially a female stereotype, is witnessed by the tendency of the male stereotype to show its 'absent' characteristics - 'feelings not easily hurt', 'does not cry easily' (Appendix A:3), a factor also noted in media imagery - 'not emotional', 'stable', 'not sensitive' (Appendix A:1).

(ii) Sexuality - active and passive

Items from studies in general stereotyping indicate that a female stereotype congregates around a form of 'passive' or 'flirtatious/romantic' sexuality, and males around a more active and aggressive sexuality. (Appendix A:3).

Females, for example, are viewed as 'sexually attractive' and males 'sexually responsive'. While males 'violate sexual codes', 'talk freely about sex', females are 'flirtatious', 'faithful', 'less passionate than men', 'do not talk freely about sex'. In media studies a similar image has been found (Appendix A:1). Females are depicted as 'romantic' and 'sexy' rather than sexual.

In addition, Spoulding, 1971 strongly argues that active sexuality of all types is the 'male' stereotype and females are seen in a more passive context, responding to, rather than making, aggressive sexual overtures to males; that this is a fundamental of the traditional male and female sexual imagery. Chesney-Lind, 1974, arguing that this sexual stereotype plays a significant

part in the perception of female crime, observes the social image that:-

"A good girl is never sexual, although she must be sexually appealing, while a healthy boy must prove his masculinity by experimenting sexually'. (p.45)

Farrell, Tolone and Walsh, 1977 also demonstrate that, while attitudes are changing over time, a sexual standard still exists in the perceptions of sex-based sexual behaviour, wherein males are believed to be more generally sexually aggressive and enterprising than women, who are assumed to be the passive recipient of sexual/romantic advances, to be non-instigators of sexual activity. In addition, it was found that part of the passive sexual image of females is the romantic orientation; that they think about, rather than act on sexual encounters.

Two stereotypes on sexuality were, therefore, devised - a 'passive sexuality' for females, indicating a responsive, romantic, flirtatious, behaviour, and for males, an 'active sexuality' indicating an aggressive, 'outward' sexuality.

(iii) Nurturance - active and passive

A strong indication from the general stereotype studies (Appendix A:3) is that nurturance and altruism are female stereotypes. Females are seen as 'compassionate', 'kind', 'eager to soothe feelings', 'concerned for the welfare of others'. This image is also a persistent one in the general media studies (Appendix A:1) which show females as 'affectionate', 'warm' and 'understanding'. This nurturant/altruistic female stereotype is also commonly mentioned in other descriptions of the female stereotype. In particular, Lunneborg, 1968 saw a female stereotype as containing the elements of 'kindness', 'interest in others behaviour', while Kluckholm, 1954 observed the 'expected subordination of individualistic goals to those of the family as a group'. Bem, 1974 observed the stereotype of female 'expressive orientation, an affective concern with the welfare of others', while Broverman, et al, 1972 used the concept of 'expressive orientation' to describe the female stereotype in their study. Steinmann, 1963 in her work on the family also used this 'altruistic/nurturant' dimension as a strong definer of the traditional female role, seeing it as an emphasis on the 'other, the counterpart of the men and children in her life who are recipients of her nurturance'. (p.341). Adams, 1971 describes a female social philosophy that:-

"believes the women's primary goal is to provide tenderness and compassion. Through the exercise of these traits, the belief runs, women have set themselves up as the exclusive mode for protecting and nurturing others'. (p.71).

The code of 'passive nurturance' was included as the 'male' stereotype in the nurturance ethic. This is distinguished from the more general code of 'dependence' (social, economic) and refers to the actual receipt of nurturant care - that is, being cared for, fed, ministered to and is, perhaps, typified best by the concept of 'nursing' which is conceptually and etymologically derived from the 'nurturant' concept (early latin - nutrire).

While the fact of 'passive nurturance' being a 'male' stereotype is not so well supported in the general media stereotypes, Steinmann, 1963 draws on good evidence to support her belief that the male is traditionally the one who is 'looked after' by women, and there are several other examples of nurturant care. Courtney and Whipple, 1974, for example, showed that a common media stereotype was the male who is fed, attended, made comfortable, served food and drink, and waited on - usually by women. Adams, 1971 also sees males as the main recipients (apart from children) of female nurturant care.

'Active nurturance' was therefore designed as a 'female' stereotype - a factor which was further supported by the absence of male association with this stereotype - 'does not express tender feelings easily', 'less concerned about others' (Appendix A:3) and 'passive nurturance' a 'male' stereotype.

(iv) Aesthetics and Mechanics

Data sources indicated that a female stereotype was related to 'aesthetic' and 'artistic' pursuits and interests and the male stereotype to more 'mechanic' and 'technical' ones. The two stereotypes indicated non-interest in the opposite area for each sex. In the general stereotype studies, for instance, (Appendix A:3) females are 'imaginative' and 'artistic' but also

'dislike maths and science'. Males, on the other hand, 'do not enjoy art/literature', but 'like maths and science'. Commentators, such as Klucholm, 1954 have also suggested this dichotomy in the sex-role stereotypes, while Lunneborg, 1968 observes that women are associated with appreciation of 'cultural interests'. Among the advertising studies, it is also notable that the male imagery includes scientific arguments in favour of the product, which female characters do not proffer (McArthur and Resko, 1975).

The 'aesthetic' interest code was therefore designed as a 'female' stereotype and 'mechanics' a 'male' stereotype. These codes, however, referred to behaviours and occupations other than work types, which were measured separately in the 'work' codes. (In the event, however, no 'mechanics' behaviours were observed for either sex, and the 'mechanics' code was excluded from later analyses).

(v) Leader/follower

The general stereotype studies (Appendix A:3), indicates a 'male' stereotype which includes those aspects of 'dominance', 'ambition', 'autonomy' etc. which are described under a general label of 'leader' attributes. The counterpart to this is a 'female' stereotype which is typified as 'follower' behaviour, including aspects of 'dependence', 'passivity', submission', 'lack of ambition' etc. Similar stereotyped imagery has been observed in media studies; for example, for males to be 'ambitious', 'competitive', 'self-reliant' and as those who 'instruct', have 'authority' and are 'dominant' (Appendix A:1).

Such stereotypes of the sexes have also been suggested by Lunneborg, 1968 (op. cit.) who noted the masculinity of 'self-confidence' and 'leadership' and the femininity of 'conformity' behaviours, while Kluckholm, 1954 stressed 'independence' in the male image. Richter, 1974 saw a similar dichotomy between 'boldness', 'dominance' for males and 'passivity', 'submissiveness' for females. This 'leader' stereotype for males and 'follower' for females is also an essential component in the perceived stereotypes criticised by feminists

(see Chapter 1). The two codes were thus designed as 'stereotypes' and were felt to be among the strongest, on the evidence from data sources.

(vi) Extroversion/introversion

These two codes were designed to measure stereotypes of 'extrovert' and 'introvert' behaviour; the former designated as 'male', on the evidence, and the latter 'female'.

With the stereotype of 'extroversion', however, some ambiguity was found in the data sources. In the general stereotype studies (Appendix A:3) several female characteristics may be described as 'extrovert' - 'enthusiastic enjoyment', 'cheerful', 'humorous' etc. Male 'extrovert' characteristics, however, are more common and conceptually more extreme - 'boastful', 'daring', 'exhibitionist', 'direct' etc. A similar factor is observed in general media studies (Appendix A:1) wherein females are found to be 'happy', 'outgoing' and 'warm', but males are described as 'aggressive' and 'adventuresome'.

On balance, the 'male' stereotype of 'extroversion' in a more extreme and rumbustious form was accepted, although it is assumed that this stereotype is a relatively 'weak' one.

With the behaviour of 'introversion', the stereotype was less ambiguous, with all characteristics under this general heading being ascribed in general stereotype studies as 'female' stereotypes - 'timidity', 'shy', 'dreamy' etc.

(Appendix A:3). In general media studies, noted female characteristics have been 'not violent' and 'more peaceful'. (Appendix A:1).

The clustering of stereotypes described as 'extrovert' were thus designated as 'male', using an extreme definition of this term, and those of 'introversion' were designated as 'female'.

3. Work types

Although the general role of 'worker' took account of a wide suggestion of 'outside employment' for the sexes, the particular types of labour in the role were investigated by more defined stereotypes in the 'work' code.

Stereotypes in work have been noted indirectly in general stereotype studies through the delineation of interests (mechanical, artistic) - noted earlier -but also more specifically in terms of 'social service work' for females, and 'doctors' and 'business' characteristics for 'males'. Counter stereotypes are represented, as noted above, by lack of interest not only in the 'mechanical/artistic' dichotomy, but also for women as 'not skilled in business' (Appendix A:3). In general media studies, work stereotypes for women have included waitress, cashier, stewardess and nurses and for males, doctor, businessmen and lawyer. (Appendix A:1). In advertising studies female stereotypes have been ascribed as 'service and blue collar work', 'low status roles' and 'public service work' and male stereotypes as 'business/sales' and 'professional' work (Appendix A:3).

Problems in interpreting the media data, however, have arisen, as noted in Chapter 2, through wider and narrower work-type definitions.

In this coding schedule, it was decided to resist general work categories in terms of status, and instead use what data does exist on the stereotypes associated with particular work types. This task is facilitated by the plethora of studies which exist specifically on such perceived work stereotypes. Another problem, however, arose simultaneously with the possibility of 'over-kill'. Literally hundreds of different occupations have been catalogued and sex-typed by researchers.

Shinar, 1975, for example, lists 130 occupations and ranks them according to sex stereotypes ranging from 'miner' and 'highway maintenance worker' for males to 'nurse' and 'manicurist' for females. Other studies have been more circumspect in their choice of rated occupations, but, between them, evoke a formidable list of sex-role stereotyped occupations. Panek, Rush and Green^awalt, 1977 for example, list eight 'male' occupations (e.g. lawyer, city planner, police officer) and six 'female' ones (e.g. elementary school teacher, dietician), while Albrecht, Bahr and Chadwick, 1976 list as 'male' the jobs of detective, congressman, doctor, scientist, business-executive, lawyer, pilot, truck-driver, car mechanic and politician, and as 'female', the jobs of secretary, nurse and housekeeper. Schlossberg and Goodman,

1972 lists at least 20 common female work stereotypes including the predominant 'waitress', 'nurse', 'teacher' and 'librarian'.

Quite apart from the many individual stereotypes of work noted in these studies, it has also been suggested that there is a stereotype to be found in the assumed narrower range of work alternatives for women (Schlossberg and Goodman, 1972) and that the 'world of work' is essentially a 'male' stereotype, individual work types notwithstanding (Schein, 1973).

In practical terms, it was considered undesirable and unwieldy to devise a coding schedule to contain all the different work stereotypes which have been observed, so from a review of the many studies in this genre, and the stereotypes noted in the main data sources, some broad bases of work-classification were developed which included several categories of labour. The individual work types which were included in the classification are given in full in Appendix B:2. During the content analysis, a separate record of the individual work types was also kept for reference, although the broad classifications were the ones emphasised in reportage.

(i) Industrial work (male)

Studies unequivocally indicated that this type of work was a 'male' stereotype.

This included broad consideration of 'technical', manual work observed in general stereotype studies (Appendix A:3), and categories of heavy, manual, electrical, agricultural, mechanical work observed by Shinar, 1975 and others as 'male'.

(ii) Clerical/sales work (female)

This category included such work as 'typing', 'secretarial', sales assistant' and 'clerical' activities observed in advertising and general media studies as 'female' (Appendices A:1 and A:2). Shinar, 1975 also lists these work types as 'female' (cashier, bank teller, secretary, receptionist, file clerk).

(iii) Service work (female)

Rossi, 1964b notes that several stereotypes of female work revolve around the more menial or secondary/service work positions, while Adams, 1971 suggests that:-

"the synthesising role traditionally discharged by women in the home (is) translated to a wider sphere and spreads its influence through a broader range of activities'. (p.72).

The sub-code of 'service' work was therefore considered to be a 'female' stereotype and also incorporated observations of 'service' and certain 'lower status' occupations observed in general media studies (Appendix A:1) and 'service' and 'blue collar work', 'low status' work observed as stereotypes in advertising studies (Appendix A:2). Service work such as 'attendant' and 'cleaner', are also observed as female stereotypes by Shinar, 1975.

(iv) Professional - primary and secondary (male/female)

These categories were used for those types of professional work which did not fall in the 'clerical/sales' work groups. They were organised into 'primary' professional which included the occupations of 'doctor', 'scientist', 'lawyer' and 'businessman', observed as 'male' stereotypes in all sources, and those 'secondary' professional activities such as 'nurse' and 'teacher' observed by all sources as 'female', 'nurse', in particular. Additions were provided by Shinar's listing (e.g. social worker, dietician).

(v) Security (male)

Security occupations - army, navy, police, security officers - were shown to be mainly 'male' stereotypes by Shinar, 1975, Panek, Rush and Greenwalt, 1977 and others, although as a category, this was least referred to in the major sources.

(vi) Literary/artistic (female)

Literary and artistic work was broadly described as a 'female' stereotype from the 'interests' noted in general stereotype studies (Appendix A:3), and where not ascribed to other categories. This included dancers, entertainers, artists, ballerinas, etc. Entertainers as a group have been independently ascribed as female stereotypes in advertising studies (Appendix A:2), while other stereotype categories such as dancer, jewellery designer, singer are shown by Shinar, 1975, to be 'female'.

(vii) Other (for reference)

An 'other' category was included to take in those occupations which did not fall into the major stereotypes noted above. In the event, most occupations shown (which were very few) could be incorporated in the main categories. This group was considered a residual of neutral (student) or uncommon occupations (nun), for discussion only.

It is recognised by the writer that the 'work' categories are essentially arbitrary and, no doubt, other analysis of the data would have arrived at different category groups. It was felt, however, after extensive reflection, discussion and consideration of the many sources, that these broad categories did take good account of the strongest stereotypes measured. In addition, these categories made relatively easy comparison with work records/categories used in the British Census and other data sources, so that some comparison with the 'real state of affairs' in work could be made.

4. Domestic work

Just as the previous stereotypes related to specific work types subsumed in the 'worker' role, so did the category of 'domestic work' include stereotypes of specific types of domestic labour, which might be subsumed in the 'houseworker', 'parent', and 'spouse' roles.

Despite the fact that domestic work stereotypes might be commonly called the most apparent - certainly in the feminist critiques - in reality, few studies have actually measured the domestic work stereotypes 'per se'. It may be that these stereotypes are so internalised that they are infrequently mentioned in general stereotype work. It is, nonetheless, true that in these studies, only aspects of 'loves, cares for children, sacrifices ambitions for children', 'homebody, home-orientated' (Appendix A:3), which are only indirect stereotypes of domesticity, are reported as 'female' stereotypes, and in general media studies, that females are stereotyped into 'general, internal, domestic work' (Appendix A:1).

Males are generally excluded from any stereotype of domesticity, but O'Kelly, 1968 suggests from her study that a male stereotype of domesticity is associated with the more practical 'house repair' work - DIY, gardening, house maintenance etc. - while Katzman, 1972 provides a stereotype of males associated with 'external' domesticity on the same lines as O'Kelly.

Feminists critics are clear about their concepts of the domestic work stereotype, and the Women in Media Report to the Annan committee included assumed female stereotypes of 'watering, cleaning, shining' (Faulder, 1977) while Embree, 1970 suggests that a female stereotype incorporates a 'preoccupation with dirt' (p.18).

Many studies deal with the actual division of household labour - which will be discussed in Chapter 9 - but only Araji, 1977 measures stereotypes of domestic labour, noting that such stereotypes include the housekeeper role and child-care for women, and such external and larger tasks as gardening and house repair for males. On these bases, then, it was decided to ascribe as 'female' stereotypes all elements of 'household labour' (washing, cleaning, cooking, shopping), and 'household repair' (sewing, knitting, mending involving care of the family and home). 'Child-care', (feeding, transporting, cleaning, playing with children) was also ascribed as a 'female' stereotype, and a 'male' stereotype was ascribed to the larger and external types of 'house repair' (DIY work, gardening, large repairs).

5. Leisure

The general concept of 'leisure' was considered to be a 'male' stereotype, as noted in the 'sports/hobbyist' role. This specific code on 'leisure', as with 'work' and 'domestic work', was designed to take account of individual stereotypes in leisure activity.

A stereotype of more 'active' leisure was observed for males in general stereotype studies (Appendix A:3) - 'athletic', 'out of doors', 'sports' - while in general stereotype studies, 'sports' are also given as a 'male' stereotype (Appendix A:3). In advertising studies, again, 'sports more than females' is given as a male stereotype, who also 'have more leisure than females' (Appendix A:2).

The characteristic of 'active leisure' may then be construed as a 'male' stereotype, but what of 'female' leisure stereotypes? No source clearly delineates types of female leisure - only that they are excluded from the more 'active' types. From the 'artistic/aesthetic' orientation in the female stereotype, however, and in combination with the general image of female introversion/passivity, a more 'literary', 'non-active' and introverted type of female leisure stereotype may be postulated, and it is true that in studies on children's imagery in books, television, and cartoons, it is observed that a common female stereotype concerns the quiet, book reading, non-active leisure pursuits. (Dixon, 1977, Sharpe, 1976, Streicher, 1974).

Thus 'female' stereotypes of 'resting/reclining', 'non-active hobby/sports' and 'introvert leisure' (reading, writing, listening etc.) were devised. For males, a stereotype of 'active hobby/sports' was devised.

Finally, it has been indicated by Courtney and Whipple, 1974 that 'eating/drinking' is a notable male leisure stereotype, that although females largely prepared food in advertisements, it was males who consumed it. Although this is not strictly a 'leisure activity', it was included in this code as a close approximation and devised as a 'male' stereotype.

6. Competence

In general stereotype studies a clear stereotype of male intelligence and competence emerges, contrasted with a female lack of intelligence and logic (Appendix A:3). Females are 'less objective', 'intelligence is inferior in' and 'reasoning ability is poorest in', while males are 'shrewd', 'foresightful', 'more intelligent' and 'logical'. In the advertising study by Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976, females are shown as 'unable to cope with work' and in many general media studies (Appendix A:1), while males are 'knowledgeable' and 'rational', females are shown as 'less smart', 'less rational' and 'silly'. At the same time, however, females are perceived as 'practical' (O'Kelly, 1968), and are seen to demonstrate no strong display of competence one way or the other, having 'no display of superior knowledge' (Turow, 1974), and while often directly perceived as, or shown in negative competence terms, it is also true that the qualification of 'less' ('less rational') also implies some measure of competence in females. Thus, three stereotypes of 'competence' were devised; for males 'obviously competent', and for females, 'obviously incompetent/foolish', and 'neutral competence' - the last stereotype to take account of a simple practicality, a non-demonstrative and quiet 'getting on with the job'. To take in 'competence' implied through fame, a 'male' stereotype of 'famous person' was also devised.

The term 'competence' was chosen advisedly, rather than 'intelligence' or 'skill', since in the pilot study analysis, it became apparent that more specific considerations of 'rationality' or 'intelligence' simply could not be adequately implied from the static print advertisement.

7. Expression/manner

Overt behaviour in the advertisement sample could only rarely be implied owing to both the static nature of the advertisement, and the frequent incidence of only part-exposure of the model's body. Nonetheless, much may be implied by a facial expression or static posture, so the code of 'expression/manner' was devised as a broader based 'behaviour' category. The rationales for the sub-codes were the

same as for the 'behaviour' sub-codes, but overlapped with and extended that code to include a wider sample of advertisements.

Obviously, not all the 'behaviour' sub-codes could be translated into an 'expression/manner' - the 'literary', 'mechanics' behaviours, for example, could not be translated into 'literary' and 'mechanical' expressions. Other 'behaviours', however, could. The 'anxious/introverted' female behaviours were translated into a rationale for an 'anxious, puzzled' expression, which also took account of some elements of female 'incompetence'. (see point 6). 'Passive sexuality' of females was translated into a 'sexy/flirtatious' expression - although it was felt impracticable to derive an expression for 'active sexuality' (attempts to categorise for leers proved impossible in the pilot study). Female 'nurturance' was translated into expressions of 'nurturance, compassion, caring' and a further rationale of female 'introversion' was categorised into a 'faraway, dreamy' expression. For males, the behaviours of 'extroversion' and 'leadership' were translated into two expressions - the 'positive' (smiling, exuberance etc.) and 'stern, negative, judgemental'.

The advantage of these categories was that they, in many respects, also tallied with stereotypes noted by Millum, 1974 who found the 'seductive, kittenish' (sexy) expressions to be 'female' and the carefree, comic, self-reliant (positive) expressions to be 'male' stereotypes. Millum also observed the 'maternal' (nurturant) expression to be a 'female' stereotype.

8. Touch and Attention direction

The only study in its genre to do so, that by Millum, 1974 translated the stereotypes of 'introversion' and 'extroversion' into specific elements of touch and character attention direction. Millum found that female characters were typified by stereotypes of inner-direction; they were more likely to touch themselves than males, and attend to 'middle-distance' or to something 'not seen' by the reader. Males were more outer-directed and likely to attend to, or touch an object, another person, or something outside of their personal scope. Attention to the reader was

most often showed by female characters. Stereotypes on 'touch' and 'attention direction' were, therefore, derived for the coding schedule largely from Millum's observations, and the sub-codes directly reflect his observed stereotypes. Thus, 'touching/tending self', was derived as a 'female' stereotype, and 'touching an object/product', or 'another adult' - 'male' stereotypes. 'Touching a child' was also derived as an additional 'female' stereotype on the basis of indications of child-care and involvement being so associated in general stereotype studies (Appendix A:3).

'Attention direction' was derived as a complementary and extended set of codes which went beyond simple 'touch' - as Millum describes - and was used as the basis for 'female' stereotypes of 'attention to reader', 'to self', 'eyes cast down' (additionally supported as an indication of introversion and a gesture of female 'submission'), and 'attention not seen' (as per Millum's female stereotype of 'attention to middle distance'). 'Male' stereotypes of 'attention to work/hobby', 'to product', to 'object, (not product)', to 'other main or second character' and 'to another person (not main or second character)' were also derived on the same basis as the 'touch' code. The more detailed sub-codes on 'attention direction' were used in order to allow for greater data interpretation/cross referral, if needed. In the event, however, some of these codes were collapsed, owing to small data cell size, in analysis of certain results.

9. Activity/position

There were strong indications in the general stereotype studies that males and females differ in stereotypes of activity. Males are described as 'active', a stereotype also construed in such indirect terms as 'athletic', while women are described as 'quiet', 'gentle', 'slow', (Appendix A:3). In general media studies, male stereotypes observed include 'active', and female stereotypes, 'do little in... activities' and 'punished for high level of activity' (Appendix A:1). Also, again, there is the strong stereotype of female 'introversion' compared to the boisterous enthusiasm in the male stereotype - 'rough', 'daring', 'adventurous' (Appendix A:3).

Although the codes of 'behaviour' and 'leisure' had been devised to take account of the more evident and specific types of activity/non-activity in the stereotypes, a general code of 'activity/position' was devised to overlap and complement those codes in terms of the general activity levels of the characters. While not derived directly, but by implication from the data, stereotypes by hierarchy including 'reclining/lying down', 'sitting' and 'walk slow movement' were derived as 'female', and 'standing' (which included some implication of 'dominance' and 'positivism') and 'fast movement' were derived as 'male'.

The next set of codes was derived to take into account those stereotypes associated with the physical appearance of characters. To a large extent, many of these codes were derived by implication, since few studies have measured this

aspect of the stereotype, with the sole, and thorough, exception of Millum, 1974.

Certain of these sub-codes are also derived by association - such as the clothing colour, and in the case of men, 'leisure' clothing as an extension of male 'leisure' roles, 'working' clothing as an extension of 'work' roles etc).

10. Physique

In general media studies, the stereotypic slimness of females and the larger body shape of males - whether by muscularity or obesity - have been noted (Appendix A:1). Long and Simon, 1974 in particular, report this dichotomy in stereotypes emphasising, in addition, the narrower range of body shapes, usually 'desirable' ones, for women. In general stereotype studies, however, most noted stereotypes of physical appearance relate more generally to aspects which have been assumed and included in the 'decorative' role, although the 'male' stereotypes of 'sturdy' and 'more physical defects' (Appendix A:3) might be construed as extensions of the larger body size and obesity aspects in the male image noted by Long and Simon, 1974. Apart from these main sources, however, the work on body somatypes does

provide a useful contribution. Such studies, for example, indicate that a slim, small frame is largely associated with the female stereotype, and a strong, large, muscular one with the male stereotype, (Draper, 1941; Bayley and Bayer, 1946; Darden, 1972; Jones, 1946; Jones and Bayley, 1950; Deaux and Bieri, 1967; Gottesman and Caldwell, 1966) and while 'plumpness' is considered, apparently, as an 'undesirable' stereotype for both sexes, there are some indications in the research that such an image is less 'undesirable' in the male stereotype (Dibiase and Hjelle, 1968; Jourard and Secord, 1954; Staffieri, 1967). On this basis, 'female stereotypes' of 'thin', 'slim' physiques were devised, and 'male' stereotypes of 'plump' and 'fat', as well as 'obviously muscular' were devised.

11. Hair colour

Millum, 1974 has been the main source in delineating potential stereotypes of hair colour, and in his study he showed that blonde and red hair - light blonde hair in particular - have been used in advertisements as female stereotypes, while dark hair - brown and black - are male stereotypes. Millum also notes other sources which indicate a similar perceived stereotype of hair colour, in particular the work by Berg, 1964 who suggests an association of fair hair with purity and passivity, the female stereotype attributes, and dark hair with a generalised image of 'darkness/power,' the male stereotype. Millum also adds his own observation that 'fair hair has a number of mythical/romantic connotations. Whiteness equals purity, and more than purity, innocence' (p.63) and hence is indelibly linked with a traditional image of 'femininity'.

Grey hair may, however, be construed as a masculine stereotype, not only because this equates with the more common, 'undesirable' aspects of maleness, but also because it is similarly emphasised as a 'stereotype' by feminist critics, who perceive grey hair as a permitted stereotype of the aging man but not the aging women. Thus, 'female' stereotypes of hair colour were devised for 'light blonde', 'dark blonde' and 'red' hair and 'male' stereotypes of 'brown', 'black' and 'grey' hair.

12. Hair style

Millum found in his study that long hair was associated with the female stereotype and 'short/cropped' hair with the male one. He also cites associated studies by Berg, 1964; Leach, 1967; and Ellis, 1936 who make similar interpretations of hair-style and its association with traditional masculinity and femininity. Berg, for instance, stresses that short hair is such a component of masculine imagery that short hair for women 'is in the nature of castration' (p.61). Nonetheless, short hair in the female image becomes more acceptable with the presence of curls, or what Millum terms 'shaped' or 'moulded' hair styles. Curly hair in his study was found to be a female stereotype.

Largely on the basis of Millum's study, since no other stereotype source investigated this aspect, stereotypes of 'short, curly', 'coiffed' and 'long hair' were derived as 'female' and 'short/straight' hair as 'male'.

In addition to these, a category of 'balding' was introduced as an obvious 'male' stereotype, but also to measure to what extent this, as an aspect in 'undesirable' appearance as per feminist critics, figured in the male imagery. Finally, as a result of the pilot study, a category of 'head-covering' was postulated as a 'female' stereotype.

13. Clothing

Millum, 1974 makes a telling review of the importance of clothing in personal symbolism and quotes many sources who ascribe to clothing a large proportion of interpersonal perception variation. He quotes Stone, 1962 in an assertion that clothing is an important symbol capable of carrying vital meanings for the wearer and the onlooker, and Barthes, 1967 who observes that clothes comprise a complex language of their own.

If clothes may be seen as a potential extension of the advertising, sex-role stereotype in personal appearance, it is notable that only incidental observations and the one study by Millum have ever examined this factor. In fact, as Millum

suggests, clothing may often be the only important indicator of status and occupation in an advertisement character's depiction.

In his study, Millum, 1974 demonstrated several stereotypes of clothing associated with each sex; for females, to wear 'part' or no clothing was, in fact, a stereotype in itself, as well as the more 'smart/formal' clothing. For males, the more 'conventional' male clothing was the most common stereotype, followed by 'leisure' clothing, although 'working' clothing was also a stereotype as an extension of the 'working' role.

Based largely on observations in Millum's study, but also by extending the stereotype of role concepts for males and females (see 'Role' code) the 'female' clothing stereotypes of 'part/no clothing', 'female' - 'ordinary' and 'feminine' - and 'smart/formal' clothing were devised. For males, stereotypes of 'traditional male', 'leisure', 'working', and 'sports/swimwear' were devised. In addition, owing to an association in many studies of 'males' with 'exterior' settings (see later discussion on 'settings') a further 'male' stereotype of 'outerwear' was added, while as a result of the pilot study, a 'male' stereotype of 'historic/exotic' clothing was postulated.

In the general area of clothing colour

14. Clothing colour (pilot study derivation)

Given the importance attached to clothing as a symbol of personal status and role, and in the light of observations by Millum in his review on hair colour, that colour carries its own connotations in sexual imagery, a code relating to the stereotypes of 'female' and 'male' clothing colour was introduced. The code was also influenced by the importance that colour plays in marketing generally, since it is well-established in consumer behaviour theory that colour plays an important role in perception. (Turle and Falconer, 1970; Engel Kollat and Blackwell, 1968). In an article reviewing the role of colour in consumer perceptions, Horowitz and Kaye, 1975 conclude that colour can become an important variable in consumer reaction, being associated with a value, idea or emotion. They note research by Griffin and Sachoraw, 1972 that:-

The use of blues and whites in advertising has long been associated with purity and cleanliness (blue is the main colour used as background for Tampax advertisements) and the colours of vibrancy - red, orange, yellow - can be used to denote potency and activity. (These are common colours in washing products).

If this knowledge is combined with other observations, noted earlier, on the association of whiteness/light colours with femininity, and dark colours with masculinity, then a postulated association of colour with male and female stereotypes may be made. It should be emphasised, however, that more than any other code, this one was speculative and derivative, but, nonetheless, 'female' clothing colour stereotypes of 'white/light' colours, 'pink/violets' (associated with the conventional 'pink-female' association), and 'blue/green' (these colours are also largely associated with female fashion preferences - Euromonitor Report, 1973) were derived. 'Male' stereotypes of 'black/dark', 'brown/fawn', clothing colours were also derived as well as the vibrant tones of 'orange/red/yellow' as symptomatic of potency and activity.

15. Marital Status

In the general stereotype studies, association with marital status is noted to be exclusively female, in that while females are described as 'most faithful in marriage' and 'jealous in marriage' (Appendix A:3) no notation of males in relation to marriage is made. In general media studies, a frequent observation is also that females are more likely than males to be shown as married, or to have some marital status, while males are often observed as 'not obviously married or engaged' (Appendix A:1).

Stereotypes of females as being 'obviously married/engaged' and for males to be 'obviously neither' were derived. These images were, obviously, only used when such symbolism, as a ring on the marriage finger, or copy emphasis warranted it. Where there was 'no way of seeing' this was used as a residual category.

None like to see...

to read such an element...

16. Relationships (type) (pilot study derivation)

A peculiar dichotomy emerges in the female stereotypes of relationships. On the one hand, Sexton and Haberman, 1974 suggest that female characters are generally depicted as 'impersonal and unrelated' to others, and Millum, 1974 showed that 'divergent' relationships were indeed more common among females. In the general stereotype studies, the 'introversion' of the female image has already been noted, while the relative isolation of female advertisement characters has been a topic of criticism by feminists.

On the other hand, the general stereotype studies delineate an image of women as 'talkative', 'sociable' and 'most motivated to live together' in relationships (Appendix A:3). In advertising studies, women have been described as more 'sociable' than men (Appendix A:2) and in general media studies, as 'more sociable', and more likely to be 'conversants' (Appendix A:1).

It must be accepted, therefore, that both stereotypes of relating are common to females and the contradiction that stereotypes often include has, in fact, been noted by several critics (Psychosources, 1973; Kluckholm, 1954).

Certain stereotypes of the type of relationship each sex engages in with others may, however, be postulated.

'Talking' for example, is a common female stereotype in general stereotype studies (Appendix A:3), while an extrovert, laughing relationship stereotype may be

construed from the associated male behavioural stereotypes. A relationship which is principally defined by 'holding onto' another may also be construed as 'female' on

the basis of the female 'follower' behavioural stereotype. To be looking at another,

as the principal relationship between two characters, may be postulated as a 'male' stereotype, as a symbol of the male aggressive and more direct behavioural

stereotypes, and it is true that extended, direct eye-contact has been noted as a

symbol of higher status and also aggression, with the lower status partner in a dyad more likely to look away (Exline Gray and Schrette, 1965). In 'looking', too, might

be construed an element of appraisal, which concurs with the 'leader' stereotype of

males. 'Calling to' another person may also be considered as a 'male' stereotype as an indicator of aggression and extroversion. To be 'working on' another person as the central relationship with them may be postulated as a 'female' stereotype on the basis of 'nurturant' behaviour and 'service' work stereotypes, while an 'unpleasant' relationship with another may be considered a 'male' stereotype on the basis of results in general stereotype studies which report male stereotypes of 'aggressive', 'blunt', and 'imposes will on others' (Appendix A:3), and such negative concepts as 'unaffectionate', 'violent', and 'bossy' in the general media studies (Appendix A:1).

To be not communicating at all with another may also be typified as a type of 'relationship' and, as noted earlier, this would appear to be a second strand of the 'female' relationship stereotype and was, therefore, included as such. In addition, it is reiterated, Millum, 1974 observed this to be a notable female stereotype in advertisements. To be 'not communicating' because of involvement in something other than the other person, however, is conceptually different from a clear 'no communication' with them. This element of 'extra involvement', however, has a strong connotation of independence - a 'male' stereotype - a postulation augmented by an associated with or involvement in a work or hobby activity, also 'male' stereotypes. Thus, this specific form of non-communication through 'immersion' was suggested as a 'male' stereotype.

It should be noted, however, that this code, as in the case of 'clothing colour', was in parts a derivative and speculative one, which was to be tested through the results of the main study.

In summary, stereotypes of 'no communication', 'talking', 'holding onto', 'working on' as principal relationship types were postulated as 'female', and stereotypes of 'looking', 'laughing', 'calling', 'unpleasant', and 'immersion' relationship types as 'male'.

17. Part exposed (pilot study derivation)

The 'part exposed' code was derived as one of several which were designed to measure aspects of the 'relevance' of male and female characters. (Span, Colour, Settings were others).

It is almost a truism to say that 'masculinity' is the more valued sexual characteristic, and this is supported by a diverse range of studies showing that male children are more valued (Broverman^{et al}, 1972), the predominance of the masculine term in language (Greer, 1971) and the greater valuation of masculine characteristics in self-assessment (McKee and Sheriffs, 1959, Sherrifs and Jarrett, 1953). The greater status and 'relevance' of males is also witnessed in studies on the use of personal space (Liebman, 1976), social schemata (Kueth and Stricker, 1963), the politics of touch in personal relationships (Henley, 1973, Jourard and Rubin, 1968), interactions in social situations, (Bernard, 1972, Willis and Williams, 1976), the assumed predominance of males in law (Coote and Gill, 1974) and even social science research design (Steinmetz, 1974). A general relevance of males in mass media studies has been observed in Chapter 2, so that even in female orientated media, the proportion of males to females shifts to a more equitable ratio but still often favours males as the predominant sex, in frequency terms. This point of male 'relevance' may be established from a myriad sources, but in this coding schedule, the problem was how to translate it into an assessment of advertisement characters. Noting the 'part-exposed' of the character was felt to be one indirect method, which must also be considered as original, since no other study has made a similar assessment. It was felt that as a symbol of 'relevance', a male would be more likely to have more of his body exposed in the advertisement than a female. Thus, on a graduation basis, stereotypes of 'female' exposure, as having only 'bits of body', 'face/shoulders', and 'half of body' exposed, were postulated, and a 'male' stereotype of 'most/all of body' exposed.

18. Span and colour of advertisement (pilot study derivation)

Associations of the characters with advertisement design, that is, in terms of 'colour' and 'span', was the subject of these codes. The rationale for the postulated stereotypes was made on the same basis of 'relevance' as in the previous code, so that to be in 'colour', 'large' or 'half' page advertisements were postulated as 'male' stereotypes and to be in 'black/white' or 'small' advertisements were postulated as 'female' stereotypes.

Assumptions of the greater 'relevance' of larger and colour advertisements are derived from the literature on effectiveness in advertisement design. It is known, for example, that smaller advertisements (less than half a page) attract less attention, and may be perceived as less 'important', than larger ones (Engel, Kollatt and Blackwell, 1968), while it is also known that an important factor in the attention to and retention of, an advertisement is its colour. Griffen and Sachoraw, 1972 for example, note in a review of such studies that colour increases the status of a product, making the merchandise more attractive, and these factors interact to influence both liking for the advertisement and its characters, and retention of imagery in the advertisement.

Another important factor in the decision to measure the 'span' and 'colour' of the advertisements lies in helping to establish the existence or otherwise of such indirect stereotypes as those noted by Millum, 1974 and Adams and Laurikietis, 1976, who have contended that contra-traditional images of men and women are usually presented in 'undesirable' ways - that is in black and white, and smaller advertisements.

19. Tone of advertisement

This code, and that on 'appeal' (following) were devised largely to investigate the stereotypes of advertisement association.

The 'tone' code was devised to measure the general atmospheres of advertisements with which males and females are associated.

This has not been investigated by any other study, but the stereotypes of 'tone' association were derived from certain 'behaviours' and general imagery. For example, stereotypes of male association with 'enthusiasm/fun' tones may be construed from the data on 'extroversion', as may the tone of 'keen sense of humour' (Appendix A:3). Stereotypes of female association with a 'homely/cosy' tone may be implied from the female 'domesticity' stereotype, as can a 'romantic' tone be derived from the female association with 'romanticism'.

Feminist critics have also intimated that females are stereotyped into an association with 'exotic/surreal' atmospheres - an idealised, unreal association (Greer, 1971) while Faulder, 1977 expresses concern at this 'escapist' element in female-directed advertisements.

Finally, a tone of 'ordinary' was introduced to describe those advertisement tones and atmospheres which could be described as 'ordinary for the situation', in which there is no overt attempt to create an atmosphere at all. This is to some extent associated with the 'ordinary' role too, but also implies a total relevance of the actor with what he/she is doing. On these bases, it was felt that an 'ordinary' tone would be associated with a 'masculine' stereotype.

It should also be noted, that the 'residual' category for the 'tone' code could also be construed as a stereotype. To have 'no tone' was also interpreted as 'just modelling' and, on the basis of work by Millum, 1974 and the female 'decorative' imagery, this was allocated as 'female'.

20. Appeal of advertisement

The sub-codes in the advertisement 'appeals' were designed chiefly to investigate stereotypes perceived by feminist critics.

Feminists, for example, as noted in Chapter 1, claim that female advertisement characters are associated with stereotyped appeals to 'insecurity' and 'male reward', 'appearance improvement', concern for the family, 'youth' and traditional femininity. Males, they suggest, are associated with more external and 'freedom' appeals, that is, to 'activity', 'freedom', pleasure for his own sake, and money and ability.

Certainly, the one study which has investigated such appeals has given some support to the feminist perceptions of these stereotypes. Sexton and Haber, 1974 showed that main character females were more likely to be associated with appeals to 'family approval' and approval of males, while males were more associated with appeals to their career advancement, social advancement and to a greater freedom. Incorporating the feminist criticisms and the observations of this study, 'female' stereotype appeals were postulated as those associated with 'general appearance improvement', 'youth, femininity (masculinity for males)', 'insecurity and male reward', and 'for family'. A further code for females, which was directed to the role of an 'efficient' consumer - that is to 'value/economy' in products - was also derived. For males, appeals to 'sensuality', 'activity/freedom', 'time-saving', 'money/ability' and 'style/expertise' were derived.

21. Settings

Advertising studies have particularly noted the association of females in advertisements with 'internal' and 'domestic' settings, and males with 'external' and 'working' settings (Appendix A:2). Similar associations have been noted in general media studies, wherein it is observed that females are more likely to be shown indoors - generally in houses (Appendix A:1).

The 'setting' code was, therefore, designed to take into account these associations, so that 'domestic interior' and 'other interior' settings were derived as 'female' stereotypes, and 'occupational interior', 'open exterior', 'formal exterior', and 'other exterior' were derived as 'male' stereotypes.

In the pilot study, however, it became apparent that many advertisement settings were what may be termed as 'artificial', that is 'studio backdrops' and 'print colour'. It was also noted that in these artificial settings males tended, more than females, to be placed into the greater context of the 'studio backdrop' and females more against the simple 'print colour'. It was felt that this observation might be an extension of the concept of 'relevance' of male and female actors and, therefore,

two more postulated stereotypes were derived - 'studio backdrop' settings as 'male' and 'print colour only' as 'female'.

22. Products

Some of the strongest and clearest stereotypes to emerge from the advertising studies were in relation to product-sex associations of the characters. Females were found to be more associated with products of 'appearance' or 'domestic' orientation, while males were associated more with the larger, more external products (Appendix A:2). The stereotypes of product association were, therefore, derived directly from these study results, and those described as 'female' were in the categories of 'food', 'personal (cosmetic)', 'personal (body)', 'clothing', 'small household' and 'children's' goods. For males, stereotyped product associations were derived for 'cigarettes/tobacco', 'alcoholic drink', 'large household', 'consumer durables', 'organisations' and, directly from the male 'leisure' stereotype, 'leisure' products.

23. Product use (relationship to product)

An important suggestion in some of the advertising studies was that males and females are presented in stereotypes of product use. Females, for example, have been found to be more likely to actually use the product, and males to benefit from the products use (secondary use), to be selling it, observing use, or directing no attention to it (Appendix A:2). Feminists have also suggested that a common female stereotype is the woman who holds, strokes and anthropomorphises the product, while to be shopping for the product may be viewed as an extension of the female 'domestic' stereotype noted above. On these bases, the 'female' stereotypes of 'directly' and obviously using the product, 'holding/stroking/talking' to it, and 'shopping' for it were derived. 'Male' product-use stereotypes of 'secondary' use, 'observing others' use it, 'selling' it and directing 'no attention' to it were derived.

The codes discussed above constituted the main body of sex-role stereotypes which were to be investigated. Most of them were derived directly from the literature on sex-role stereotypes, and some were derived as 'postulated' stereotypes to be validated by the main study.

Two other areas of potential stereotypes, however, needed derivative codes:-

(i) **Character ages**

A constant component of feminist criticism of the advertising sex-role stereotypes has been that the advertisement woman is invariably young, and younger than males. This factor has also been observed in general media studies, among which five studies (Appendix A:1) have observed that women are presented as younger than men, and in a narrower range of ages.

In order to investigate the existence or otherwise of such a stereotype, the coding schedule included a code for assessment of character ages. Five broad groups were chosen which, to a large extent, reflected the coding groups used in other studies, although a close replication was impossible owing to the different and often vague ('old', 'young', 'middle-aged') definitions used in those studies. These five groups are listed below, with the brief notation which will be used in tabulation of ages in the next chapter:-

Teens to early twenties	(T-20s)
Late twenties to early thirties	(20-30s)
Late thirties to early forties	(30-40s)
Late forties to early fifties	(40-50s)
Late fifties and pensioners/old people	(50+)

(ii) **Character numbers and types**

Another important aspect of the sex-role stereotype, noted particularly in general media studies, is the overall 'relevance' of males and females in terms of simple frequencies. It was observed in Chapter 2, that males are usually more common than females in most media, with the exception of more female-directed media wherein the proportion of males to females shifts to a more equitable, if still male-dominant, proportion.

It was the intention in this content analysis to code for main and second characters, as two specific groups, but it was also felt important to keep some record of the general character composition of these advertisements. Thus, record was made of characters, by broad types, which are given below:-

Female adults	(over 18 years)
Male adults	(over 18 years)
Female teenagers and children	('children')
Male teenagers and children	('children')
Babies	(Unsexed).

Coding schedule modifications

The codes and sub-codes outlined in the notes above represent the fundamental rationales for the items included in the final coding schedule. The original coding sheet for this schedule is set out in Appendix B:4.

Although this coding sheet was derived from the pilot study, the more extensive sample used in the main study suggested that not only the design but the order of this schedule required some modification, both to facilitate future use by researchers and to 'speed up' the coding procedure.

These modifications have been assumed in the reportage of results, and also in the rationales given above. Short details on these modifications are noted here.

- (i) In the original schedule separate and detailed coding was made in the 'product', 'work' and 'behaviour' codes, since these codes contained the 'stronger' derived stereotypes. As a result of using the schedule, however, it became evident that such detail was unnecessary owing not only to the low incidences of 'behaviour' and 'work' which led to a tedious and time-consuming reportage of '9' or 'does not apply' categories, but also, particularly in the case of the 'product' code, too unwieldy reportage of tiny data cells which added little to the overall aims of the study.

Thus, in the modified schedule set out in Appendix B:3 it is observed that these codes are transmuted to single code assessments which are felt to be more realistic and practical.

- (ii) In the original schedule certain codes were given two categories to take in additional detail. These codes, namely those on 'clothing', 'interior' and 'exterior settings', 'internal' and 'external leisure' were again found to be unwieldy in practice and it is recommended that the shorter codes reported above are 'tighter' and adequate.
- (iii) In the first schedule two additional codes were devised on a 'postulated' basis, but were abandoned during the coding simply because they were mainly unusable within the limitations of the print advertisement. These two codes on 'relationship (dominance)' (designed to measure male and female relationships) and 'background colour' were postulated as a result of the pilot-study but were found to be incapable of adequate assessment throughout the main study. In the case of the former code, 'dominance' is extremely difficult to infer on the basis of static characters and it was felt that the results would be overtly, if not exclusively, subjective and unreliable. In the case of the latter code, not only was there a preponderance of simple white printing colour, but its rationale appeared to be faulty when a background colour comprised, say, a wall, the sky etc. Very few advertisements had a clear background colour which did not fall within the confines of obvious props and in a large number of advertisements the colour was not obvious. Certainly, such detail might be interesting in other study aims, but in that of sex-role stereotyping, it was felt that the aims of the study did not strongly argue for the measurement, and the difficulties and ambiguities it incurred.
- (iv) The order of presentation of the codes was felt, however, to be largely useful, and only slight modifications to this were made. The change in order of codes seen in the revised schedule in Appendix B:3 was made, again, as a result of the more detailed and extensive use of the schedule.

It should be reiterated, however, that although this was felt to be the best order of coding, it does not reflect the reportage of results which are organised more for ease of discussion and reference in this and the next chapter.

Section 4:4 Validation of the coding schedule

The final version of the 'sex-role stereotype' coding schedule was submitted to various validation criteria. Some of these criteria are discussed anecdotally, and the experimental validation which was conducted on the main study results is given later.

First consideration was given to the main types of 'inspection' validity for a coding schedule suggested by Holsti, 1969, Stone et al, 1966 and others.

(i) Reflection of the purposes of the research (Holsti, 1969)

The purposes of the research into women's magazines were delineated through the literature review in Chapter 3. Fundamentally, the purpose of this research was to measure the existence or otherwise of sex-role stereotyping in women's magazine advertising, and it was felt that the derivation of 'sex-role stereotypes' in the coding schedule went a long way to aid this purpose. Other aims of the research were noted to revolve around perceptions of parties to the advertising sex-role debate, and since the advertiser, feminist and 'other women' stereotypes were all included in the schedule, and were capable of isolation, then such arguments were felt capable of investigation through the results.

(ii) Exhaustivity (Holsti, 1969)

It was felt that within the bounds of reasonable coding schedule length, the design of the schedule included as many relevant 'sex-role stereotypes' as possible. It was felt that all relevant sources were 'combed' and the final schedule compared well with the combined results of other studies.

(iii) Mutual exclusivity (Holsti, 1969)

All sub-codes within codes were to be considered exclusively, and no factor could be coded twice within each code. It was felt that the definition within codes and between them was sufficiently unambiguous to prevent uncertainty in coding. Several codes could be collapsed, so aiding shorter designs for other researchers, if so required, and each code could be considered as a separate 'data set' for analysis.

(iv) Derivation from a single classification principle

Sex-role stereotyping was taken as the main criterion for the codes and since this aim was strictly adhered to, then it was felt that this criterion for validity was met. Strict definition of terms was felt to add to this.

These four criteria combine to give what Holsti, 1969 refers to as a first 'content validity'. This, he suggests, is the main aim of a coding schedule. Stone et al, 1966 suggest that such 'content validity' is essentially an 'eyeball' test by the researcher and should be considered in terms of 'does the measure look as though it is measuring what the researcher wants it to measure', and importantly:-

"Do the entry terms look as though they are indicants of the same manifestation of the theoretical construct (p.218)

Since such a measure of validity is principally answered by reference to the degree of independent research which has contributed to the coding schedule, and since the coding schedule (with the partial exception of the pilot study) was so derived then a first indication of initial 'content validity' may be made.

Other more 'scientific' means of coding schedule validity, however, may be made and these are explained below:-

(v) 'Category Consistency'

This validity measure is largely aided by the use of detailed and exhaustive descriptions in a coding schedule of what a code or sub-code should include. This detailed schedule is set out in Appendix B:2, and results from an amalgamation of

the original schedule, the pilot and main studies. The final degree to which this 'category consistency' has been effective is indicated by coder reliability studies that is, the extent to which independent coders, using such defined terms agree on the allocation of 'units', in this case advertisement, character traits. The coder reliability studies are set out below, although it is accepted by writers on content analysis that criteria of category consistency is most problematical in the use of semantic coding schedules (Holsti, 1969).

(vi) **'Category stability'**

This validity measure is obtained from measurement of a characteristic over periods of time, with small changes in the stimulus situation. It is also referred to as a 'test re-test' measure, and is usually conducted by the original researcher. Although such problems relating to 'stability' occur more in semantic coding schedules (Holsti, 1969) it was felt important to test the inherent validity of 'over time' assessment for the sex-role stereotyping schedule. Accordingly, the writer re-coded a sample of the original advertisements 18 months after the original coding schedule and the results are set out later in this Section.

(vii) **'Interpretive validity'**

As Stone et al, 1966 observe, 'when a large number of variables are measured, a broad range of interpretations, perhaps conflicting, is always possible' (p.216). This factor of interpretive validity is one of the main points discussed in the general context of the advertising sex-role debate, and is central to the understanding of the main content analysis results in women's magazines. Interpretive validity is aided by reference to independent evidence and, as such, this is not discussed in this part of the thesis but will be returned to in Chapter 9.

(viii) **'Coder reliability'**

The issue of coder reliability for a coding schedule is inherent in points (ii) and (iii) above. It will also figure in the experimental validity studies noted below.

Coder reliability - inter-judge tests

Coder reliability or, as it is sometimes called, 'category reliability', depends on the analyst's ability to formulate categories so that, according to Schutz, 1958, 'competent judges will agree to a sufficiently high degree on which items of a certain population belong to the category and which do not' (p.152).

With most coder reliability studies, it is assumed that the coders should receive some form of prior training, although it is also accepted that poorly defined categories cannot counter training effects (Stempel, 1955).

In short, coder reliability studies are principally formulated to establish the descriptive and content applicability of a coding schedule, and its properties as a valid research instrument.

The content analysis literature contains a number of approaches which may be used to resolve problems of reliability attributable to category construction and use.

The method of coding reliability chosen for the inter-judge tests on the sex-role stereotype content analysis coding schedule was one utilising the ratio of coding agreements to the total number of coding decisions. This method, which Holsti, 1969 describes as 'widely used' (p.140), is represented by the formula:-

$$\text{Coder Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

where M is the number of coding decisions on which the two judges are in agreement, and N₁ and N₂ refer to the number of decision made by judges one and two respectively.

Fundamentally, the main aim of the inter-judge, coder reliability test was felt to be the establishment of agreement coefficients with the coding allocations used by the writer. Since the major part of the thesis analysis was to rest on the content analysis results, the establishment of some criteria of judgement inherent in those results was felt to be necessary.

A secondary aim was to use the inter-judge results to 'tighten-up' the definition of certain category descriptions, which could only be fruitfully achieved by independent judges using the categories in isolation.

In undertaking the inter-judge tests, two independent coders were used and, to stabilise a possible 'sex' effect, one male and one female were chosen. For interest, and to examine the extent to which 'training' was relevant in the efficient use of the final coding schedule, one judge received a short instruction session on the use of the schedule, including some experimental coding of 'dummy' advertisements, (Coder 2) and the other judge assessed the advertisement sample from the written instructions of the coding schedule alone (Coder 1).

In order to select the advertisements, a sample of magazines were taken from the full set available for use in the main content analysis, with the exception of those obtained at the Bodleian Library, at Oxford University. With the rider that only one magazine from each publication was to be chosen, in order to give a wider range of relevant magazines, the coders selected 15 magazines comprising 1975 copies of 'My Weekly', 'Ideal Home', 'Living', 'Romance', 'Woman's Weekly', 'Over 21', 'Woman and Home', 'Women's Own', 'She', 'Honey', 'Woman's Realm', 'Woman', '19', 'Cosmopolitan' and 'Harpers and Queen'.

They were then asked to randomly sample 100 advertisements from these 15 journals.

The judges then coded 25 of these advertisements. This first sample provided a 'dummy' run after which an informal inspection of the data and consultation with the coders served to 'iron out' several ambiguities and misunderstandings that the schedule included.

The remaining 75 advertisements were then coded, and from these a final sample of 50 were chosen. This 'inspection' of the data was necessary to weight the sample to one which could give some measure of the less obvious codes, such as 'work' or 'behaviour'.

Each advertisement in the final sample of 50 was therefore coded three times; once by the writer, and by Coders 1 and 2 respectively.

Each judge coded in isolation from the other, and no collusion or reference to 'what the other had scored' was allowed. Each judge made 1600 coding decisions.

The results of the inter-judge reliability tests are given in Table 4:2. Since the writer was principally interested in the judge agreement with the main content analysis results, the Coder Reliability Ratios represented comparisons with the writer's coding results. The ratios represented a translation of the original coding schedule into the revised schedule format, which was the one used by the independent judges.

Two sets of data are given in Table 4:2. First, the coder reliability scores for the two judges against the writer's assessment are given for each major code. The 'agreement decision' column represents the number of judgements in the 50 advertisements in which each coder agreed with the writer's assessment. The coder reliability ratio translates this figure into a coefficient through the formula outlined earlier.

Second, an overall reliability score is given for each coder, over the whole schedule. These two sets of analysis were felt to be necessary, since an 'overall' score alone can be a fallacious judgement of the total schedule validity. It would be expected, for example, that assessments of mechanical factors such as 'Span' 'Colour' and 'Number of Characters' would obtain higher agreement than more qualitative decision on, say, 'Appeal' and 'Tone'. Detailed code coefficients could more efficiently highlight any ambiguities or low agreements in the individual codes.

Discussion of results

There is no independent method by which coder reliability scores may be assessed. As Holsti, 1969 points out, 'defining an acceptable level of reliability is one of the many problems in content analysis for which there is no single solution' (p.142). Noting that the problem of reliability levels 'poses real dilemmas for the investigator', Holsti also suggests that reliability 'must also be answered within the context of a given research problem' (p.142).

In assessing the results of the inter-judge tests it should be noted, however, that the ratio coefficients did compare well with those reported in the few studies of this genre which have actually used inter-judge tests. Seggar and Wheeler, 1973 for

Table 4:2

Inter-judge reliability tests Inter-coder coefficients

<u>Code</u>	<u>Agreement*</u>		<u>Coder Reliability Ratio</u>	
	<u>Coder 1</u>	<u>Coder 2</u>	<u>Coder 1</u>	<u>Coder 2</u>
Span	47	48	.94	.96
Colour	44	47	.88	.94
Product type	41	44	.82	.88
Setting	39	49	.78	.98
Tone	31	34	.62	.68
Appeal	29	33	.58	.66
N (male adults)	50	50	1.00	1.00
N (female adults)	50	50	1.00	1.00
N (male children)	50	50	1.00	1.00
N (female children)	50	50	1.00	1.00
N (babies)	50	50	1.00	1.00
N (animals)	50	50	1.00	1.00
Sex	50	50	1.00	1.00
Age	39	43	.78	.86
Physique	30	33	.60	.66
Clothing	32	30	.64	.60
Clothing colour	43	46	.86	.92
Hair colour	40	38	.80	.76
Hair style	34	35	.68	.70
Marital status	34	39	.68	.78
Expression/manner	34	39	.68	.78
Part exposed	44	41	.88	.82
Activity/position	44	43	.88	.86
Touch	41	47	.82	.94
Attention direction	40	36	.80	.72
Behaviour	49	49	.98	.98
Work	50	50	1.00	1.00
Domestic work	50	49	1.00	.98
Leisure	46	48	.92	.96
Competence	47	47	.94	.94
Role	41	38	.82	.76
Product use	30	28	.60	.56
<u>Overall reliability</u>	1349	1387	.84	.87
<u>Detailed categories</u>				
character relationships (N = 7)	7	7	1.00	1.00
main/second character choice (N = 7)	6	7	.85	1.00

N.B. code order represents that in the revised coding schedule.

*with the writer

Table 4:3

Category stability study - over-time tests

<u>Code</u>	<u>Agreement Decisions</u>	<u>Coder Reliability Ratio</u>
Span	50	1.00
Colour	50	1.00
Product type	46	.92
Setting	45	.90
Tone	42	.84
Appeal	47	.94
N (male adults)	49	.98
N (female adults)	50	1.00
N (male children)	50	1.00
N (female children)	50	1.00
N (babies)	50	1.00
N (animals)	50	1.00
Sex	50	1.00
Age	44	.88
Physique	43	.86
Clothing	47	.94
Clothing colour	45	.90
Hair style	42	.84
Marital status	46	.92
Expression/manner	44	.88
Part exposed	49	.98
Activity/position	46	.92
Touch	43	.86
Attention direction	42	.84
Behaviour	46	.92
Work	49	.98
Domestic work	49	.98
Leisure	46	.92
Competence	49	.98
Role	46	.92
Product use	48	.96
<u>Overall reliability</u>	1499	.94
<u>Detailed categories</u>		
allocation of:-		
character relationships		
(N = 18)	15	.83
main/second character		
choice (N = 18)	17	.94

N.B. code order represents that in the revised coding schedule.

example, reported ratio coefficients of .95 for simple descriptions of work types in television programmes, and the coefficients for 'work' and 'domestic' work, in the study reported here, approached this level. McArthur and Resko, 1975 reported levels of .91 for 'product allocation', .84 for 'role', and .66 for location, the codes for which direct comparisons may be made in this study, and such coefficients did compare well with the codes of 'product', 'role' and 'settings' noted in Table 4:2. Their overall average coefficient for six codes was .86 which also compared well with the 'overall reliability' scores in this study.

Sexton and Haberman, 1974 reported coefficients which varied between .78 and .86, and Venkatesan and Losco, 1975 reported coefficients which varied between .30 and .99, ranging, as is observed in Table 4:2, between the more 'mechanical' assessments (e.g. advertisement size) and more qualitative assessments, such as 'role'. In short, the individual and overall coder reliability ratios fell well within the 'acceptable' range of those used in studies similar to the one reported here.

Two other points should, however, be noted.

First, it is evident from the differential coefficients of Coders 1 and 2, that Coder 2 achieved, on average and in 'overall reliability', higher scores than Coder 1. Such a result does indicate that some level of 'training' before use of the schedule may improve the reliability of the results. It was heartening to observe, however, that the coding schedule used without training, did achieve some good, comparable results, suggesting that the category definition in that schedule was sufficiently well described to achieve a good measure of coder agreement.

Second, if there are 'weaknesses' in the coder coefficients, it was in the ratings of the more qualitative codes, such as 'tone', 'appeal', 'physique' and 'product use'. Training did not appear to contribute markedly to the assessment of these codes, since the 'trained' coder often yielded a lower coefficient than the 'untrained' one. Detailed inspection of the coding for these qualitative decisions did, however, reveal that most of the disagreements occurred through an overtly cautious approach by the independent coders. That is, when uncertain, rather than making

an allocation, they attributed a 'does not apply' or 'unclear' coding decision. It is expected that longer and more precise training and practice may have eliminated this trend. Alternatively, it may have been that the writer was over-sensitive in her allocation of codes in these instances. Fortunately, true disagreement was most marked in those instances of 'minority' codes, such as 'selling the product', and did not occur in those instances of 'major' codes also observed to be dominant stereotypes in Chapter 5.

Category stability - over-time reliability test

The category stability tests were accomplished by the writer 18 months after the original schedule was completed.

Using the revised coding schedule, and translating the original coding format to this 'new' one, 50 advertisements were selected randomly from a sample of eight magazines:- 'Cosmopolitan', 'Woman's Own', 'Family Circle', 'Woman's Weekly', 'Woman', 'She', 'Living' and 'Good Housekeeping'.

None of the advertisements had also been used in the inter-judge tests reported above.

The results of the category stability of 'over-time' tests accomplished by the writer are given in Table 4:3. Overall, the coder reliability ratios were good, and well above the average of those reported in relevant studies (see above).

Such a result is useful in consideration of the 'habituation' factor in coding large numbers of advertisements. The writer coded over 1600 advertisements in 1976, and it is possible that a 'response set' may have occurred in the notation of certain common codes. The later set of judgements, made in a more relaxed and considered fashion than was afforded by the time limits and sheer labour involved in the first assessment did not, however, yield coder reliability ratios at a lower level than have been shown by independent coders (see Table 4:2).

In summary, the inter-judge and over-time reliability tests yielded coder reliability ratios which were generally considered to be 'acceptable' and were well within the limits of acceptability used in studies in the same genre and on similar samples.

Qualitative assessments were found to have lower ratio levels, but many of these represented disagreement on the 'minor' or less frequent sub-code allocations, or a caution in attribution.

In Chapter 5 and in Chapter 9, a significant part of the content analysis results rests on notation of the 'major' or 'dominant' stereotypes. Since it is these 'dominant' stereotypes on which coder disagreement was low, then such an analytical notation would appear to have been wise, although it is accepted that in other studies of this genre, particularly in that by Venatesan and Losco, 1975 which most approximates that to be discussed in Chapter 5, conclusions were freely made on code results where inter-judge agreement was as low as .33.

Section 4:5 Women's magazines - sample, methodology and analysis

As Holsti, 1969 cogently observes, in content analysis 'the initial impetus for sampling may be the very practical requirement of reducing the volume of data to manageable proportions' (p.128) and such a consideration also influenced the selection of women's magazines for the final study sample. Over 70 women's magazines are annually published in Great Britain giving a total annual potential sample of over 25,000 issues.

This practical requirement of data reduction apart, however, another important criterion for content analysis samples is that they should be 'relevant to some larger body of documents than those being coded' (Holsti, 1969, p.128) and this apparently truistic observation is not as simple to resolve by conventional 'random sampling' means, in the print media field, as first appears. For print media, the 'relevance' of the sample, or in more conventional terms, its 'representativeness', can take two forms. In the first instance, a sample of print media may be taken as representative of the journals published in a certain time period, and, as such, is a sample of what journals are available and circulated. Secondly, such a sample may also be selected on the basis of the circulation/exposure levels of those journals and be representative of the main content exposed to the reader. The first method gives equal importance to all journals, the second to those journals most widely read by the particular market. The more frequent sampling method used in previous press study designs in content analysis of advertising sex-role stereotypes is the first, where one or more magazines have been selected from specified groups. (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971; Wagner and Banos, 1973; Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976 and Sexton and Haberman, 1974). The last study used this sampling method for reasons of simple representativeness, that the magazines 'all have large circulations and national audiences. They are chosen because they represent different genres of magazines; (each) has a different appeal and a different publisher (p.41). Only in the study by Venkatesan and Losco, 1975 - a study which

in many ways has been shown to be most useful in this genre of literature to the issue of women's magazines' advertising content - was there utilisation of the second approach to sampling - that is, from the angle of circulation and exposure figures. Instead of a random selection of magazines, the researchers made recourse to standard 'Rate and Data' services to select four magazines from three classification groups to represent actual market readership and exposure.

Holsti, 1969 recognises this problem in the sampling of print media and suggests that the researcher choose a method which reflects the 'most important' documents for the aims of the study and that the 'initial requirement of (sampling) validity is that the sample be representative of the universe about which generalisations are made' (p. 128). In the first place, then, the concept of 'importance' had to be resolved, and it was felt that in many ways the method used by Venkatesen and Losko, and their rationale that the circulation, i.e. what a reader is most exposed to, should be the major consideration. To use a simple 'equal issue' sampling technique would, for example, blur the fact that more women read certain women's magazines than others. More women do read 'Woman' and 'Women's Own', for example, than 'The Lady' and 'Jackie' and some consideration should be given to this fact. In addition, one of the aims of this study was to make inferences as to the content of women's magazines, particularly as to how such content 'reflected' women in general, and an inadequate consideration of what most women exposed themselves to in this field would appear to be methodologically unsound. In this latter respect, the 'universe' to which Holsti, 1969 refers and about which 'generalisations are made' would then not be just 'women's magazines' but be weighted to consider a universe of the 'magazines most often read by women in general'.

A final consideration which favoured the 'circulation' criterion for magazine selection, is the matter of 'monthly' and 'weekly' magazines. A monthly magazine such as 'Homes and Gardens' may contain up to four times as many advertisements as 'Woman', yet have well under a quarter of 'Woman's' circulation. Since, as was

to be the case, all advertisements in a particular magazine were to be sampled, then the 'equal issue' sampling method would necessarily give disproportionate weight to advertisements reaching a relatively small number of women.

Thus, the basic sampling method of this study was taken not to be simply an equal representation of all women's magazines, but a more complex consideration of magazines by circulation. This is the more uncommon method, but was felt to be more in line with the broader aims of the thesis. As Holsti, 1969 observes, this technique 'which permits stratification on the basis of circulation' has been developed and used successfully in other studies in other media, and although 'this will not yield the same result as a random sample because the sampling unit is the reader rather than the (medium)' (p.131), it can give a more complex and interesting view of the more available 'pictures' transmitted to the readers of a journal.

Given these broad considerations and rationale for the fundamental method of sampling, the following sampling procedure was used:-

(i) Date

The coding schedule was derived and developed during 1976. It was felt, however, that a full year of magazines was needed to give a fully representative sample of women's magazines available, particularly since content of advertisements will reflect seasonal dispersion of product interest. (e.g. holiday advertising peaks from January to May; Christmas advertising dominates the journals from September to December). Since the product/role factor was to be considered in the analysis of advertising imagery, a full product range was felt to be desirable.

In the event, however, this decision to use a 'full year' of advertisements eliminated 1976 magazines so those for 1975 were used as the basis of the study.

(ii) **Source**

British Rate and Data gives a full list of all publications available in this country for any one year, including details as to circulation and magazine type. In this publication, the conventional 'women's' magazine is listed under both 'Women's' and 'Home' interest journals and the full list of magazines from these two sections was used as the first sample population list.

(iii) **Selection**

In the first instance, certain magazines were excluded from the sample as being unrepresentative of 'mass market' journals with which this study was felt to be principally concerned. Journals such as 'Home and Country', published by and for members of the Women's Institute, specialist journals such as 'Slimming', and other 'hobby' journals on knitting, motherhood, embroidery and cooking were excluded on this criterion. It was also felt that such journals would skew the sample to advertisements which were principally concerned with attracting specialist interest groups. All other magazines which did not fall into these specialist categories were included. This final total represented 48 different women's magazines.

(iv) **Availability**

For the final choice of magazines, sampled to reflect the full year, (see below) availability presented a problem and, in some cases, forced a slightly different sampling frame in terms of month and week for sample issues than was initially and ideally proposed. Publishers, however, (and after some persuasion and difficulty) were able to supply back copies, and the remaining issues were located through a local radio appeal in Birmingham, and through research in the archives at the Bodleian Library at Oxford University. Other researchers in this field should note, however, that availability is a major problem and can (as in the case of this study) extend considerably the study completion time.

(v) Circulation criteria

The initial set of 48 magazines were listed, and the circulation figures, attributed to each journal by British Rate and Data, were noted. Each magazine was then ordered according to its circulation figure from the highest to the lowest. The number of magazines chosen for the final sample was then weighted according to its priority in this circulation list. To a large extent this weighting had to be circumscribed by the magazines' availability (publishers rarely had more than 15 back copies of a journal available and this figure was not consistent over all journals). Finally, however, 12 magazines were selected for the year for the top three journals, six for the next five, four for the year for the top monthly magazines etc. This weighting was calculated on a combination of magazine position and proportion of total circulation in the total magazine list. Distribution for the year was then balanced by re-checking the sample and staggering the available issues. In this way, every month of the year was adequately covered by circulation criteria, and by monthly and weekly publication.

The details for this sampling are set out in Table 4:4. Where circulation figures are not given this represents a similar absence of notation in British Rate and Data which only gives accurate circulation reportage to magazines over a circulation of 25,000. The full list of magazines giving dates, and advertisements noted per issue is given in Appendix B:1. The final total list of magazines sampled was 126 over the 48 publications.

(vi) Magazine types

One intention of this study on women's magazines was to provide an analysis of the advertisement imagery in the three main types of women's magazines observed in Chapter 3, 'mass market', 'young' and 'up-market'. A more

detailed sample of women's magazines on the basis of these three groups was, therefore, also established and the results are set out in Table 4:5. To a large extent, how the magazines were allocated to the three groups was guided by the agreement among commentators on these three groups. (e.g. Retail Business, 1973). Where there was some doubt as to allocation, then recourse was made to data from the National Readership Survey, 1975, circulation figures and information from publishers.

The easiest group to define was the 'young' magazines, since data from these sources indicated reader age, and those which had principal readership in the 15-25 age group were thereby allocated. For the other divisions, 'mass market' magazines were principally chosen by circulation priority, modified by readership ages - that is, readers whose ages did not fall into the 'young' group. The 'up-market' magazines, those considered in the sources to be the more expensive and 'glossy' magazines, were relatively easy to allocate mainly by their 'quality' image and presentation.

For the most part allocation presented few difficulties. Where a magazine had an ambiguous flavour publishers usually proved helpful in describing how such a magazine was 'seen' in the broad media group.

Certain problems, however, arose. For 'Vogue' magazine, for example, its principal readership is in the 15-24 age group, but it is clearly in line with an 'up-market' image, and was so allocated. 'She' magazine showed a high 'young' readership, but also qualified as a 'mass market' magazine. (11th in circulation). On consultation with the publishers, however, it was allocated to the 'young' group. All 'romance' magazines were allocated to the 'young' group, since most had a strong bias, if not absolute advantage, to this group.

(vii) Advertisement selection

The 'recording units' in this content analysis were the advertisements, and every advertisement in each of the magazines sampled was considered for coding. None was excluded. The main rationale for such a global approach

was the evidence on 'page traffic' scores for women's magazines, noted in Chapter 3, Section 3:1 to be exceptionally high. On this basis, since it is known that women's magazine readers were likely to expose themselves to most pages in the magazines, all advertisements were considered relevant. This factor also combined with what is known of the attention that women give to these magazines. 6,663 advertisements were therefore considered.

Of this first sample, advertisements were then excluded which did not contain any human character (children were not excluded), and on this basis the final sample of advertisements available for coding reduced to 1663. This factor is of interest in its own right, however, since the 'human character' advertisements then only comprised 25% of those available. Thus, - and this has not been noted in other studies - the emphasis on human characters at all in advertisements is low, suggesting that whatever the data on 'stereotyping', its incidence must be seen as small, relative to 'product only' advertising.

1199 'overlaps' were recorded - that is, advertisements which were the same between magazines. No one advertisement occurred more than three times, however, and most of these overlaps (97%) represented doubling up of the larger, full-page, colour advertisements between magazines of different 'type'. These were not double-coded although it is accepted that the 'effect' on the reader is to double the proportion of certain advertisements to which she is exposed.

As regards the size of advertisements chosen for measurement, all were included, ranging from the large two-page advertisements to the smaller classified ones. Other press media studies have only used those over, say, half a page, but in the light of notation and attention factors in women's magazines it was felt to be desirable to include all sizes. Data on size emphases could be partialled out where necessary.

Table 4:4

Sample of Women's magazines by Circulation and Issue number

<u>Magazine</u>	<u>Circulation</u>	<u>Weekly/ Monthly</u>	<u>Sample Issue</u>
1. Woman's Weekly	1,708,921	Weekly	12
2. Woman	1,619,472	Weekly	12
3. Woman's Own	1,583,357	Weekly	12
4. My Weekly	913,903	Weekly	6
5. Family Circle	854,250	Monthly	6
6. Woman's Realm	853,181	Weekly	6
7. People's Friend	749,668	Weekly	6
8. Woman and Home	679,888	Monthly	6
9. Living	586,881	Monthly	4
10. Cosmopolitan	391,189	Monthly	4
11. She	313,247	Monthly	4
12. Good Housekeeping	290,527	Monthly	4
13. Jackie	x	Weekly	4
14. True Magazine	208,531	Monthly	2
15. Loving	203,318	Weekly	2
16. True Romances	194,780	Monthly	1*
17. True Story	194,780	Monthly	1*
18. Look Now	195,181	Monthly	2
19. Honey	179,797	Monthly	2
20. Annabel	174,761	Monthly	2
21. 19	171,883	Monthly	2
22. Hers	166,503	Monthly	1
23. Homes and Gardens	161,392	Monthly	1
24. Ideal Home	159,865	Monthly	1
25. Woman's Journal	156,819	Monthly	1
26. Hi! (incl. Petticoat)	151,985	Weekly	1
27. Vogue	120,942	Monthly	1
28. Love Affair	118,853	Weekly	1
29. Red Letter	100,082	Weekly	1
30. Story World	100,000	Weekly	1
31. Over 21	98,152	Monthly	1
32. Red Star Weekly	92,899	Weekly	1
33. Woman's Story Magazine	92,547	Monthly	1
34. Harpers and Queen	90,072	Monthly	1
35. The Lady	75,161	Weekly	1
36. My Story	25,000	Monthly	1
37. Spare Rib	25,000	Monthly	1
38. Diana	x	Weekly	1
39. Mirabelle	x	Weekly	1
40. Fabulous 208	x	Weekly	1
41. Favourite Story Weekly	x	Monthly	1
42. Romantic Confessions	x	Monthly	1
43. Romance	x	Monthly	1
44. My Love	x	Monthly	1
45. Nova	x	Monthly	1
46. Pink	x	Weekly	1
47. Mates	x	Weekly	1
48. OK	x	Weekly	1

*: Only one copy was available.

x: circulation less than 25,000: not listed in British Rate and Data, 1975

Table 4:5

Magazine by Type - 'Mass', 'Young' and 'Up-market' groups

<u>Mass Market Magazines</u>	<u>Circulation Position</u>	<u>NRS Readership details</u>
		<u>Age Priority</u>
Woman's Weekly	1	45-54
Woman	2	25-34
Woman's Own	3	25-34
My Weekly	4	65 and 45
Woman's Realm	6	45+
People's Friend	7	55+
Family Circle	5	25-45
Living	9	25-45
Woman and Home	8	25-34
<u>Young (and Romance) Magazines</u>		<u>15-24 years as Largest Group</u>
19	21	78%
Cosmopolitan	10	54%
Spare Rib	-	-
Over 21	26	61%
She	11	25%
Honey	19	59%
Nova	-	35%
Woman's Story Magazine	39	32%
True Magazine	13	35%
Loving	14	32%
True Romances	16	35%
True Story	17	63%
Look Now	18	37%
Hers	22	34%
Hi!	26	79%
Love Affair	30	41%
Story World	35	76%
OK	-	59%
My Story	-	34%
Annabel	20	34%
Jackie	-	44%
Diana	-	33%
Mirabelle	-	60%
Fabulous 208	-	60%
Favourite Story Weekly	-	64%
Romantic Confessions	-	72%
Romance	-	34%
My Love	-	40%
Pink	-	46%
Mates	-	45%
Red Letter	-	65%
Red Star Weekly	-	70%
<u>Up-Market</u>		
Homes and Gardens	23	
Ideal Home	24	
Good Housekeeping	12	
Woman's Journal	25	
Vogue	29	
The Lady	43	
Harpers	-	

(viii) Coding of characters

The coding schedule was designed to allow for the detailed coding of main and second characters, although 'all character' presence was recorded for each advertisement (see final observations in Section 4:3). Second character coding was used to investigate factors of hidden stereotyping and to extend the concept of 'major/minor', 'desirable/undesirable' stereotyping noted in the study by Millum, 1974. In the event, however, such second characters were few, most advertisements being composed of single character depictions.

Where two or more characters appeared, the 'main' character was taken as the 'star' of the advertisement design, usually clearly evident by visual and copy priority. This definition was sufficient for the large majority of advertisements. Where ambiguity arose, then the 'main' character was taken to be the 'product representative' (as per McArthur and Resko, 1975).

The 'main' character was chosen as the defining character for data analysis, simply on the grounds of advertisement attention criteria. It is established in advertising design, for example, that to attract a target audience, the 'main character' is she/he who is the principal character as defined by that target. (Engel, Kollat and Blackwell, 1968). Second characters are usually 'filler' or 'passive/respondent' characters to illustrate or further define the main character's role.

When advertisement criteria were measured - 'span', 'colour' etc. - then only data for main characters were recorded, to prevent overlap. Both characters were rated on 'person' criteria such as behaviour, role, clothing etc. Where data on two character advertisements were needed for these advertisement criteria codes then data could be partialled out accordingly.

(ix) Data analysis

All data analysis and computer programming were handled by the writer and involved several stages. First, all advertisement codes and sub-codes were translated for computer coding so that each major code was ascribed a variable symbol (01, 02, 03 etc.) and each sub-code a sub-variable symbol (using both numeric and alphanumeric symbols where necessary). The system (revised) is set out in Appendix B:2. The symbols were sequential for major codes using continuous measurement, including the second character codes.

When all data were collected, these symbols were then card-punched through University facilities and entered on to the main University computer, the 1904 S. The 'package' used for analysis was the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, (S.P.S.S.), 1970. (The later, 1975 edition was used for analysis of later studies).

The central analysis facility used was that for descriptive statistics and one-way frequency analysis and a programme for the data was written on the basis of this facility. The result of this analysis was to acquire frequency statistics for the male and female advertisement characters for each code and sub-code, and these were entered on to separate coding sheets which are reproduced in Appendix A. Although it would have been desirable to use the SPSS package for subsequent statistical analysis, it is noted that the original coding schedule with its over-detailed 'product', 'work' etc. categories precluded the programming of such analysis, and is, therefore, a further basis for recommending the more 'handy' revised schedule which would have been so capable. In the event, however, further statistical analysis of results was accomplished from the extracted frequency data. This further analysis included X^2 and Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficients (r_s values). In the case of the former statistic, which was used to compare the frequencies of

male and female characters in each code and sub-code to test the central hypothesis that there were no differences in portrayal in the codes and sub-codes for the two sexes, a programme was written for the Hewlett Packard computer. This separate programme represented the common 2X2, X^2 contingency table and included a 'Yates' correction to take account of small data cells. Use of this programme entailed the entering of the four frequency cells in order and the results of the computer analyses are those given in Appendix C. The X^2 calculation, with the Yates correction used on expected values of less than five, was only used in contingency tables where $N=40$ or more; where $N=20-40$ then Fisher exact probability values were used. This general system for validity is recommended by Siegal, 1956, Cochran, 1954 and Fienberg, 1979. In the case of the Spearman (r_s) values, the Sub-programme 'Partial Corr' in the SPSS package was used. A programme was written for this purpose and each set of frequency data, for each major code, for each sex, was entered. The results of these calculations are given in Chapter 5.

When specific types of data extraction were needed, say, in examining different advertisement sizes, ages of characters, product/role data then the SPSS 'select if' instruction was entered into the original frequency programme to extract these 'special cases'. In the case of extracting magazine types ('mass market' etc) the 'select if' instruction was used on the coded magazine title entered into the top of the advertisement coding sheet. It should again be noted that actual use of the coding schedule and its application to computer analysis brought out certain short-comings which are

corrected, by implication, in the revised schedule. This has been noted above, but it should also be added that other researchers using this schedule might like to add in a separate code simply noting the first or main character position and sex, in order to extract these 'special cases'. The original schedule omitted this facility and the subsequent need to extract data through the age categories on the 'select if' instruction was a little unwieldy.

The results of these computer analyses are given in Appendix A where details of values for the major sets of calculations are given. The results of the content analysis are given in the next chapter, and the reportage, for the most part, summarises these results. Where specific calculations were made to illuminate certain points, the details of the calculations are given in the text. In order to fully take account of trends in the data, results were considered significant at a level less than $p=.10$.

Chapter 5

Women's Magazine Content Analysis - Results

Chapter 5

Women's Magazine Content Analysis - Results

The discussion of the content analysis results will be made from two angles.

The first approach will be to review the results of data which tend to give some support for the existence of sex-role stereotyping in the advertisement sample.

The second approach will be to review the evidence which tends either to give evidence against sex-role stereotyping, or to suggest alternative interpretations of the stereotypes, in certain cases by analysing the data from the view of the advertiser. Unless otherwise indicated, all analysis will deal principally with main characters, as the central identifying vehicles of the advertisements.

(i) Evidence for sex-role stereotyping (Part 1)

It was suggested in Chapter 2 that good evidence for sex-role stereotyping could be assumed if two conditions of analysis were fulfilled. First, that aspects of the sex-role stereotype were those which were measured; and in the content analysis coding schedule, the sub-codes derived were those which were based either directly or indirectly on objective evidence of such stereotyping. The masculinity or femininity of each stereotype was indicated in Table 4:1. Second, it should be shown that these stereotypes occurred significantly more for each sex, in the sex-appropriate direction. Thus, evidence for sex-role stereotyping in this sample was assumed to be supported where the male or female characters showed significant differences in the direction of the sex-appropriate code.

Analysis from this view included notation of sub-code, main code and age data. Analysis was also made for visual hierarchies of stereotypes, to detect the 'stronger' ones, and stereotypes by advertisement 'type'.

(ii) Evidence 'against' sex-role stereotyping (Part 2)

Evidence 'against' sex-role stereotyping was investigated through various types of data analysis. In the first place, the 'inappropriate' stereotypes were noted and analysed, that is, where one sex scored significantly more in the direction of a sex-inappropriate stereotype. Non-significant differences were then observed, and discussion of these, and the visual hierarchy of 'weak' stereotypes, was made. Analysis of the data from an advertising perspective was then made, both in terms of product/role congruity and the observation of differences in stereotypes by magazine type. Second character data was then reviewed, which indicated some strong cross-sex stereotyping, and finally, the overall visual prominence of the female character was noted in detail, including the implications this had for her visual prominence in certain 'male' stereotypes.

Finally, a brief discussion of the data was made, although the more detailed implications of these results are given in Chapter 9

Part 1 Evidence for Sex-role stereotyping

Section 5:1 Evidence for sex-role stereotypes - sub-code data

The data on male and female characters are set out in Tables 5:1 and 5:2.

Significant differences in main character data, in sex-appropriate codes, are given with appropriate significance levels. Details of calculations and non-significant differences are given in Appendix C. A null hypothesis that there were no differences between the sexes was taken, and thus, the significance levels given are for two-tailed tests.

***	P <	.001
**	P <	.01
*	P <	.05
	P <	.10
	P <	.15

... through ...

Table 5:1
Female sex-appropriate sex-role stereotypes

<u>Codes</u>	<u>Sub-Codes</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	decorative role	*****
	houseworker role	*****
<u>Behaviour</u>	passive sexuality	**
<u>Work</u>	clerical/service (G.D.)	***
	professional (secondary)	*****
<u>Domestic work</u>	household labour	*
	household repair (S)	12:0
<u>Expression/manner</u>	sexy/romantic	*
<u>Touch</u>	touch/tend self	*****
<u>Attention Direction</u>	to reader	*
	eyes cast down	***
	'not seen'	*
<u>Physique</u>	slim	*****
	thin	****
<u>Hair colour</u>	light blonde	*****
	red/auburn	**
<u>Hair style</u>	long	*****
	short/curly	*****
	coiffed	*****
<u>Clothing</u>	female (all)	*****
	part/no	***
<u>Clothing colour</u>	pink/purple	*
	white/light	***
<u>Marital status</u>	married/engaged	**
<u>Relationships</u>	no communication	**
<u>Tone</u>	homely/cosy	**
	romantic/sexual	**
	exotic/surreal	**
	'just modelling'	*****
<u>Appeal</u>	general appearance	****
	improvement	****
<u>Part exposed</u>	face/shoulders	****
<u>Span of advert.</u>	medium (½ page)	**
<u>Settings</u>	print colour	*****
<u>Products</u>	personal cosmetic	*****
<u>Product use</u>	direct use	****

***** p.< .0001

**** p.< .001

*** p.< .01

** p.< .05

* p.< .10

S: a stereotype through non-rating of opposite sex in that code

G.D: grouped data

Table 5:2

Male sex-appropriate sex-role stereotypes

<u>Codes</u>	<u>Sub-Codes</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	sports/hobbyist	*****
	worker	*****
	lover	***
	ordinary	**
<u>Behaviour</u>	active sexuality	**
<u>Work</u>	industrial	*****
<u>Domestic work</u>	house repair	*****
<u>Expression/manner</u>	negative/stern	***
<u>Touch</u>	product/object	*****
	to object (not product)	**
<u>Attention Direction</u>	to second character	****
	to work/hobby	*****
	standing	*
<u>Activity/position</u>	standing	*
<u>Physique</u>	muscular	*****
<u>Hair colour</u>	brown	****
	black	**
	grey	*****
<u>Hair style</u>	short/straight	*****
	bald/balding	*****
<u>Clothing</u>	male	*****
	leisure	*****
	working	***
	sports/swimwear	*
	historic/exotic	*****
<u>Clothing/colour</u>	brown/fawn	**
	black/dark	****
<u>Marital status</u>	neither married/engaged	**
<u>Relationships</u>	looking	**
<u>Tones</u>	ordinary	***
	comedy	****
<u>Appeals</u>	sensuality	****
<u>Part exposed</u>	half of body	*****
<u>Settings</u>	studio backdrop	***
	occupational interior	**
	open exterior	****
	alcoholic drink	****
	large household	*
<u>Product use</u>	secondary	****
	selling	*
	not attention	**

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

Summary of sub-code data

On the basis of main character significant and 'S' differences, 35 female, and 40 male 'appropriate' sex-role stereotypes were found in the women's magazine advertisements. These results are briefly discussed, by broad categories.

1. Decorative and appearance aspects

By contrast with the data on the 'S' differences, 'Appearance' stereotypes proved to be the most frequent for male and female of the domestic stereotypes. The characters, attributes which congregated around traditional concepts of male and female attractiveness. Females, for example, were significantly more likely to be 'slim', 'thin', have 'light blonde', 'red', 'short/curly' and 'long' hair and males were significantly more likely to be 'muscular', have 'dark', 'grey' and 'short/straight' hair. Interestingly, the analogy between 'light' female and 'dark' male colour associations was observed, not only in hair colour, but also in clothing colour, also supporting the surmise in this respect in the derivation of codes in Chapter 4, and suggesting a potentially new, advertising sex-role stereotype.

There were also stereotypes in clothing type, with males stereotyped into a wider range of clothing - 'leisure', 'working', 'historic/exotic', 'sports' - as well as the traditional 'male' clothing, whereas females were stereotyped into largely 'female' clothing, notably, 'part/no clothing'.

Most important among the appearance attributes, however, were the broader stereotypes. The role of 'decorative' and the tone of 'just modelling,' those sub-codes defined by appearance alone, were 'female' stereotypes, as was an implied concern with appearance, in that female characters were most often associated with 'general appearance improvement' appeals and 'personal cosmetic products'.

Finally, if less concern with appearance may be construed as a 'male' stereotype, it is interesting to observe that males significantly more than females demonstrated the somewhat unpleasant, 'stern/negative' expression/manner.

2. Domesticity/work

Males were largely connected with a 'work' stereotype. They were rated significantly more than females in the 'worker' role, in 'working' clothing and the 'occupational' setting. Stereotypes were also observed in work types. While males were stereotyped in terms of 'industrial' work, females were stereotyped into 'clerical/service' and 'professional (secondary)' work.

By contrast with the male 'work' stereotype, females were associated with aspects of the 'domestic' stereotype. The 'houseworker' role was significantly more likely to be a 'female' one, and females were associated with the 'homely/cosy' tone significantly more than males. To do 'household' repair and 'household labour' were also 'female' stereotypes.

The male absence from this more menial domestic work is notable. For example, while 102 females were recorded in the 'housekeeper' role, only 1 male was, and only females were recorded in 'household repair'. The only 'male' stereotypes of domesticity were for 'house repair', that is, the larger, more external form of domestic work, and association with the 'large household' products.

3. Touch and Attention Direction/Relationships

Females were stereotyped into more 'inner-directed' aspects - 'touching self', having 'eyes cast down', and attention 'not seen'. Their only 'outer' stereotype was to direct attention 'to the reader'. Males showed more 'outer directed' stereotypes - touching 'an object/product', attending to 'an object', to 'work/hobby' and to the 'second character'. This contrast between the sexes was also observed in relationship data, where males were significantly more likely to be 'looking' at the other character but females to be 'not communicating'.

4. Sexuality

A stereotype of passive sexuality and 'sexiness' emerged for female main characters. They, significantly more than males, were associated with the 'sexual/romantic' advertisement tone and to the extent that this sub-code may be related, inferentially, to passive sexual imagery, the greater nudity of females is again noted. Females also evinced a direct behavioural stereotype of 'passive

sexuality' and, incidentally, in a comparison with second character data, it should be noted that despite the visual predominance of being 'main' characters, females were still more likely to be displaying 'passive sexuality' than males in this role, and did not show it at all in the role of second character where it might be logically expected. That is, females were stereotyped into 'passive sexuality' even and only when main characters. This stereotype of female sexuality compared with that of the males who, as main and second characters, were significantly more likely than females to show 'active sexuality'. As main characters, males were also stereotyped into the role of 'lover'.

5. Leisure

The stereotype of 'leisure' was a 'male' one. Males were rated significantly more than females in the 'sports/hobbyist' role, 'sports' and 'leisure' clothing.

6. Marital status

To have marital status was a 'female' stereotype - that is, to be 'obviously married or engaged'. To be free of marital status was a 'male' stereotype - that is 'to be obviously neither married/engaged.' To some extent, this latter stereotype may have been an extension of the more active, 'male', sexuality image.

7. Sensuality

Males were significantly more likely than females to be associated with appeals to 'sensuality'. If this result is compared with the 'male' stereotypes of 'leisure' and association with 'alcoholic' drink, the latter a symbol of leisure and enjoyment, a further contrast may be made with the non-leisure and appearance concern of females, so that a contradictory stereotype of 'self-indulgence' for males and 'self-consciousness' for females may be surmised.

8. Ordinary activities

Notably, the stereotype of 'ordinariness', that is, to be showing no clear role but to be involved in 'ordinary' undefined pursuits, was found to be 'male'. This role, which also included aspects of behaviour, defined by Faulder 1977 as the activities of the independent person (acting alone without role context, as a friend or sibling),

also underlines a certain freedom in the 'male' stereotype. Males, too, were significantly more often associated with the 'ordinary' advertisement tone, that is, the tone which was most common and 'ordinary' for the role portrayed. This contrasts with a 'female' stereotype of association with the 'unreal' tone of 'exotic/surreal'.

9. Product data

Perfectly replicating the findings of the study by McArthur and Resko, 1975, females were associated significantly more than males with 'direct' product use, and males with 'secondary' product use, which included product benefits. The 'male' stereotype may be interpreted as a distancing of the male from the product, while the recipient of its benefits. This distancing from the product was also observed in the 'male' stereotypes of 'selling' the product, and to be directing 'no attention' to it.

10. Reality and relevance

It was suggested above that males were associated with a stereotype of the 'ordinary' tone as a symbol of 'reality', compared to the 'unreality' of female association with 'exotic/surreal' tones. The data on 'settings' and other codes tended to support this analogy.

The data on 'settings' were divided into 'real' and 'artificial' environments, with the 'artificial' settings being typified by the context of 'studio backdrop' and the non-context of 'print colour'. The 'real' settings were divided into individual categories of 'interior' and 'exterior' types. Not only were males significantly more associated with an 'exterior' stereotype ('open exterior'), but were, on grouped data, (see Appendix C:23(a)) significantly more likely than females to be associated with both 'real interior' and 'real exterior' settings, compared to the 'artificial' environments. Furthermore, in the 'artificial' settings, males were significantly more associated with the 'context' of the 'studio backdrop' and females with the 'non-context' of the 'print colour'. In short, males were significantly more associated with both a 'real context', and a contextual setting, in 'artificial' settings, and females with all

'artificial settings', and a lack of context within 'artificial' settings, stereotypes which support some imagery of 'reality' for males and 'unreality' for females. This imagery could also be interpreted on the grounds of 'relevance' of males, compared to females, and, in support of this interpretation, it should be noted that while males were significantly more likely to be depicted in at least 'half body' exposure, females were significantly more likely to be shown through 'face/shoulders' depictions. Females were also significantly more likely to be shown in just '½ page' or 'medium' size advertisements. In summary, from this first analysis of data, strong stereotypes of 'appearance' emerged for both sexes, but for females, stereotypes of definition by appearance and concern for it, menial domesticity and non-'work', inner-direction, passive sexuality and 'sexiness', and an 'attached' marital status were also observed. A certain lack of 'female' 'relevance' or association with 'reality' emerged by interpretation from other data.

For males, there emerged stereotypes of 'appearance', but absence of concern for it, 'work', associations with only the larger more 'important' domesticity, more active sexuality, outer-direction, leisure, freedom from marital status, association with 'ordinary' roles and tones, 'sensuality' and enjoyment, 'reality' and 'relevance'. In relation to products, while females were more likely to 'use' the product, males either received the benefits of it or were, by other interpretation, distanced from it.

Section 5:2 Evidence for sex-role stereotypes - major codes

The probability of being coded at all in certain major codes was also a factor relevant to the general evidence for sex-role stereotyping. For example, as has been noted in Chapter 4, while specific types of 'leisure' may be categorised as 'sex-role stereotypes', the fact of displaying any 'leisure' at all may also be seen as a 'stereotype'. In addition, the probability of being coded at all in each major code was important to the issue of 'relevance' of the male or female characters. For each major code a 'cannot' apply category was used to code those instances where a

character was presented, not only in inapplicable instances, but also where insufficient detail, mobility, or a lack of clarity in presentation made the sub-codes inoperable. If males, were for example, more 'relevant' and 'real', as suggested in the previous section, then it would be expected that their probability of coding in each major code would be significantly higher than for females.

Only 19 of the 25 codes were available for this form of analysis since 6 were always coded for both sexes. For the remaining 19, 2X2, X² contingency tables were used to compare the probability of each sex being coded at all. Details of calculations are given in Appendix C. The summarised results are set out in Table 5:3 below, giving sex differences, where significant, at key levels, and the sex direction of the coding probability for each code.

The second interpretation of this data is given in Table 5:3

Table 5:3

Sex-role stereotypes: Code data (all rated)

Major Codes (all rated)	Significance Level	Sex Direction
Role Behaviour	*****	<u>female</u>
Work	****	<u>male</u>
Domestic Work	*****	<u>male</u>
Leisure	n.s.	<u>male</u>
Competence	*****	<u>male</u>
Expression/Manner	*****	<u>male</u>
Touch	n.s.	male
Attention Direction	n.s.	female
Activity/Position	****	<u>male</u>
Physique	*****	<u>male</u>
Hair Colour	****	<u>female</u>
Hair Style	n.s.	male
Clothing	****	<u>male</u>
Clothing colour	n.s.	male
Marital Status	***	<u>female</u>
Relationships	*****	<u>male</u>
Tone	*****	<u>male</u>
Product Use	*****	<u>male</u>

**** p.<.0001
 *** p.<.001
 ** p.<.01
 * p.<.05
 n.s. p.<.10

Summary of sex-role stereotypes: Major Code data (Table 5:3)

Of the 19 major codes for which this comparison could be made, male main characters had a greater probability of being coded in 13 that is, 68% of the appropriate coding categories. Of these 13 instances, 9 represented significant differences.

Female characters had a greater probability of being coded in 6 major codes, that is, 32% of the appropriate coding categories, of which 3 represented significant differences.

The first interpretation which may be made from this data is to give further support to the greater 'relevance' of male characters in these advertisements.

The second interpretation of this data relates to how the codes which favoured males supported the sex-role stereotypes noted in the previous section. The significantly greater probability of males to be coded in all 'work' and all 'leisure' codes, support the observations of 'work' and 'leisure' as 'male' sex-role stereotypes. In addition, the significantly greater probability of males to be rated in some form of advertisement 'tone', supports the greater association of males with 'reality' and 'context'. Females, it is recalled, were significantly more likely to be 'just modelling' in terms of advertisement 'tone'.

The 'outer-direction' of males is also supported as a sex-role stereotype by the evidence that male characters were significantly more likely to be rated in some form of 'relationship' than females, a result which also tends to give credence to feminist criticisms that female advertisement characters are more likely to be isolated than males, and to Millum's observation, in his study, that to have any type of relationship with another in an advertisement, was essentially a 'male' trait (Millum, 1974).

Such a result also supports and consolidates the 'female' stereotype of 'no communication' noted in the previous section.

are less likely to be stereotyped

The significantly greater probability of males to be rated in the codes of 'behaviour', 'competence', and 'activity/position' also adds to a general sex-role stereotype of male 'positivism' and 'relevance', and it is notable that of the 9 significant differences in favour of males, 6 related to some form of 'behaviour' or 'activity' and only 2 to the more descriptive, physical aspects.

Finally, the significantly greater probability of females to be ascribed some marital status, that is, to be coded at all as 'married/engaged' or 'neither', supports the female stereotype of being 'attached', to have some form of marital symbol; by corollary, the males were more likely to be 'free' of any sign or 'indication' of marital status at all.

In short, this data supported 'male' sex-role stereotypes relating to 'relevance', 'reality', 'work', 'leisure' and an overall 'positivism', and 'female' stereotypes of marital status, and reduced 'relevance' and 'reality'.

Section 5:3 Evidence for sex-role stereotypes : Second character data

Certain sex-role stereotypes were observed in both main and second character data. As such they were considered to be 'persistent' stereotypes since, more generally, the second character data, as will be discussed in the second part of this Chapter, showed certain idiosyncracies which rendered them atypical and cross-sexed in sex-role attributes.

The 'persistent' sex-role stereotypes for second characters are set out in Tables 5:4 and 5:5, for females and males respectively.

It may be seen from this data, that the 'persistent' stereotypes congregated around certain 'role', 'touch', 'attention direction' and 'appearance' imagery, results which will have further relevance in the observations on 'major' sex-role stereotypes (by frequency), discussed in Section 5:5.

That only 16 'female' and 18 'male' sex-role stereotypes, on a 'sex-appropriate' basis, listed in Tables 5:4 and 5:5, were also observed in second character data is, however, an interesting factor in its own right, and suggests that second characters are less likely to be stereotyped than main characters. This observation has most

relevance in the discussion of evidence 'against' sex-role stereotyping, and will be returned to in the second part of this Chapter.

Table 5:4
Female sex-appropriate sex-role stereotypes (second characters)

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sub-Codes</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	decorative houseworker (S)	***** 8:0
<u>Work</u>	professional (secondary) (S)	2:0
<u>Domestic work</u>	household labour	*****
<u>Touch</u>	touch/tend self	*****
<u>Attention Direction</u>	to reader	**
<u>Physique</u>	slim	*****
<u>Hair colour</u>	light blondes red/auburn (S)	***** 6:0
<u>Hair style</u>	long short/curly coiffed	***** ***** ****
<u>Clothing</u>	female (all)	*****
<u>Clothing colour</u>	pink/purple	****
<u>Relationships</u>	no communication	**
<u>Product use</u>	direct use	*

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

S: a stereotype through non-rating of opposite sex in that code

Table 5:5
Male sex-appropriate sex-role stereotypes (second characters)

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sub-Codes</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	worker	**
	lover	*****
<u>Behaviour</u>	active sexuality	***
<u>Touch</u>	product/object	**
	adult	***
<u>Attention Direction</u>	to main character	***
<u>Physique</u>	muscular	*****
<u>Hair colour</u>	brown	****
	black	***
	grey (S)	5:0
<u>Hair style</u>	short/straight	*****
<u>Clothing</u>	male	***
	leisure	*****
	sports/swimwear	*
<u>Clothing colour</u>	black/dark	***
<u>Marital status</u>	neither	*
<u>Relationships</u>	looking	***
<u>Product use</u>	observe	****

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

S: a stereotype through non-rating of opposite sex in that code

Section 5:4 Evidence for sex-role stereotypes - character ages

Feminists and other empirical studies have suggested that males and females in advertisements are also stereotyped in age portrayals. To investigate this, the upper age limits of male and female characters were recorded in the content analysis, for 5 age groups.

2X2, χ^2 calculations were used to compare the male and female main character incidences in these five age groups. The results are given in Table 5:5, using abbreviated notation for ages as set out in Chapter 4. The sex direction of differences is indicated.

Table 5:6
Male and Female Characters: Age Differences

<u>Main Characters</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>		<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>	<u>Sex Direction</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>			
T-20's	337	27	20	10	26.553	.00001	female
20-30's	694	55	79	39	18.475	.001	female
30-40's	141	11	41	20	11.939	.01	male
40-50's	51	4	47	23	98.208	.000001	male
50+	29	2	16	8	16.243	.05	male

N.B. All percentages rounded.

The null hypothesis that there were no differences in age depictions for male and female main characters was rejected for every age group. These results are discussed in more detail later.

Another issue of sex-role stereotyping in advertisements which has been raised by feminists and empirical studies, is that 'older' women are presented in an undesirable light, and that elements of female attractiveness are associated only with youth.

In order to investigate this aspect of sex-role stereotyping in the data, the 2 oldest and 2 youngest age groups for both sexes were isolated, and the data for each sub-set was compared for each sub-code, that is 'older' and 'younger' females and 'older' and 'younger' males were compared.

The results of this analysis are set out in Tables 5:7 and 5:8. Raw data are given in Appendix C.

Table 5:7
Sub-codes in favour of older and younger women

<u>Code</u>	<u>Older Women</u> <u>(sub-codes)</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.</u> <u>Level</u>	<u>Younger Women</u> <u>(sub-codes)</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.</u> <u>Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	(M) worker	2.665	*	(F) decorative	59.693	*****
	(F) parent	9.683	***			
	(F) houseworker	38.484	*****			
<u>Behaviour</u>	(F) anxiety	21.687	*****			
<u>Leisure</u>	(F) rest/recline	4.435	**			
<u>Expression/ Manner</u>	(M) negative/ stern	32.171	*****			
<u>Touch</u>	(M) product/ object	12.034	****	(F) touch/tend self	8.263	***
<u>Physique</u>	(M) plump	56.765	*****	(F) slim	32.351	*****
<u>Hair colour</u>	(M) brunette	4.589	**	(F) light blonde	9.418	***
	(M) grey	132.278	*****			
<u>Hair style</u>	(F) coiffed	84.334	*****			
<u>Clothing</u>	(F) female(ord)	40.208	*****			
<u>Clothing Colour</u>	(M) black/dark	3.132	*	(F) pink/purple	3.646	*
<u>Relationships</u>	(F) holding onto	3.822	**			
<u>Span</u>	(F) small	15.050	****	(M) large	23.013	*****
	(F) medium	3.957	**			
<u>Colour</u>	(F) black/white	32.507	*****	(M) colour	32.507	*****
<u>Tone</u>	(M) ordinary	10.571	***	(F) just modelling	22.426	*****
	(M) comedy	6.068	***			
<u>Settings</u>	(F) other interior	5.295	**			
	(M) formal exterior	2.841	*			
<u>Products</u>	(F) food	2.663	*	(F) personal cosmetic	9.523	***
	(F) personal (body)	21.052	*****			
	(F) small household	4.453	**			
	(M) leisure	8.679	***			
<u>Product use</u>	(M) selling	18.782	*****			

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

M: 'male' stereotypes
 F: 'female' stereotypes

Table 5:8
Sub-codes in favour of older and younger men

<u>Code</u>	<u>Older Men</u> <u>(Sub-Codes)</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.</u> <u>Level</u>	<u>Younger Men</u> <u>(Sub-Codes)</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.</u> <u>Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	(M) worker	12.546	****			
<u>Leisure</u>	(F) introvert	3.917	**			
<u>Competence</u>				(F) neutral	3.469	*
<u>Expression/ Manner</u>	(F) faraway/ dreamy	5.793	**			
<u>Touch</u>	(M) product/object	7.350	**			
	(M) adult	17.470	*****			
<u>Attention Direction</u>				(F) to self	9.372	***
<u>Physique</u>				(F) slim	7.807	***
<u>Hair colour</u>	(M) grey	33.7936	*****			
<u>Hair style</u>	(F) head covering	4.240	**	(M) short/ straight	15.389	*****
<u>Clothing</u>	(M) historical	5.761	**			
	(M) sports/swimwear	5.761	**			
<u>Clothing Colour</u>	(F) blue/green	5.863	**	(M) red/orange/ yellow	2.878	*
	(F) pink/purple	3.309	*			
<u>Tone</u>	(M) ordinary	4.057	**	(M) enthusiasm/ fun	5.647	**
	(M) comedy	5.742	**			
<u>Settings</u>	(F) other interior	6.905	***	(M) occupational interior	6.499	**
				(M) other exterior	3.102	*
<u>Products</u>	(F) food	2.696	*	(M) leisure	2.988	*
	(M) large household	3.325	*	(F) direct use	7.285	***

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

M: 'male' stereotypes
 F: 'female' stereotypes

Summary of age data for the sexes (Tables 5:6 to 5:8)

1. **Table 5.6** illustrated the differences between males and females in terms of character age. It was found that males were rated significantly more than females in the three oldest age groups, and females in the two youngest.

In this respect, the data appears to support not only observations by feminists on the youth of female advertisement characters, but also studies by **Aranoff,**

1974, **Long and Simon, 1974,** and others which showed that female media characters were generally younger than males.

2. It was also notable, that while 82% of women were shown in their 'early teenage' to 'early 30' age group, only 49% of men were. This also supports observations by **Aranoff, 1968** that men are permitted to be shown in a wider range of ages than are women.

3. Another observation that has been associated with sex-role stereotypes of ageing is that males are permitted to show more undesirable elements of the ageing process than are women. On this basis, it is, therefore, interesting to note that if the two age groups for 'older' males and females are compared it is the older males who had significantly more instances of 'grey hair' than older women ($X^2=4.740$ $p.<.05$) (For raw data, see **Appendix C:12(b)**)

4. **Tables 5:7** and **5:8** showed the significant differences in portrayals of the 'older' and 'younger' males and females. Feminists have suggested that a stereotype of advertisement women involves showing older women in less attractive and desirable ways than younger women. To a large extent, the data in these tables appears to support the existence of such a stereotype.

'Younger' females, for example, were not only shown significantly more in certain aspects of traditional female attractiveness as 'slim physique' and 'light blonde' hair, but were also shown significantly more in the 'decorative'

role, associated with the 'personal cosmetic' products and in 'pink/purple' clothing colour. 'Older' women, by contrast, were significantly more likely to be shown as 'plump,' to have 'brown' or 'grey' hair, to be in 'ordinary' female clothing, and to be associated with personal 'body' rather than personal 'cosmetic' products. They were also significantly more likely to be shown in 'black/dark' clothing colours.

5. A further contrast was evoked by the association of inferentially negative or neutral characteristics with 'older' females, who were more likely to show 'anxiety' behaviour, the 'negative/stern' expression and to be shown in 'ordinary' advertisement tones. Their greater association with 'comedy' tones might be interpreted on its own terms, or as some implication of ridicule associated with 'older' women.
6. There was also a strong indication that the 'older' female might be less 'relevant'. For example, they were significantly less likely than 'younger' females to be shown in 'colour' advertisements, and, by corollary, more likely to be shown in 'black/white' ones. They were also significantly less likely than 'younger' women to be shown in the 'large' advertisements, but more likely than 'younger' women to be in the 'small' and 'medium' advertisement sizes.
7. 'Older' females also appeared to be less active and more dependent. They were significantly more likely than 'younger' females to be 'resting/reclining', and to be 'holding onto' another in relationships.
8. Finally, if 'younger' women were associated with the more 'glamorous' aspects of feminine appearance, and to be associated with the 'decorative' role, it is older women who were significantly more likely to be associated with such domestic attributes as the 'parent' and 'houseworker' roles, 'food' and 'small household' products.

9. With male characters, a comparative pattern was not observed in the data. First, and most notably, there were no significant differences between 'older' and 'younger' men in their patterns of advertisement presentation -that is, to be shown in 'large', 'medium' or 'small' advertisements, in 'colour' or 'black/white' presentation. There were no obvious contrasts in physical appearance, and no obviously 'undesirable' aspects associated with the 'older' male.
- In summary, 'older' women, compared to 'younger' women, were portrayed in a more 'domestic' and physically less 'attractive' manner. They were also less 'relevant' in advertisement presentation. 'Younger' women were more traditionally 'attractive', 'decorative', associated with 'appearance' products, and were more 'relevant' in advertisement design. A similar contrast was not strongly observed for 'older' and 'younger' men.

Before leaving this analysis, however, 2 additional points should be made:-

1. There were some strong indications from the data of a 'cross-sexing' of 'older' male and female characters, a characteristic most strongly observed in the latter group.

It is notable, for example, that - other interpretations apart - the 'older' women showed more cross-sexed attributes than 'younger' women. Of the 26 sub-codes in which 'older' women scored significantly more than the 'younger', 12(46%) have been pre-defined as 'masculine' stereotypes, (see Table 5:7), including the strongly masculine 'worker' role, 'negative /stern' expression, 'comedy' and 'ordinary' tones, and 'product/object' touch. By contrast, the 'younger' women demonstrated proportionally more female stereotypes than 'older' women, so that of their 9 differentiating characteristics, 7(78%) have been pre-defined as 'female'.

Some of the differentiating characteristics of 'older' women have been used as a basis for concluding that they were presented in more banal and less desirable characteristics than 'younger' women, but on the 'cross-sexed'

analogy, it may be equally valid to suggest that 'older' women have a greater freedom from the classic feminine behaviours and stereotypes, in particular from the 'appearance' characteristics which typified and differentiated the 'younger' women. In short, 'older' women may almost be termed 'honorary men' in advertisement design.

Having made this observation, however, - which in effect suggests that advertisers do not sex-role stereotype 'older' women as strongly as 'younger' - it is then chastening to reiterate the data on age frequencies. The earlier evidence on ages showed that 'younger' females were significantly more common than the 'older' ones. Over 80% of the female characters in these advertisements were in the 'younger' group, but only 6% in the 'older' one. In short, if advertisers do appear to have sex-role stereotyped 'older' women less than 'younger' ones, attributed a greater androgyny, or share of 'masculine' characteristics to them, they also depicted these women very rarely. The stronger, sex-typed characteristics of the 'younger' women were the most visible. The convention of ages for the sexes served to hide the 'cross-sexing' effect, so that in the one instance, noted so far, that the advertisers showed some reduced tendency to 'sex-role stereotype', then this was least visible, in frequency terms, to readers.

To some extent, a 'cross-sexing' of males was also observed in the data. For the 'older' males, 9(56%) of the 16 differences which distinguished them from 'younger' males had been pre-defined as 'female' stereotypes. (see Table 5:8). By contrast with 'older women', however, over a third of the male characters were depicted in the 'older' group, so that although they also showed 'cross-sexed' characteristics, they were up to five times more 'visible' than 'older women', proportionate to their overall visibility among all males.

In summary, the advertisers may have been capable of 'cross-sexing' characters in terms of sex-role stereotypy; but through their stereotypes of age depictions, created a further stereotype of reduced 'relevance' for these relatively androgynous, 'older' women, a characteristic observed, but not so evidently, for 'older' males.

2. Although the evidence 'against' sex-role stereotypy in the advertisements will be considered in more detail in Part 2 of this Chapter, one observation may be made here on the interpretation of 'sex-role stereotypes,' through age. It should be noted that certain characteristics distinguishing 'older' males and females from 'younger' ones were common to the two sexes. Both 'older' males and females were significantly more likely to be shown as 'workers', to have 'grey' hair, to be associated with 'food' and 'household' goods, to be in 'ordinary' and 'comedy' tones. Both 'younger' males and females were significantly more likely than 'older' ones to be 'slim' and to 'touch/tend' self.

In short, it should be noted that interpretations of data on 'sex role stereotype' must take care to consider other potential variables in advertisement design and, in this case, to postulate whether differences in depictions of characters were as much related to stereotypes of sex-role, as of age. It could, for example, be that the characteristics of 'younger' males and females which distinguished them from 'older' ones, were as much symbols of youthful fashion and narcissism, as the 'coiffed' hair style of 'older' women might have been a valid symbol of a generational appearance norm. Similarly, were the 'domestic' and 'worker' concerns of 'older' men and women only a function of valid interests for those groups? This point has major relevance to the whole question of inference from these content analysis results, and is considered - with other points - more fully in Chapter 9.

Section 5:5 Evidence for sex-role stereotyping - 'major' stereotypes.

In this Section, the 'sex-role stereotypes,' as exhibited through main character data, are examined in terms of the extent to which they also tally with the most frequent and primary, hierarchical sub-codes, for each major code. Such an investigation serves to outline the 'major' sex-role stereotypes. Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficients, (r_s) values, are also given to indicate the measure of association between male and female sub-code allocations. Using this data, the following sex-role stereotypes were found to tally with visual predominance, for each sex:-

1. Roles

The 'decorative' role stereotype for females was also found to be the most common, accounting for 58% of all female role portrayals. No other female role accounted for more than 13% of role portrayals. For males, however, although the 'male' stereotypes of 'worker' and 'ordinary' were also the most frequent, accounting for 26% and 19% of all male role portrayals, respectively, together they did not account for the same proportion of allocations as the strongly 'female,' 'decorative' role. In fact, if the two proven 'female' stereotypes, 'decorative' and 'houseworker' are compared with the four proven 'male' stereotypes ('sports/hobbyist', 'worker', 'ordinary', 'lover'), the female stereotypes accounted for 66% of all role portrayals and the male ones, 63%. These results indicate that females were stereotyped into a narrower range of role allocations than males, a result supported by the role, r_s value of only .33 (N.S.)

Notably, however, this data on the major 'decorative' role for females does compare well with other studies, and particularly that by Venkatesan and Losco, 1975, who found that - compared to the 58% of role portrayals in this study - the 'decorative' role in their study accounted for 61% of such portrayals, and it appears that since this role was essentially an emphasis in women's magazines, according to

Venkatesan and Losco, then the strong role emphasis on 'decorative' in women's magazines may well be peculiar to that medium.

As an inverse comparison on the role stereotypes, only 24% of female portrayals were in the 'male' stereotypes, and 16% of males, in the 'female' ones.

2. Domestic work

The two categories of 'household repair' and 'household labour', the 'female' stereotypes on domestic work, were also the most common for female characters, accounting for 66% of all female, domestic work activities. 'Household labour', alone, accounted for 57% of all such portrayals. For males, the stereotype of 'house repair' was also the most common accounting for 48% of male domestic portrayals.

Again, an inverse emphasis supported the strength of these stereotypes, so that only 7(5%) of females were shown in 'house repair', and no males were shown in 'household repair'.

The differential emphasis between the sexes is also observed in the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient of .00 (N.S.)

3. Work

The two stereotypes of female work - 'professional (secondary)' and 'clerical /service' work accounted for 51% of all female work portrayals, and the 'industrial' work stereotype for males accounted for 40%. On inverse stereotype comparison only one female was shown in 'industrial' work, and only four males were shown in the two female work stereotypes. The Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient of .00(N.S.) also supports the differential emphasis in hierarchy.

Since the work code was felt to be a particularly interesting and important one, a more detailed analysis was made of the specific work types observed for each sex

in the advertisement sample. Owing to the low frequencies of work types this analysis was, in this one instance, made for main and second characters combined.

The detailed work categories for main and second characters are given in Table 5:9.

Table 5:9

**Detailed work categories:
male and female main and second characters**

<u>Code</u>	<u>(No.)</u>	<u>Work Types</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
			<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Industrial</u>	1	agriculture/farming	1	1	7	8
	2	mining/construction				
	3	transport	0	0	3	4
	4	electrical/gas	0	0	6	7
	5	manufacture/other industrial	1	1	12	14
<u>Clerical</u>	6	clerk/office work	3	3	0	0
	7	typist	6	6	0	0
	8	sales assistant	2	2	3	4
	9	computer operation	0	0	1	1
<u>Service</u>	10	housekeepers	1	1	1	1
	11	hair/beauty	5	5	0	0
	12	waitress/er	2	2	2	2
<u>Professional (primary)</u>	13	doctor	0	0	3	4
	14	scientist	1	1	1	1
	15	lawyer	1	1	0	0
	16	manager	1	1	1	1
<u>Professional (secondary)</u>	17	nurse	24	24	0	0
	18	teacher	4	4	2	2
<u>Security</u>	19	army	8	8	9	10
	20	navy	3	3	0	0
	21	police	1	1	2	2
<u>Literary/Artistic</u>	22	performers	18	18	10	12
	23	writers/designers				
	24	artists	2	2	3	4
	25	directors		0	6	7
	26	model (professional)	5	5	1	1
<u>Others</u>	27	politician	2	2	4	5
	28	student	2	2	0	0
	29	professional sports	0	0	2	2
	30	cowboy	0	0	1	0
	31	religious	0	0	1	1
	32	professional cook	2	2	0	0
	33	royalty	1	1	1	1
	34	historical/exotic	3	3	4	6
	35	work(unspecified)	3	3	1	1
TOTAL			102		87	

N.B. All percentages rounded.

Several points emerged from this more detailed analysis of work types:-

1. There was a notable absence of the 'lower status' occupations, for both sexes, and in this respect, the results reinforced observations by Crowley, 1976 and Millum, 1974, that media do represent a disproportionate number of higher status occupations, sex notwithstanding.

Nonetheless, it is interesting that, of the two sexes, it was the male characters who were more likely to be shown in the 'low status' occupations. Using the system of 'blue' and 'white' collar allocations, and excluding the idiosyncratic occupations in the 'other' category, then males were seen in 31 'blue collar' jobs and females in 7, (Categories 1-5,10,12) and 42 males in 'white-collar' jobs and females in 85 (Categories 6-9,11,13-25). This difference between the sexes was significant. ($X^2 = 18.312$ p.<.0001)

2. The more detailed analysis of work types confirmed the direction of sub-code data, that certain types of work were strictly not 'male' or 'female'. For instance, no females were shown as doctors, directors in artistic occupations, professional sports people, or in the transport, mining, construction, electrical, gas or religious occupations. Males were not shown as nurses, clerks, in any office work, as typists or professional cooks, the last omission supporting the domesticity of such work as inherently 'female'.

3. Of those occupations rated, however, it was evident that a clearer set of stereotypes emerged for females than for males, in that 'nurse' occupations for females accounted for nearly twice the number of allocations as the predominant male stereotype of 'manufacture/other industrial'. Certainly, there was strong support for feminist observations that female work types are clustered into the old and 'traditional' female work roles. The occupations of 'nurse,' 'typist,' 'hair and beauty' work, 'professional model,' 'sales assistant' and 'clerk' accounted for 44% of all female work allocations, while consideration of the classically 'female,' 'entertainer' role, also observed

as a strong stereotype in other content analyses, (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971; Wagner and Banos, 1973) lifted this proportion to 62%. Notably, although females were also recorded in the supposedly 'male' occupations of 'security' more often than they were typists and clerks, it should be noted that in many of these depictions, the females, although in the army, navy, police and airforce, were still shown occupied in clerical and typist roles, the 'women's' branch, of those 'security' jobs.

In summary, however, the more specific work category examination of occupation, revealed that not only were females broadly stereotyped into work classifications, but also into specific occupations of a traditionally 'female' nature - nurse, beautician, typist, clerk and sales assistant. Males did show stereotyped occupations, but these appeared to cover a wider band of individual occupations, a result very similar to those observed in other 'work stereotype' studies. (Shinar, 1975; Schlossberg and Goodman, 1972).

4. Touch

The 'female' stereotype of 'touch/tend' self and the 'male' stereotype of 'object/product' touch were the most common types of touch for each sex respectively. 'Self' touch accounted for 55% of female touch codes and 'object/product' touch for 58% of male. An inverse hierarchy was observed, so that 35% of females indulged in 'object/product' touch and 30% of males in 'self' touch, although, unlike other codes, these did not also represent the least frequent stereotypes, but inversely compared for the first two hierarchical codes for both sexes. Thus, despite evidence for strong frequency stereotypes, the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient for this code was high, at .85, although non-significant.

5. Appearance stereotypes

All the frequency distributions on the 'appearance' codes followed the direction of the observed stereotypes.

To be 'slim' or 'thin' accounted for 84% of female physiques, and to be 'muscular' for 50% of male. Inversely, only 7(1%) of females were 'muscular' and 57(33%) of males were 'thin' or 'slim'. This clear stereotyping frequency was reflected in the low r_s value of .10 (N.S.)

The 'female' stereotypes of hair-style - 'long,' and 'short/curly' - were the most frequent, accounting for 60% of all female hair styles, while the 'male' stereotypes of 'short/straight' and 'bald/balding' accounted for 74% of all male. Inversely, only 16% of females had 'short/straight' hair and only one was 'bald/balding', while of the male characters, only 11% had 'short/curly' hair, and none had 'long' hair. The differential emphasis in stereotype hierarchy was reflected in the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient of .47 (N.S.)

In the case of hair colour, the 'female' stereotypes of 'light blonde' and 'red' hair were the most common, accounting for 44% of all female hair colours, and the 'male' stereotypes of 'brown,' 'black' and 'grey' hair accounted for 59% of all male.

This strong stereotyping is reflected in the low Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient of .17(N.S.)

In the case of clothing, the 'female' (all) and 'part/no clothing' stereotypes accounted for 57% (the largest categories) of female clothing types and the 'male' clothing stereotypes of 'leisure,' 'working,' 'historical,' 'sports' and 'male' (traditional) accounted for 69% of male clothing.

Inversely, the female characters wore 'male' stereotyped clothing in 29% of instances, and the males the 'female' stereotyped clothing in 12% of instances.

Notably, only 14(7%) of males were shown in 'part/no' clothing.

relatively large

non-significant

The differences in emphasis are again supported by a low Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient of .29(N.S.)

Finally, the sex-role stereotypes associated with 'clothing colour' also followed the hierarchy distributions, in that the largest category for females was for 'white/light' clothing colours (29%) while for males, these were the 'dark' and 'brown' clothing colours (43%). That there was a strong differential clothing colour emphasis was supported by a low and non-significant r_s value (.14 N.S.)

6. Products

The 'female' associated stereotype of 'personal (cosmetic)' products and the 'male' stereotypes of 'alcoholic drink' and 'large household goods' were the most frequent categories for each sex respectively, accounting for 25% of female, and 20% of male, product groups. This code perhaps represented the weakest evidence for stereotype/frequency co-laterality. The Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient of .542(N.S.) does, however, reflect the different emphases between the sexes. Also, on inverse comparisons, only 10% of females were shown with the 'male' stereotyped products and 3% of males with the 'female'.

7. Advertisement appeals

The stereotyped female appeal to 'general appearance improvement' accounted for most female appeals in advertisements, at 32% of appeals. The male stereotyped appeal to 'sensuality' accounted for the largest of all male appeals at 27%.

These two appeals, however, as in the case of the 'touch' code were the first two appeal types for each sex, so that 'sensuality' appeals accounted for 17% of female main character advertisements, and 'general appearance improvement' appeals for 19% of male. This finding, as with 'touch', led to a relatively high Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient of .93, but which was non-significant.

8. Tone of Advertisement

In the tone sub-codes, the 'just modelling' stereotype accounted for 48% of all 'female' stereotypes, and 'ordinary' for 41% of the male. Owing to these frequent stereotypes, for each sex, although the r_s value was high at .66, it was non-significant.

Summary

The 'female' stereotypes which were also shown to be the most prominent in terms of visual hierarchies were:-

'decorative' and 'houseworker' roles

'household repair' and 'household labour'

'professional (secondary)', 'clerical/service' work

(with particular emphasis on 'nursing')

'touch/tend self' touch

'slim,' 'thin' physiques

'long,' 'short/curly' hair

'light blonde' and 'red' hair

'female (all)' and 'part/clothing'

'white/light' clothing colour

'personal cosmetic' products

'general appearance improvement' appeals

'just modelling' tone

The most prominent 'male' stereotypes were:-

'worker,' 'sports/hobbyist,' 'ordinary,' 'lover' roles

'house repair'

'industrial work'

'product/object' touch

muscular' physique

'short/straight', 'balding' hair style

'dark', 'grey' hair colours

'leisure,' 'working,' 'historical,' 'sports,' 'male' clothing

'dark' and 'brown' clothing colours

'large household' and 'alcoholic drink' products

'sensuality' appeals

'ordinary' tone

terms of role, domestic work, etc.

Of these codes, the single most common stereotype for each sex was as follows:-

stereotypes were also the predominant ones

	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
<u>Role</u>	decorative	worker
<u>Domestic work</u>	household labour	house repair
<u>Work</u>	professional(secondary) (nursing)	industrial (manufacture)
<u>Touch</u>	touch/tend self	product/object
<u>Appearance</u>	slim physique	muscular physique
	long hair	short/straight hair
	light blonde hair	brown hair
	female (ordinary) clothing	leisure clothing
	white clothing colour	brown/fawn clothing colour
<u>Advert. appeal</u>	general appearance improvement	sensuality
<u>Products</u>	personal cosmetic	*
<u>Tone</u>	just modelling	ordinary

*in this one code the most common male stereotype was not the most common code.

The raw data for these advertisements

Since, owing to nature of the

Hierarchical support for sex-role stereotypes was given in 10 codes, with the strongest evidence found in the 'role', 'domestic work', 'work' and 'appearance' codes. In each of these instances, the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficients supported a low or minimal relationship between in the distribution of sub-codes for each sex. A similar, but weaker trend was noted in the 'touch', 'product', 'clothing colour', 'tone' and 'appeal' codes where there was not such a clear inverse hierarchy in stereotypes and higher, if non-significant, correlation coefficients.

On the total evidence, most stereotyping appeared to occur, and most strongly, in terms of role, domestic work, work, and appearance attributes, as well as further emphasis on male 'relevance', as witnessed in 'tone' data. Notably, most of these stereotypes were also the 'persistent' ones noted in Section 5:3 and could therefore be considered as 'dominant' throughout the content analysis data.

Section 5:6 Evidence for sex-role stereotypes - Advertisement type

In Chapter 2 it was observed that no study had ever attempted to investigate how images of males and female characters in advertisements might vary over advertisement types and composition.

In order to make such an investigation in this study, the data were first divided into sub-sets of advertisements containing respectively:-

single males

single females

double females

double males

couples

The raw data for these advertisement types, by code, are given in Appendix C.

Since, owing to absence of investigation of this type before, it was not known in

investigated further by code, -

types, what emerged from it.

what ways, if any, the data might show patterns of stereotyping through these advertisement constructions, a preliminary analysis of the data was made by calculating the percentage of each sub-code characteristic shown by each advertisement type. Where two characters were shown the data for them was summated.

From this first inspection, it was found that the characteristics of 'single male' and 'single female' advertisements generally reflected the direction of main character data, mainly on account of the large proportion of single characters among this group. 'Couple' advertisements tended to reflect characteristics which might logically be related to 'couple' activities, that is, of the 5 groups of advertisements they were most likely to demonstrate 'sexual' behaviour and to be in 'sexy' tones.

The most interesting aspect of this preliminary investigation, however, was in relation to sex-role stereotyping among the 'double male' and 'double female' advertisement types. Both these groups of advertisements showed tendencies to omit strongly 'cross-sexed' stereotypes. For example, no 'double female' advertisement showed 'industrial' or 'security' work, or were related to 'cigarettes/tobacco' or 'alcoholic drink' products. No 'double male' advertisement showed them in 'parent' or 'homemaker' roles, demonstrating 'anxiety' behaviour, 'active' or 'passive nurturance', any form of domestic work, touching the 'other person', in 'for family' appeals, or associated with for 'small household', 'personal' (cosmetic) products. No 'double male' advertisement was set in a 'domestic interior' and no 'double males' were reclining. Notably, 'double male' advertisements were more likely not to show female characteristics than 'double female' ones not to show male characteristics and this suggests, as will be discussed more in Part 2, that it appeared to be more acceptable for females to show 'male' characteristics than males, 'female' ones.

This severe sex-typing of 'double male' and 'double female' advertisements was investigated further by comparisons of sex-role stereotypes between advertisement types. What emerged from this initial investigation was that there appeared to be

not only strong sex-typing in these advertisements, but also a continuum through the sex-role stereotypes in a form of 'concentration-dilution' effect. That is, a 'female' stereotype, for example, was often strongest in the 'double female' advertisements, declining both proportionately and absolutely through 'single female,' 'couple,' 'single male' and 'double male' advertisement types. A reverse emphasis was also noted for 'male' sex-role stereotypes from the 'double male' to the 'double female' advertisement types.

With most of the sex-role stereotypes proven by the data (see previous sections) this continuum was observed most strongly in comparisons of the two extreme advertisement types. For example, in the portrayals of 'alcoholic drinks' these were observed in 29% of 'double male' advertisements, 5% of 'single male' advertisements, 4% of 'couple' advertisements 2% of 'single female' advertisements and in no double female advertisements. This percentage progression was also noted in the incidences of 'short/straight hair' (55%:48%:46%:12%:21%) from 'double male' to 'double female' advertisements, and in 'outer (object)' (summed data) attention (27%:34%:17%:13%:11%). On the 'female' stereotypes this trend was noted progressively down from 'double female' to 'double male' advertisements in 'household labour' (86%:75%:69%:40%:0).

Similar trends, with the greatest contrast reserved for the two extremes of advertisement types, were observed for the sex-role stereotypes of 'half body exposed', 'slim' physique, 'brown' hair, 'sports/hobbyist' role, 'ordinary' and 'homely /cosy' advertisement tones, 'secondary' product use, 'neither married/engaged', 'print colour' and 'occupational' interiors.

The most notable trends, however, were found among those 'major' sex-role stereotypes such as the 'worker' and 'decorative' roles, 'self' and 'product/object' touch, 'personal (cosmetic)' products and the 'direct' product use.

While these results were interesting as a form of data patterning, their main importance appears to lie in the fact that they indicated an underlying tendency on the part of advertisers to depict certain sex-role stereotypes on the basis of

character sexes and composition. It appears that while a sub-code characteristic may be present in a 'male or 'female' stereotypic form, more characters of that sex may 'concentrate' the characteristic. While it was not possible to test this fact from this data, this result also begs the question of whether sex-role stereotypy would increase in direct proportion to the number of that sex associated with it. For example, would the presences of two, three or four males increase the probability of an advertisement having an 'ordinary' tone, 'worker' roles or an appeal to 'sensuality'; would increasing the proportions of females in advertisements increase the probability of certain types of 'touch,' 'behaviour,' or physical characteristics, making them progressively more 'decorative,' 'domestic,' or 'inner-directed'?

The relative absence of double male advertisements in the sample made investigation of these questions impossible, but as an aspect of stereotyping this could be a good basis for further research. In short, do advertisers use intensity of sex-role stereotypy as a function of 'safety in numbers'?

Before leaving this analysis, two further points may be made:-

Analysis of the data from advertisement types also produced some isolated observations which may be noted in the general evidence for sex-role stereotyping.

1. The 'sexy' expression was most common in the 'single female' advertisements, and, surprisingly, more common than in 'couple' advertisements. 17 couple participants wore the 'sexy' expression but 76 single females did so. The autonomy of this expression in the female 'alone', perhaps more than other data, gives support to a form of 'sex object' role for females. This was also supported by the fact that 44 couples but 58 single females were shown in a 'romantic/sexy' advertisement tone.
2. The 'houseworker' role was most common within 'single female' advertisements. Only four 'double female' advertisements showed this role. This observation does give some support to feminist comments on the isolation of the housewife in advertisements.

Secondly, the summated data for 'couples' gives nine instances of 'house-worker' roles. Since it is known that over the whole sample only one male was shown in this role, then this evidence tends to suggest that it is only the female, even when accompanied by a male, who actually does housework in advertisements.

Part 2 Evidence against sex-role stereotyping

If, as was established in Part 1 of this chapter, the evidence for sex-role stereotyping may be said to be supported by the significantly greater probability of one sex scoring in the direction of a sex-appropriate stereotype, then so might evidence against sex-role stereotyping be given by one sex scoring significantly more than the other in a sex-inappropriate direction, or, simply, by the notation of non-significant differences. Some arguments against sex-role stereotyping may also be made if advertisers can be shown to avoid sex-role stereotyping, while modification of a tendency to stereotyping may be interpreted from relative infrequencies of certain proven stereotypes.

The following sections will present these alternative views on the sex-role stereotypy in the data.

Section 5:7 'Inappropriate' stereotypes

No 'inappropriate' stereotypes were found for female characters. All significant differences recorded for females were in the direction of the postulated, 'female', sex-role stereotypes.

With males, however, five 'inappropriate' stereotypes were found. These were for males to be shown as 'husbands' significantly more than females were shown as 'wives', to be significantly more than females associated with 'for family' appeals, and in 'food' product advertisements. Males were also shown significantly more than females in 'incompetent' behaviour, and with the 'anxious, puzzled,' expression/manner. (see Appendix C)

The first implication of these results is some greater emphasis on the 'domestic' imagery of males, which becomes stronger when not only associated with their stereotyped association with 'large household' products noted in Section 5:1, but also by some frequency analyses that this result prompted. Other evidence of this 'domesticity' of males was sought, and re-analysis of 'role' data was made.

If all roles of 'houseworker,' 'parent,' 'spouse' and 'host' are viewed as a cluster of 'domestic' roles, it was found, despite the overwhelming female emphasis in the 'houseworker' role, that these 'domestic' roles accounted for 18% of female portrayals, but 22% of male. In addition, a result which has not yet been explained, but is reiterated in this context, was the greater proportionate frequency of males to be in the 'all rated' 'domestic work' category. Although this code emphasised the 'house repair' work for males, 11% of female characters but 12% of male were rated in all 'domestic work'.

Finally, on examination of 'product' data, if 'small' and 'large household' products, 'children's products' and 'food' are viewed as a cluster of 'domestic' products, then while 22% of female main characters were so associated, 40% of male main characters were, a difference significant at below .0001 ($X^2=31.046$).

Care, however, should be taken in the interpretation of this data. While such results might indicate a stronger male 'domesticity' stereotype than hitherto supposed, it should be noted that it was still females who were associated with the stereotypes of more menial domestic work. The association of male main characters was perhaps more indicative of their being used as a form of 'pull' to the magazine readers. That is, while the existence of a 'male reward' as an appeal in sexual terms was not proven in this data, it appears that a 'male reward' or association with 'domestic' criteria, may have been.

The second implication of these 'domesticity' results is the extent to which they contrast the domestic roles for women with the omnipresent 'decorative' role. This, however, appears to be a feature of women's magazine advertising, since the notation of 58% of 'decorative' roles and 16% 'domestic' roles for female

characters in this study compares well with the only other 'women's magazine' study which made such a comparison - that by Venkatesan and Losco, 1975 - who found 61% of 'decorative' and only 12% of 'domestic' roles for female characters in their study.

Of the other male 'inappropriate' stereotypes, the emphasis appears to be on some male 'ridicule'. The emphasis on 'incompetent' behaviour and the 'anxious/puzzled' expression manner implies some element of male 'clownishness'. Notably, however, it appears that this, too, may be a characteristic of males found only in women's magazines. Millum, 1974 in his study on that genre also observed this characteristic and wrote that a component of the male imagery in his sample, was a male who was 'just a kid himself..... the buffoon who spills things and acts the fool' (p.162) giving several examples of such behaviour, and noting on the specific 'incompetence' of males in overall contrast with the 'competence' of women. It will also be observed later, that while differences in 'neutral' and 'obvious' competence were non-significant between the sexes, it was still the female who showed both types of 'competence' proportionately more than the males. To the extent that these results from the two studies are comparable, and in the light of the considerable evidence (see Chapter 4) that in all other media, it was the competence of the male which was stressed, then evidence emerges for a 'sub-culture' of male 'buffoonery', in contrast to female 'competence', particularly and only in the women's magazines.

Section 5:8 Non-significant differences

A second area in which evidence 'against' sex-role stereotypy may be noted concerns the notation of non-significant differences in sub-code data. Most of these sub-codes were derived directly from good evidence on sex-role stereotypy, and the rest derived indirectly from associated stereotypy. Thus, if the notation of these sub-codes in the advertisements showed no significant differences between

the sexes, then evidence against stereotypy may be seen as cogent in those instances. The full list of non-significant differences is given in Table 5:10.

Table 5:10

Non-significant differences between
male and female main characters

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sub-Code</u>	<u>Sex Of Stereotype</u>
<u>Role</u>	parent	female
	host	male
<u>Behaviour</u>	anxiety	female
	nurturance (active)	female
	nurturance (passive)	male
	aesthetics	female
	leader	male
	follower	female
	extroversion	male
introversion	female	
<u>Work</u>	professional (primary)	male
	security	male
	literary/artistic	female
<u>Domestic work</u>	child care	female
<u>Leisure</u>	introvert	female
	non-active H/S	female
	active H/S	male
	eating/drinking	male
	resting/reclining	
<u>Competence</u>	obvious competence	male
	neutral competence	female
	famous person	male
<u>Expression/ Manner</u>	anxious/puzzled	female
	nurturant	female
	positive	male
	faraway/dreamy	male
<u>Touch</u>	adult	male
	child	female
<u>Attention Direction</u>	to self	female
	to product	male
	to other person	male
	(not second character)	
<u>Activity/position</u>	reclining/sitting	female
	walk/slow movement	female
	fast movement	male
<u>Physique</u>	fat	male
	plump	male

<u>Hair colour</u>	dark blonde	female
<u>Hair style</u>	head covering	female
<u>Clothing</u>	outerwear	male
	smart	female
<u>Clothing colour</u>	red/orange/yellow	male
	blue/green	female
<u>Relationships</u>	talking	female
	laughing	male
	approach/call	male
	unpleasant	male
	hold onto	female
	work on	female
	ignore/immerse	male
<u>Part exposed</u>	most/all of body	male
	bits of body	female
<u>Span</u>	large	male
	small	female
<u>Tone</u>	enthusiasm/fun	male
<u>Appeal</u>	activity/freedom	male
	time-saving	male
	money/ability	male
	youth/M-F	female
	insecurity/sex reward	female
	style/expertise	male
	value/economy	female
<u>Settings</u>	domestic interior	female
	other interior	female
	formal exterior	male
	other exterior	male
<u>Products</u>	cigarettes/tobacco	male
	personal (body)	female
	clothing	female
	small household	female
	consumer durables	male
	children's	female
	organisations	male
	leisure	male
<u>Product use</u>	holding/stroking	female
	observe	male
	shop for	female

Non-significant differences were found in 39 of the 'female' derived stereotypes, and 39 of the 'male'. In short, of the 159 sub-codes measured in the advertisement character data, 78 (49%) were not proven.

Care should be taken, however, in making such an unequivocal inference from the data.

It would, for example, be more methodologically valid to note that some of these sub-codes were implied as 'speculative' or 'postulated' stereotypes (for example, the different clothing colours and relationship types), so it is accepted that while certain of these 'speculative' stereotypes have been proven by the data (for example, 'white' and 'dark' clothing colour) in the remaining cases a cautious approach would be to take non-significant differences as indicating perhaps the inadequacy of these codes as sex-role stereotypes, as much as stereotypes 'not proven'.

Nonetheless, it is notable that - the above rider notwithstanding - certain of those sex-role stereotypes which were derived from very good independent evidence did not score validly as sex-role stereotypes in this study.

Foremost among these stereotypes were those on 'behaviour'. While these sub-codes often scored proportionately slightly more in the sex-appropriate direction, only the stereotypes of 'active' and 'passive sexuality' behaviour significantly differentiated the sexes. It is particularly interesting that such strong sex-role stereotypes as the 'male', 'leader' behaviour and the 'female', 'anxiety' and 'follower' behaviour scored as non-significant. Only with 'extrovert' behaviour, where there was some equivocation in the derived stereotype, can some possible explanation of the lack of differentiation be given. It is also interesting that it is such 'behavioural' stereotypes that feminists have emphasised in advertising critiques. A similar set of observations may be made for the results on 'competence' (again a source of feminist interest) since both sexes were as likely to be scored as

'competent', and for the 'work' sub-codes where the strongly derived 'male' stereotype of 'primary professional' work was not proven in this data. The depiction of males as 'professionals' in advertisements and media has been a frequent source of feminist comment, yet this sub-code, which contained such imagery, showed no significant difference between the sexes, in this study.

In 'domestic' imagery, too, it is notable that both sexes were equally likely to be shown as 'parent' despite strong evidence that 'mothering' is a 'female' stereotype, an observation that can equally apply to 'childcare', 'small household' and 'children's' products, and 'touching a child'.

Amongst the appeals associated with each sex only those for 'general appearance improvement' and 'sensuality' were proven, and such sources of feminist criticism, and evidenced stereotypes in other studies, as the 'youth-M-F' appeal and appeals to 'insecurity/male reward' were found to be non-significant between the sexes in this study, as were the 'masculine' stereotyped appeals to 'activity/freedom' and 'money/ability'.

There were no significant differences in the types of relationship - not even the stronger 'female' ones, such as 'talking', or the 'male' ones such as 'calling' or 'laughing'.

Despite evidence in other studies which indicated product association to be a good source of sex-role stereotyping, only with 'food' and 'personal (cosmetic)' products were stereotypes found in this study. Association with such 'external' masculine products as 'consumer durables' and 'organisation' advertising were found to be non-significant differences between the sexes, as were more domestic products, such as 'small household', and personal products, such as 'clothing' and 'personal(body)'. In relation to product use, the suggested feminist stereotype that women 'hold/stroke' the product was not proven, while, surprisingly, despite the fact of greater female consumer behaviour, to be 'shopping for/sold' the product was non-significant between the sexes.

Other stereotypes of interest which were not proven were the 'female' ones of 'domestic interior', 'faraway/dreamy', 'nurturant' expressions, 'dark blonde' hair, and the 'male' stereotypes of 'active hobby/sports', 'positive' expression and association with 'cigarette/tobacco' products.

While this data is interesting in its own right as evidence of the non-presence of certain stereotypes, other interpretations of these results are given in the next section.

Section 5:9 Visual hierarchy of stereotypes

In Section 5:5 in Part 1 of this Chapter, it was shown how, in the major codes of 'role', 'domestic work', 'touch', 'appearance', advertisement 'appeals' and 'tone', and 'products', certain sex-role stereotypes also constituted the highest sub-code frequencies. These codes were also typified by a contrast in the primary code stereotypes for male and female characters, results supported by often low, and always non-significant, Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficients.

In the remaining codes in which sex-role stereotypes were proven, a different pattern was observed and, in several instances, the stereotypes were typified by relatively low frequencies. These stereotypes may be considered as 'weak' and, considering each, accompanied by relative proportions within each major code, the 'female' stereotypes of 'passive sexuality' behaviour (9%), the 'sexy' expression (8%), 'face/shoulders' exposure (26%), and the 'male' stereotypes of 'active sexuality' (9%), 'stern/negative' expression (8%), 'looking' in relationships (18%), 'comedy' advertisement tone (17%), 'secondary' product use (12%), 'selling' the product (7%), 'studio backdrop' settings(11%), 'occupational' interiors (9%) and 'open exteriors' (14%) may be considered such 'weak' stereotypes.

The notable fact about these stereotypes, however, is that they always occurred in those codes wherein the primary hierarchical code was common to both sexes, significant or non-significant differences in that code notwithstanding. Thus, in 'behaviour', both sexes were most likely to show 'leader' and 'extrovert' behaviours, in 'expression/manner' both sexes were most likely to show the 'positive' expression,

in 'part exposed' both sexes most often showed 'most/all' of their body, in 'relationships' both sexes were most likely to be 'not communicating', in 'product use' both sexes were most likely to be 'obviously using' the product and in 'settings' both sexes were most likely to be against 'print colour'.

This patterning also occurred in other codes. In 'leisure', both sexes were most likely to show 'eating/drinking' behaviour, in 'competence', 'obvious' and 'neutral' competence, in 'attention direction', to have attention 'to the reader,' in 'activity /position', to be 'standing' and in 'marital status' to be 'neither married/engaged'.

Throughout all these codes mentioned, the similar sex emphases were also supported by high and significant Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficients, which contrasted with the lower and non-significant correlation coefficients noted in those codes which featured the 'strong' stereotypes. The correlation coefficients for the 'weaker' codes are given in Table 5:11 below.

Table 5:11

'Weaker' codes:

Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficients

Code	Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient	Significance* Level
Behaviour	.89	.001
Leisure	.67	.05
Competence	.80	.10
Expression/Manner	.79	.05
Attention/Direction	.75	.01
Activity/position	1.00	.001
Marital status	x	x
Part exposed	.80	.10
Relationships	.94	.025
Advertisement span	1.00	.05
Advertisement settings	.86	.025
Advertisement colour	x	x
Product use	.87	.005

x: only 2 or 3 categories, but identical hierachies

*: two-tailed test

These results suggest, first, that in certain types of codes and behaviours, a strong advertising convention operates which is consistent over both sexes.

Second, what is notable about those proven stereotypes which were 'weak', and also those sub-codes which scored relatively infrequently, is that they were the more 'negative' types of derived stereotype.

For example, the stereotypes of 'passive sexuality', 'eyes cast down', 'service work' and 'face/shoulders' exposed were relatively infrequent, none of them accounting for more than 20% of all of their code allocations, and each being of a somewhat less 'positive' nature. Although not proven sex-role stereotypes, a similar trend is witnessed in certain other sub-codes; for example, to be 'fat/plump', the 'follower' and 'introvert' behaviours, 'unpleasant' relationships, were each infrequent sub-code frequencies.

The importance of noting this trend is particularly exemplified, however, when its logic is applied to the notation of the non-significant differences in sub-codes, outlined in the previous section. It is apparent that although the differences between certain sub-codes were contrary to expectations of sex-role stereotyping, by observing them from the vantage point of 'positive/negative' characteristics, a more advertiser, or 'advertisement design' orientated explanation may be offered. This factor is most clearly exemplified in the 'behaviour' code. It was, for example, noted that, despite the strong sex-role stereotype derivation for many of the 'behaviour' sub-codes, many of them demonstrated non-significant differences between the sexes. If, however, these results are not interpreted from the 'sex-role stereotype' viewpoint, then the 'positive/negative' inference provides a good alternative explanation for much of the 'behaviour' imagery.

Both sexes, for example, were more likely to show the 'leader' and 'extrovert' behaviours than any other. These - in combination - accounted for 43% of female and 51% of male behaviour depictions. By contrast, both sexes were least likely to show the behaviours of 'introversion' and 'follower', and these, also in combination, accounted for only 8% of female behaviours, and 2% of the male.

Each of these sub-codes were non-significant between male and female main characters.

Such a result pointedly suggests that desires for 'attractive' presentation of advertisement characters has over-ridden any desire to 'sex-role stereotype' the characters, assuming, of course, that such an intention existed in the first place. This factor is also observed in the non-significant differences in the strongly derived 'competence' code, where both sexes were more likely to show 'competence' and 'neutral' competence (combined) than the 'incompetent' behaviours. 80% of female main characters and 70% of males demonstrated the two 'positive' competence behaviours and only 8% of females and 18% of males demonstrated 'incompetence', this latter sub-code's characteristic as a 'male' stereotype notwithstanding. In 'expression/manner' sub-codes there was a similar trend, with the 'positive' expression non-significant between the sexes, and the most common sub-code for both sexes (73% of females and 68% of males). By contrast, the less attractive, 'anxious/puzzled' and 'negative/stern' expressions were considerably less frequent. Similarly, in the 'leisure' code, if 'eating/drinking' and 'active hobby/sports' may be construed as the more 'active' and 'positive' activities, then not only were they non-significant between the sexes, but, in combination, far exceeded all the more 'passive' forms of leisure, such as 'non-active hobby/sports' 'resting/reclining' and 'introvert' leisure.

Why such results should be considered more in terms of good advertisement design than 'sex-role stereotypes', is discussed in more detail in Chapter 9. At this juncture, however, it may be noted that if the use of 'colour', 'large' advertisements, 'direct' use of product, having 'most/all of body' exposed, to be 'standing' and attending 'to the reader' may be considered feasible aspects of attracting reader attention, then each of these sub-codes was the predominant one in the relevant major code, while the alternative sub-codes of 'small', 'black/white' advertisements, 'bits' of body exposed, 'no attention' to the product were all notably infrequent.

Interestingly, however, most of these sub-codes which occurred most frequently for both sexes were derived as 'masculine' stereotypes, largely because, as a general rule, most 'masculine' stereotypes are the most 'positive'.

A further interpretation may be made of these data. It has been observed that the 'positive' attributes were not only usually the most frequent for both sexes, but also non-significant between the sexes. ('competence', 'behaviour', 'expression/manner'). Not only were these the more 'attractive' attributes, but they also tallied with the aspects of 'ideal masculinity' and 'femininity' which are common to both sexes. This is an important point in the case against 'sex-role stereotypes' in these advertisements and is considered in detail in Chapter 9.

In summary, several of the proven sex-role stereotypes were found to be 'weak' in that they occurred relatively infrequently. In these instances, there was an association with codes wherein the strongest sub-codes were notably 'positive' or were inferentially related to effective advertisement design.

Section 5:10 Product/role congruence

Absent from any other study on sex-role stereotyping in media has been any consideration of the advertisement function of the images.

Advertisers have made clear, in response to feminist critics, that such critics do not choose to consider the functions of product and advertisement design when they make conclusions on 'sex-role stereotyping' in advertising. Advertisers have also asserted, albeit sporadically, and with not a little irony (see Section 1:7), that certain images are necessary and feasible when seen in relation to products and general roles presented. For example, it is asserted that domestic imagery is usually logically associated with domestic products, and decorative imagery with decorative products.

This advertising claim required investigation and, as a general assumption, it was postulated that when a role was presented, if that role could be shown to relate

logically to other associated variables, and if such associations showed no significant differences between the sexes in presentation, then there could be some support for the advertisers' case.

Such an investigation was made, and was executed by using the 'role' code as a base variable, and relating the 'role' sub-codes to certain aspects of product data, advertisement design and aspects of 'tone' and 'appeal'. The 'role' data was also related to that on 'competence', since feminist criticisms on the portrayed 'incompetence' of men and women in certain roles had not been adequately investigated through the previous data.

Since certain codes were 'double coded', that is overlapped, rendering them statistically incomparable in the X^2 calculation, then comparisons were only made on nine major codes:-

'product' data

'tone' of advertisement

'appeal' of advertisement

advertisement 'colour'

advertisement 'span'

'product use'

character 'attention direction'

character 'competence'

character 'expression/manner'

While it would also have been desirable to relate character 'behaviour' to 'role', this was thought to be unreliable owing to the low frequencies of the sub-codes encountered for the 'behaviour' code.

To aid data cell size and, thus, to avoid this problem with the codes investigated, the 'role' data were collapsed into broad categories. A general 'domestic' role was created, including 'spouse', 'parent', 'houseworker' and 'host'.

The sub-codes in the related codes were also summated where necessary, so that, for example, in 'product' data only eight product categories were used. In 'expression/manner' seven were used.

For clarity, the results of this analysis are discussed by role type. Discussion and analysis are restricted to the larger sub-codes in each major code.

The data were extracted by a combined 'select if' instruction to the computer package. Tables were then drawn up and 2X2, X² comparisons made on the resultant, relevant cells.

The results of the 'N' and percentage values for each cross-code comparison are given from Appendix C:26. Since, however, only certain and selected calculations were made on this data, the individual results are reported in the following text.

Roles by Selected Codes

From an analysis of the cross-code data, the main point which emerged was a contrast between those characteristics which were most visible, and proportionately greatest, for each sex - the method of assessment which has been employed by both feminists, and some empirical studies, in their observations on sex-role stereotypes - and those characteristics which emerged as statistically significant or non-significant differences in between-sex portrayals - the assessment of how advertisers actually portrayed the sexes in this sample. The very numerical weight of women characters in these advertisements made the more common female actions and roles more obvious, and appeared to support many of the criticisms of sex-role stereotyping, particularly in comparison with the fewer, less visible males. This, however, was not necessarily a clear picture of the actual imagery used by advertisers.

Taking the advertisers viewpoint first, however, the data were first analysed from the notation of the most frequent portrayals and associations by sex, and the comparisons of those large data cells by sex which afforded valid statistical analysis.

What emerged from this analysis was a general equivocation in the portrayals, by sex, of the specific roles, with some generally 'appropriate' associations. Only in a few instances were significant differences noted, and several of these appeared to favour 'anti-traditional' as often as 'traditional' imagery.

1. The decorative role

Despite the 'female' orientation of this role in the sample as a whole, when males and females within the role were compared a generally reasonable and similar set of depictions were noted.

- (i) Both males and females in the 'decorative' role appeared most often in 'appearance' products and the difference by sex was statistically non-significant ($X^2=.247$).

Furthermore, in those 'functional' products such as the 'domestic', 'cigarettes /drink', 'consumer durables', 'organisations' and 'leisure' products, wherein the 'decorative' role might be viewed as 'gratuitous', if the data of these relatively small allocations are summated, then 232 (32%) of females and 9(31%) of males were so related in the 'decorative' role, a non-significant difference. ($X^2=.021$).

- (ii) For both decorative males and females, to be 'just modelling', a logical 'tone' for the role was the largest category in advertisement 'tones' for both sexes and was a non-significant difference ($X^2=1.502$).
- (iii) In the advertisement 'appeals', that to 'general appearance improvement', a logical 'appeal' for the role, was the largest category again for both sexes, and although also non-significant between the sexes ($X^2=1.308$) in fact, as an appeal, favoured the males (55%:44%).
- (iv) In terms of 'attention direction', the largest sub-codes for both sexes were 'to the reader' and attention 'not seen' - both classic modelling expressions - and both types of attention were non-significant between the sexes ('to reader' $X^2=.003$, 'not seen' $X^2=1.537$) and the grouped category again proportionately favoured males (79%:90%). Similarly, if 'inner' direction is a symbol of the 'decorative' role, as Millum, 1974 suggested and found in his study, but largely for females, then it is also notable that in this study, if such a grouped category is constructed, the difference was not only again non-significant ($X^2=.182$) but males were again shown to be proportionately more so depicted. (41%:36%).

- (v) In relation to product use, the 'obvious' use and 'symbolic' to the product were the largest and logical categories for both sexes (91% females and 100% males). Yet, it is observable, that it was the females who were more 'obviously' using a product in the 'decorative' role and the males who were more likely to be 'symbolic'. While this may be interpreted as a greater 'connection' of females to the product in this role, and a possible indicator of male 'detachment', it also might be construed as a greater 'objectifying' of the male in a role traditionally thought of as 'female'.
- (vi) If advertisement size is taken as an indication of the 'relevance' of each role depiction, then in terms of 'large' and 'medium' advertisements sizes, there were no significant differences between the sexes for either size (large $X^2=.738$, medium $X^2=.037$). With the 'small' advertisements, in which one would expect the males to be more frequent and thereby less 'relevant' in this 'feminine' role, the females in fact scored significantly more than the males ($X^2=5.934$ $p.<.05$).

Against these findings should, however, be placed the following observations:-

- (i) In relation to 'expression/manner', the 'positive' and 'neutral' expressions were the largest group for both sexes, taking 77% and 80% of female and male 'decorative' expressions/manners respectively. While noting, however, that these are also classic modelling expressions which one would expect to be associated with the 'decorative' role, it was found that it was the females who significantly more showed the 'positive' expression ($X^2=7.334$ $p.<.01$) and males who significantly more showed a 'neutral' expression ($X^2=7.334$ $p.<.01$). Whether this indicated some prevalence of the 'strong, silent' male in his 'decorative' role, or, again, some distancing of himself from the role, is open to interpretation, but in consideration of the fact that while 78% of the female 'decorative' sample showed some expression other than 'neutral', only 48% of the males did so, and this result did appear to indicate greater involvement of the females in this role.

- (ii) If advertisement size is a consideration in 'relevance', then so is 'colour' and, in this respect, males were less 'relevant', being significantly more likely to be in 'black/white' advertisements than females, who were significantly more depicted in 'colour' ones. ($X^2=5.934$ $p.<.025$).

In summary, in most of the advertisement depictions in which a logical set of behaviours would be expected for the 'decorative' role, the sexes did not score significantly differently, with in fact, most of the 'gratuitous' behaviours favouring males. Only in the cases of the 'positive' expression and 'colour' advertisements were females accorded a special status in the 'decorative' role.

(ii) **The worker role**

- (i) To be workers in situations which were simply 'ordinary' for that role was the largest type of advertisement tone for both female and male 'workers' and the difference was non-significant between the sexes ($X^2=.001$). Furthermore, no female or male 'workers' were associated with the irrelevant tones of a 'romantic/sexy' description, the evidence on this association for females in American press media studies notwithstanding.
- (ii) If to be enjoying work is indicated by the 'sensuality' appeal in this role, then this was the largest male, and the second largest female, 'worker' appeal, a difference non-significant between the sexes ($X^2=1.374$). Notably, however, the largest female, worker appeal was to 'freedom', of which the larger of the two summated categories was for 'activity/freedom' (32%) and the smaller 'money/ability' (21%). Notably, females were associated with this appeal significantly more than male workers ($X^2=16.975$ $p.<.005$).
- (iii) If the 'positive' expression is an indicator of enjoyment in this role, this was also the largest category for both sexes, and a non-significant difference ($X^2=.018$), while if the 'neutral' expression - the second largest group for both sexes - is an indication of non-involvement in, or 'neutral' acceptance of this role, this was, too, non-significant between the sexes ($X^2=.026$).

Similarly if attention direction to 'work/hobby' is an indication of involvement then this was also non-significant between the sexes ($X^2=1.045$), while if attention 'not seen', 'outer (object) (grouped)', 'outer (person) (grouped)', or 'inner direction (grouped)' are indications of degrees of involvement these, too, were all non-significant between the sexes (object, $X^2=2.501$; 'not seen' $X^2=2.480$; outer (person) $X^2=2.315$; outer (object) $X^2=2.336$).

- (iv) In terms of worker 'competence', to be rated at all was non-significant between the sexes ($X^2=.338$), as was the 'obvious' competence ($X^2=.071$) and 'neutral competence' ($X^2=1.395$) assessments. 'Neutral' and 'obvious' competence were the largest groups for both sexes, (66%:62%). In fact, at this point it may also be noted that despite observations by other studies (e.g. Long and Simon, 1975) that female workers are shown as 'incompetent', and feminist criticism that the only female competence is shown in the 'domestic' role, it was found that females were significantly more likely to be rated as 'competent' as 'workers', than as 'domestic' ($X^2=11.573$ p.<.001).
- (v) In terms of advertisement size, as a factor in 'relevance'; there was no significant difference between the sexes in appearance in 'small' advertisements ($X^2=.145$) and females were, in fact, significantly more likely than male workers to be in the 'medium' advertisement sizes ($X^2=9.084$ p.<.005).

Against these findings should, however, be placed the following observations:-

- (i) In the 'worker' role, female workers were significantly more likely to be shown in 'organisation' advertisements than male workers ($X^2=23.477$ p.<.0005). These advertisements, of which the largest group was for 'job advertisements' (53%), indicated a strict relationship of the female worker to a working context. Males, on the otherhand, were more likely to be viewed out of this 'worker' context, so that while the largest product group for female workers was for 'organisations' (54%), that for males was for 'domestic' products (51%), wherein they appeared significantly more than females ($X^2=14.892$ p.<.0005). This was supported by the fact that the female workers were shown

significantly more than males as 'using (being)' the product ($X^2=19.586$ $p.<.0001$). This indicated that male work status was more 'taken for granted' or 'relevant', out of a strictly working context.

- (ii) As a further factor in 'relevance', despite the female 'worker' predominance in the 'medium' size advertisements, which was the largest group for the female worker role, the largest group for the male worker role was the 'large' advertisement, in which he appeared significantly more often than female 'workers' ($X^2=4.650$ $p.<.05$). Similarly, and in direct contrast to this finding for the 'decorative' role for females, the largest advertisement depictions for males were in 'colour' advertisements, and for females, in 'black and white', a difference which was significant ($X^2=5.934$ $p.<.025$).

In summary, in most logical aspects of the 'worker' role, including 'competence', there were no significant differences between the sexes in portrayals, and females were shown as significantly more 'competent' as 'workers' than as 'domestics'. Males, however, were shown as more 'relevant' in this role, as per Millum, 1974 and Adams and Laurikietis, 1976, and as 'workers' out of a 'working' context.

(iii) The domestic role

- (i) When male and female 'domestics' were portrayed, they were equally likely to be shown in advertisements for 'domestic' products - 60% for each sex - and the largest product group for both sexes in this role ($X^2=.011$ NS). 'Leisure' products was also the second largest product group for each sex, a difference which was again non-significant ($X^2=.005$). Together, these products made up 76% of female, and 77% of male, 'domestic' role allocations, and may be considered logical, undifferentiated and predominant depictions.
- (ii) Given that most 'domestic' role allocations were for domestic products, it is then notable that there were no significant differences between the sexes in 'direct' product use ($X^2=1.556$). Any possibility that males in this role might ignore the product was not supported, in that there was also no significant difference between females and males in directing 'no attention' to the

- product ($X^2=.001$). Similarly, there was no significant difference between the sexes in their directing attention to their '(domestic) work' ($X^2=.023$).
- (iii) In relation to the 'happy housewife' syndrome, suggested by feminists as a potent female stereotype, it is notable that for both sexes the 'positive' expression was the most common one in this code (69%:52%), and there was no significant difference in being portrayed in the 'enthusiasm/fun' tone ($X^2=.095$). In the case of context, both sexes were most likely to be shown in a tone 'ordinary' for the situation, a difference which was again non-significant ($X^2=.137$), while the second largest tone for both sexes was the 'appropriate', 'homely/cosy' one, which also showed a non-significant difference ($X^2=.417$).
- (iv) In the 'domestic' role, both sexes were as likely to be associated with 'value/economy' and 'for family' appeals ($X^2=.013$) and, by corollary, appeals to 'freedom' ($X^2=.018$) and to 'time saving' ($X^2=.049$), this despite feminist claims of 'pseudo-liberation' connected with this role (Sharpe 1976, see Chapter 2).
- (v) Despite the fact that feminists consider that 'elimination by incompetence' is a characteristic of the male 'domestic' (Embree, 1970; Komisar, 1971, Millum, 1974), in these advertisements, 'neutral' competence was the largest grouping for both males and females in the 'domestic' role - a non-significant difference ($X^2=.581$). Interestingly, no males were rated as 'incompetent' and they were significantly more likely than females to be rated in 'competence' at all, in this role ($X^2=.679$ $p.<.05$).
- (vi) In terms of advertisement size and colour, there were no significant differences between the sexes in being shown in 'colour' or 'black/white' advertisements ($X^2=.692$) and, in fact, both sexes were more likely to be in 'colour' advertisements and males then more so - that is more 'relevant' in this 'female' role. In terms of advertisement size, there were no significant differences in being portrayed in 'small' ($X^2=.216$), 'medium' ($X^2=.009$) or 'large' advertisements ($X^2=.407$).

Against these findings, however, must be placed that facts that:-

- (i) The largest type of male product association in the 'domestic' role was to be 'symbolic' to the product and significantly more so than females, which did counter-balance the seeming male involvement in the 'domestic' role with the 'domestic' products ($X^2=5.677$ p.<.05).
Similarly, male 'domestics' were significantly more than females shown in a 'comedy' tone ($X^2=3.375$ p.<.10), which may have represented some distancing or 'ridiculing' of the male in the 'domestic' role, but extended the concept of the male 'buffoon' noted earlier in this Chapter.
- (ii) Although the 'positive' expression/manner was the primary one in this code for both male and female 'domestics', some erosion of the 'happy housewife' syndrome being a non-sex-based characteristic is observed by the fact that significantly more females showed the 'positive' expression ($X^2=3.691$ p.<.05).

In summary, most of the logical 'domestic' depictions were the most frequent for, and non-significant between the sexes, in the 'domestic' role, including factors of design, competence, product and appeal. Some evidence existed for females to be smiling more in this role, and for males to be 'distanced' from it, but these were relatively subordinate factors to the general trend of rational depiction.

(iv) The 'ordinary' role

- (i) For both sexes the 'ordinary' role was most connected with 'domestic' products, followed by 'appearance', 'leisure' and 'organisation' products in identical frequency hierarchy. In each of these product groups, no significant differences were observed between the sexes (domestic, $X^2=.762$; appearance, $X^2=.392$; leisure, $X^2=.000$; organisations, $X^2=.006$).
- (ii) In terms of 'product use' the 'symbolic' and 'obvious' use sub-codes were the largest categories for both sexes, and both showed non-significant differences (symbolic, $X^2=.147$; obvious use, $X^2=.068$).

There was also no significant difference between the sexes in directing 'no attention' to the product - the third largest group for 'ordinary' males and females ($X^2=.068$).

- (iii) The two 'appropriate' tones - 'ordinary' and 'enthusiasm/fun' - which might be expected to be associated with the 'ordinary' role, were, for both sexes, the primary ones, and demonstrated no significant differences between the sexes (ordinary, $X^2=.012$; enthusiasm/fun, $X^2=.037$).
- (iv) In the case of 'expression/manner', similar results were observed, so that while the 'positive' and 'neutral' expressions were the primary and secondary ones for both sexes, neither showed a significant difference (positive, $X^2=.006$; neutral, $X^2=.001$).
- (v) In relation to 'appeals', for 'ordinary' females, the primary appeal was to 'freedom'. Interestingly, 'ordinary' females were associated with this appeal significantly more than 'ordinary' males ($X^2=3.664$ p.<.05).
- (vi) In terms of 'attention direction', the largest category for both sexes was 'to the reader' a non-significant difference ($X^2=1.910$) as were all other calculable types of attention direction, including to an 'object' ($X^2=.241$) to 'another person' ($X^2=.076$), to attention 'not seen' ($X^2=.019$).
- (vii) In terms of advertisement structure, there were also no significant differences in presentation by 'colour' or 'black/white' depictions ($X^2=.003$), 'small' advertisement ($X^2=.216$) and 'large' advertisement sizes ($X^2=.139$).

Against these very 'equal' findings, however, it should be noted that:-

- (i) Significantly more 'ordinary' males were associated with a 'comedy' tone, which in this neutral role of 'ordinary' must indicate a greater male humour ($X^2=3.578$ p.<.05), although this, again, adds to the male 'buffoon' image.
- (ii) The dichotomy between male 'self-indulgence' and female 'self-consciousness' noted in Section 5:1 also emerges in this role, in that while twice as many 'ordinary' females as males were associated with appeals to 'general appearance improvement' (23%:11%) males were significantly more associated with 'sensuality' appeals ($X^2=9.174$ p.<.005), which was also their largest associated appeal.

In summary, both sexes in the 'ordinary' role were equally likely to be associated with 'ordinary', and other advertisement characteristics. Only the male 'comedy' association and a dichotomy in appeals emerged against this pattern.

(v) The 'lover' role

As a highly specific role, there were only a few sub-codes with which a 'lover' role might be connected as 'applicable'. Within these sub-codes, however, female and male 'lovers' were generally recorded without significant differences.

(i) There were for example, no significant differences in their being 'symbolic' to the product ($X^2=.061$), to be obviously 'using' the product ($X^2=.061$), and both these categories were the largest for both sexes in this role in terms of product use (90% female and 85% male).

Similarly, the 'romantic/sexual' tone was the largest in this code for both sexes, a logical and non-significant difference ($X^2=.024$). Similarly, the 'romantic/sexual' and 'enthusiasm/fun' tones were the largest for both sexes (59% of females and 90% of males). In addition, the 'sensuality' appeal, a sub-code which might rationally be connected with the 'lover' role, was again non-significant between the sexes ($X^2=.830$), and was the largest appeal for both male and female 'lovers'.

(ii) In the case of advertisement structure, the factors of 'relevance' in colour and size of advertisement, which might have favoured males in this 'male' role, were, in fact, not found. There were no significant differences between the sexes in portrayal in 'colour' and 'black/white' advertisements ($X^2=.602$), with both sexes notably being more in 'colour' advertisements. There was also no significant difference in presentation in 'small' ($X^2=.378$) or 'large' advertisements ($X^2=.099$). Again, the similar 'relevance' for both sexes was seen in the fact that the 'large' advertisements were the most common for both male and female 'lovers'.

Against these findings should be placed one observation:-

Although the 'romantic/sexual' tone was the most common for both sexes, and a non-significant difference, this provided the largest category for females only. For male 'lovers' the 'enthusiasm/fun' tone was the largest category, and male 'lovers' were associated with this tone significantly more than female 'lovers' ($X^2=5.788$ $p.<.05$), indicating a more 'active' association for males in this role, compared to the 'romantic' females.

In summary, both males and females as 'lovers' were shown in largely relevant depictions, with the exception of a more 'enthusiastic/fun' tone for males, and a 'romantic/sexual' one for females.

(vi) The sports/hobbyist role

This was the smallest role by frequency for both sexes and, therefore, there were few adequate data cells. Nonetheless, as with other roles, few significant differences were found in 'applicable' sub-codes.

For example, there was no significant difference between the sexes for display in the 'ordinary' tone ($X^2=.847$), which was also the largest 'tone' category for both sexes. Similarly, the 'positive' expression, which was the largest of this code for both sexes, showed a non-significant difference ($X^2=.023$), as did attention to their '(work)/hobby' ($X^2=.023$), again the largest and most appropriate group for both sexes in terms of 'attention direction'.

Similarly, in terms of 'competence' there was no significant difference in showing 'neutral' competence ($X^2=.068$), and in 'product use', no significant difference in 'obviously using' the product ($X^2=1.533$), or to be 'symbolic' to it ($X^2=2.600$), which together made up the largest two categories for both sexes.

In advertisement structure codes, there was no significant difference in being shown in 'colour' or 'black/white' advertisements ($X^2=.039$), or to be in 'large' advertisements ($X^2=.030$).

Summary

The advertisers' contention that role displays in advertisements are generally related to logical product function, was well supported by the data examined in this Section. Most of the major role depictions were associated with elements of behaviour, advertisement design, or product use in a manner which could only be called 'appropriate' for those roles.

If there were differences in role depictions of males and females which fell outside of this generally 'reasonable' trend, then these concerned aspects of 'relevance'. The female 'decorative' and the male 'worker' roles, were, respectively, more associated with advertisement 'colour' and larger size aspects, which tended, on the whole, to give more emphasis to the sex-appropriate role. There were other observations on differences, but, on balance, it would appear that neither sex, overall, emerged in a manner which may be termed overtly 'sex-role stereotyped'. Females, for example, were more likely to be associated with a 'positive' expression in the houseworker role suggesting support for a female, 'happy/housewife' imagery, but this result was balanced by their additional tendency to be associated with 'freedom' and 'money/ability' appeals in the 'worker' roles significantly more than males. Males, on the other hand, appeared to emerge in some instances as slightly more 'distanced' from the product, and with more freedom to be associated with a 'worker' role out of the 'working' context, and with 'sensuality' as 'ordinary' characters, but, on the other hand, they were also, in terms of percentage frequency, more likely to be shown associated in the 'decorative' role with aspects of symbolism', 'inner direction' and 'general appearance improvement' appeals, that is, to be shown in the classical model demeanour more than females.

It is interesting that such analysis has not been performed on similar data in other studies, since such an analysis does implicitly attempt to investigate a constant assertion and defence offered by advertisers. Why such an analysis has not been attempted before is open to conjecture, but may be related to the beguiling notation of simple frequency levels. This aspect of 'frequency/visibility' was noted

at the beginning of this Section, and referred to the over-emphasis of female characters in many advertisements. A simple observation of the raw data cells in the cross-code tables set out in Appendix C, illustrates how such a temptation can arise, and how it can be easily adhered to. Examining the 'product/role' data, for instance, (Appendix C:26), it is observable that in 'consumer durable', 'cigarettes/drink', 'organisations' and 'leisure' products, the female 'decorative' role occurred, in simple frequency terms, far more than the 'male' decorative role. This observation, taken at face value, would appear to give massive support for a 'gratuity' of female 'decorative' depiction, that is, her principal association with products where a 'decorative' role might be termed irrelevant. Further inspection of this data, however, revealed that overall, males were depicted far less frequently than females, and, in fact, if frequency observations are linked with those on percentages, the male 'decorative' role in, say 'consumer durables', was over three times more frequent than that for females (10%:3%). In short, by considering the relative proportions of male and female characters in 'product/role' depictions, the male was more likely to emerge as 'gratuitous' than females.

It has been noted earlier in this thesis that advertisers have not been well served by the data analyses of advertisement content. In respect of the tendency of many of these studies to emphasise frequency values as opposed to conventional statistical analysis, it would appear that advertisers have also been misrepresented by such simplistic approaches.

Section 5:11 Evidence against sex-role stereotyping - second character data

The important factor about the observations on age data in Section 5:4 was that there was some evidence that 'older' women were freer from the conventional sex-role stereotypes than 'younger' women, but that 'older' characters, being in the minority, were less visible and frequent in the advertisements.

In short, there was some implication that advertisers did not always sex-role stereotype characters but these instances were less evident to the reader.

The same interpretation may be placed on second character data, for it was found that although these characters were less frequent and less visible, they nonetheless often showed sex-inappropriate stereotypes, and were less likely to show those sex-role stereotypes which were sex-appropriate.

The raw data and calculations on second character trends are given, by code, in Appendix C. The results and analyses are summarised below.

(i) Sex-inappropriate stereotypes

In six sub-codes, female second characters were rated significantly more than males in the 'male' derived stereotypes of:-

'extrovert' behaviour	(p.<.05)
'house repair' (domestic work)	(p.<.01)
'positive' expression	(p.<.01)
'standing' position	(p.<.025)
'outerwear' clothing	(p.<.10)
'not married/engaged' (marital status)	(p.<.10)
'most/all of body' exposed	(p.<.0005)
'observing others' (product use)	(p.<.001)

These results are interesting in the context of the fact that no sex-inappropriate stereotypes were recorded for females in main character data.

This cross-sexing of stereotypes was also noted in the male data. Male second characters were rated significantly more than females in the following 'female' derived stereotypes:-

'parent' role	(p.<.05)
'spouse' role	(p.<.05)
'sitting' position	(p.<.05)
'passive' sexuality (behaviour)	(p.<.05)
'child care' (domestic work)	(p.<.0001)
'nurturant' expression/manner	(p.<.025)
'married/engaged' (marital status)	(p.<.10)

The findings on 'spouse' and 'anxious/puzzled expression' have been already noted in the context of main character data, but it is also notable that such strongly

'female' stereotypes as 'passive sexuality', 'child care', the 'parent' role, 'service work', only appear as male inappropriate stereotypes in second character data.

(ii) Data changes

Among the non-significant differences for second characters, there was also evidence of some cross-sexing in depictions. For example, the 'sports/hobbyist' and 'ordinary' roles, 'leader' behaviour, 'house repair', 'touching a product/object' and 'attention to the product', 'working' clothing, and to be 'neither married/engaged', which were recorded as 'male' stereotypes in main character data, were proportionately more often recorded as 'female' characteristics in second character data, (see Appendix C), indicating a considerable 'swing' in portrayals between the two character types. Also, those characteristics rated as 'female' stereotypes in main character data - 'sexy' expression, 'eyes cast down', 'part/no' clothing, 'face/shoulders only' exposed - became proportionately more 'male' in second character data.

In order to investigate this factor more closely, the main and second, male and female characters was compared for each sub-code, in order to establish where, and to what extent, second characters either reduced their incidence of sex-appropriate stereotypes, or increased their incidence of sex-inappropriate stereotypes.

The calculations for these comparisons are set out in Appendix C. The results are summarised in Tables 5:12 and 5:13, the former table detailing the significant reductions in sex-appropriate stereotypes for each sex, and the latter, the increase in sex-inappropriate stereotypes.

Table 5:12

**Male and female second characters:
reduced stereotypes**

<u>Code</u>	<u>Female characters</u> <u>Scoring less:-</u> (sub-codes)	<u>Sig.</u> <u>Level</u>	<u>Male characters</u> <u>Scoring less:-</u> (sub-codes)	<u>Sig.</u> <u>Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	decorative	*****	worker	***
	houseworker	*		***
<u>Behaviour</u>	anxiety	*	leader	****
<u>Work</u>	professional (secondary)	*	industrial	**
	literary/artistic	**		
<u>Domestic Work</u>	child care	**	house repair	***
<u>Leisure</u>	introvert	**	active hobby/sports	**
<u>Expression/ Manner</u>	sexy	*		
<u>Touch</u>	child	*	product/object	***
<u>Attention/ Direction</u>	to reader	***	to work/hobby	***
<u>Activity/ Position</u>			standing	***
<u>Physique</u>			fat	**
<u>Hair colour</u>			grey	***
<u>Hair style</u>	long	*	bald	****
	coiffed	*		
<u>Clothing</u>	part/no clothing	*		
<u>Clothing/ Colour</u>	white/light	**		
<u>Part/ Exposed</u>	face/shoulders	*****		
<u>Product use</u>	direct use	****	secondary use	**
	holding/stroking	***		

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

Table 5:13

Male and female second characters: Increased opposite sex stereotypes

<u>Code</u>	<u>Female characters</u> <u>Scoring More:-</u>	<u>Sig.</u> <u>Level</u>	<u>Male characters</u> <u>Scoring more:-</u>	<u>Sig.</u> <u>Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	lover	***	parent	***
	ordinary	***		
<u>Behaviour</u>	active sexuality	***	passive sexuality	**
<u>Work</u>			clerical	**
<u>Domestic Work</u>	house repair	****	child care	*****
<u>Competence</u>			neutral	**
<u>Expression/ Manner</u>	positive	***		
<u>Touch</u>	adult	***		
<u>Attention/ Direction</u>	to main character	*****	eyes cast down	**
<u>Activity/ Position</u>			sitting	*
<u>Hair style</u>	short/straight	****		
<u>Clothing</u>	working	**		
<u>Part Exposed</u>	most/all of body	***		
<u>Product use</u>	no attention	***		

***** p.< .0001

**** p.< .001

*** p.< .01

** p.< .05

* p.< .10

It was found that female second characters, compared to main, significantly reduced their incidence of 'female' stereotypes in 17 sub-codes, including such 'strong' stereotypes as the 'decorative' and 'houseworker' roles, 'professional (secondary)' work, 'long' hair, 'part/no' clothing and 'direct' product use. Male second characters, compared to main, significantly reduced their incidence of 'male' stereotypes in 13 sub-codes, including, again the 'strong' stereotypes, such as 'worker' role, 'industrial' work, touching a 'product/object', 'house repair' and attention to 'work/hobby' (Table 5:12).

While these results were interesting, it was also fascinating to observe how, in tandem to reduced incidences of 'strong' sex-appropriate characteristics, there were marked increases in sex-inappropriate characteristics for both sexes (Table 5:13).

It was found, for example, that female second characters, compared to main, significantly increased their incidence of 'male' stereotypes in 11 sub-codes, including those of the 'male', 'lover' and 'ordinary' roles, 'activity sexuality', 'house repair', touching 'an adult', 'working' clothing and - in particular relation to the strength of 'appearance' stereotypes in main character data - in incidences of 'short/straight' hair.

Male second characters significantly increased their incidence of the 'female' stereotypes in eight sub-codes, including those of 'passive sexuality', 'eyes cast down' and the 'sitting' position.

This 'transference' effect in sex-role stereotyping in second character data was, however, a more 'female' trend. 28 female sub-codes showed some form of significant directional change compared to 21 sub-codes for males, and it is notable that - as in the case of 'age data' - it was females who thereby 'suffered' the most in cross-sexing and visibility factors, where inappropriate and reduced sex-role stereotyping occurred. As in the case of 'older' women, the 'second character' women were evidently less sex-role stereotyped than 'younger' and 'main character' women, but this greater androgyny was, through the lower incidences of 'older' and 'second character' women, less available to the reader.

3. 'All rated' data

In order to further investigate this trend in the data, comparisons were also made between the incidences of male and female, main and second characters being rated 'at all' in the major codes.

Second characters were only rated in 17 major codes. The results of this 'all rated' comparison for the 17 second character codes are given in Table 5:14, where it is observed that significant differences in the probability of being rated 'at all'

occurred in only 5(29%) of the 17 major codes used. For main character data, by contrast, significant differences in the probability of coding occurred in 12(63%) of the 19 major codes used. In short, the sex of second characters did not appear to determine their 'relevance' in being coded as much as it did in the case of main characters. A more 'equal' chance of being coded occurred in second character data, for both sexes.

Table 5:14

Probability of major code scoring: second characters

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>	<u>Sex direction</u>
Role	NS	male
Behaviour	****	male
Work	NS	male
Domestic work	NS	female
Leisure	***	male
Competence	NS	equal
Expression/manner	*	female
Touch	NS	female
Attention direction	NS	equal
Activity/position	NS	male
Physique	***	female
Hair colour	NS	female
Hair style	NS	female
Clothing	NS	female
Clothing colour	NS	female
Marital status	NS	female
Product use	*****	female

***** p.<.0001
 **** p.<.001
 *** p.<.01
 ** p.<.05
 * p.<.10

A second set of observations may also be made from the results of Table 5:14.

Only in the 'male' stereotypes of 'leisure' and 'behaviour' did the significant differences in 'all coding' probabilities follow the main character data, while, otherwise, there were several marked data 'movements'. For example, to be coded at all in 'role' was a significantly greater 'female' trend in main character data, but although non-significant, this code became proportionately more likely to be coded as 'male' in second character data. 'Competence' changed from a 'male' stereotype in main character data to an 'equal' rating in second. 'Physique', which was significantly more rated for male main characters, was significantly more rated for females among second characters. In addition, certain codes, such as that for 'work', while retaining the direction of main character trends, reduced to a non-significant difference between the sexes in second character data.

To add more detail to this analysis, however, and to investigate whether there was a change in coding probability between the main and second characters by sex, the data on main and second characters was also cross-compared for 'all rated' frequencies. The details on calculations are given in Appendix C, and the results are summarised in Table 5:15 . The direction of coding probabilities are given after the significance levels.

Table 5:15

Main and second character 'all coded' trends for males and females

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>	<u>Females</u> <u>Direction</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>	<u>Males</u> <u>Direction</u>
Role	***	main	NS	second
Behaviour	*****	second	***	second
Work	NS	second	****	main
Domestic work	NS	main	***	main
Leisure	NS	second	NS	second
Competence	NS	main	*****	second
Expression/manner	NS	equal	NS	main
Touch	**	second	NS	main
Attention direction	NS	second	NS	second
Activity/position	*****	second	NS	second
Physique	*****	second	**	main
Hair colour	NS	second	**	second
Hair style	NS	second	*	main
Clothing	****	second	NS	main
Clothing colour	**	second	NS	main
Marital status	NS	second	NS	second
Product use	*****	second	*	main

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

It was found that of the 17 codes in which second characters could be coded, female second characters were more likely to be coded, compared to female main characters, in 13 (77%). This strong directional trend was not observed for males, so that they were more likely to be coded 'at all', as main characters.

Thus, if to be coded 'at all', is an indication of 'relevance', then it would appear that female characters were more 'relevant' in the second character position, and males in the 'main' character position. This result strongly reinforces observations on the 'relevance' and 'visibility' of female second characters; that is - as with 'older' women - the less visible females were also likely to be the more 'relevant', and less sex-typed.

This factor was also reinforced by the direction of second character 'transference' in 'all coded' trends. The codes of 'behaviour', 'activity/position', 'physique', 'clothing', all of which were significantly more likely to be rated as 'male' in main character 'all coded' data, were significantly more likely to be rated for second character, than main character females. In addition, the codes of 'work', 'leisure', 'hair style', which were all male-emphasised in main character data, were second character dominant - if non-significant - for female second characters.

In summary, it is evident from the data on second characters, that there was a 'transference effect in the advertising imagery. Not only were there some good indications that characters became less sex-role stereotyped in the 'appropriate' sense, but also showed more incidences of sex-inappropriate sex-role stereotypes. These trends were witnessed through proportional frequencies and significant differences.

Data on 'all coded' trends also supported the notion that second character females - more so than males - displayed this 'transference' effect, so that as second characters they were more 'relevant' as well as less sex-typed, but also, notably, less visible. The 'transference' effect was noted for males, but was not as strong as for females, and they were still more likely, on balance, to be 'relevant' and sex-role stereotyped in masculine characteristics as main, than second characters.

The main implication from this data was to give support to trends, noted earlier, for 'older' and 'younger' females; that advertisers can avoid clear patterns of sex-role stereotyping, but these are reserved, it appears, for less evident and less exposed imagery.

Section 5:12 Sex-role stereotypes - by magazine type

It was observed in Chapter 5:2, that the issue of sex-role stereotyping has never been investigated from the aspect of magazine 'types'.

The fact that both the publishers and advertisers are engaged in extensive research on readership types for different women's magazines, and the evidence on

advertising 'effect' theory which underlines the importance of reaching appropriate self-images among women, would suggest that the apparent homogeneity of women's magazine advertising imagery might be spurious; that the imagery might be more fragmented into different types for different magazine groups.

Three main groups of women's magazines were noted in Chapter 3 as the broad division for analysis used by observers and publishers, and the data for this analysis was divided into those three groupings.

The three main magazine groups used were the 'mass market' magazines - those general magazines which had the highest circulation (e.g. 'Woman', 'Woman's Own', 'Woman's Weekly'), the 'young' magazines - those directed at the younger and 'new' women (e.g. 'Cosmopolitan', 'Jackie', 'Over 21') and the 'up-market' magazines - those which were relatively low in circulation but with a 'glossy' up-market image (e.g. 'Vogue', 'Homes and Gardens', 'Harpers and Queen'). The method of division was explained in detail in Chapter 4.

Each group of magazines was taken and compared, in turn, with the remaining two. $2 \times 2, X^2$ calculations were made on sub-codes for each comparison set. Certain sub-codes were excluded where data cell size was inadequate, but, in the event, these only applied to the 'minor' stereotypes or those which were, anyway, of low incidence over the whole sample. The results of these calculations are given in Tables 5:16 to Table 5:21. Raw frequency data is given in Appendix C, for each code.

Calculations are given for female characters only. While the male imagery comparisons would have been interesting, the low initial male sample size, when further sub-divided by magazine groups and sub-codes, yielded too few adequate data cells to permit rational conclusions on their imagery.

Table 5:16

Sub-codes in favour of 'mass-market' magazines compared to 'young' magazines

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sub-code</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	(F) parent	23.492	*****
	(F) houseworker	27.027	*****
<u>Behaviour</u>	(F) anxiety	3.671	**
<u>Expression/manner</u>	(M) positive	13.746	****
<u>Attention direction</u>	(M) to product	5.510	**
<u>Activity/position</u>	(M) standing	13.667	****
<u>Physique</u>	(M) plump	7.365	***
<u>Hair colour</u>	(M) grey	2.937	*
<u>Hair style</u>	(M) short/straight	4.316	**
	(F) coiffed	12.311	****
<u>Clothing</u>	(F) female (ordinary)	27.470	*****
	(F) female (all)	23.098	****
	(M) male	7.788	***
<u>Clothing colour</u>	(M) brown/fawn	2.804	*
<u>Marital status</u>	(F) married/engaged	14.095	*****
<u>Part exposed</u>	(M) most/all of body	12.716	****
<u>Span</u>	(F) medium	7.244	***
	(F) small	3.299	*
<u>Tone</u>	(F) homely/cosy	21.515	*****
	(F) exotic/surreal	24.694	*****
<u>Appeal</u>	(F) youth/M-F	5.666	**
	(F) for family	19.768	*****
	(F) value/economy	29.932	*****
<u>Products</u>	(F) food	12.008	****
	(F) clothing	5.569	**
	(F) small household	23.374	*****
	(M) leisure	4.703	**
<u>Settings</u>	(F) studio backdrop	4.221	**
	(F) domestic interior	17.873	*****

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

M: male stereotype
 F: female stereotype

Table 5:17

Sub-codes in favour of 'young'
magazines compared to 'mass market' magazines

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sub-codes</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	(M) worker	26.591	*****
	(M) lover	3.036	*
	(M) ordinary	10.570	***
<u>Behaviour</u>	(F) active nurturance	4.161	**
<u>Expression/manner</u>	(F) sexy	4.978	**
	(F) faraway/dreamy	6.359	***
<u>Touch</u>	(M) adult	5.357	**
<u>Activity/position</u>	(F) sitting	5.433	**
	(M) fast movement	3.307	*
<u>Physique</u>	(F) slim	18.293	****
<u>Hair colour</u>	(F) black	3.268	*
<u>Hair style</u>	(F) long	4.439	**
	(F) head covering	17.120	****
<u>Clothing</u>	(M) working	19.357	*****
	(M) sports/swimwear	3.244	*
	(F) part/no clothing	18.730	*****
<u>Clothing colour</u>	(M) black/dark	7.427	***
<u>Marital status</u>	(M) neither	14.095	*****
<u>Part exposed</u>	(F) face/shoulders	7.060	***
<u>Span</u>	(M) large	14.944	****
<u>Tone</u>	(M) enthusiasm/fun	29.371	*****
<u>Appeal</u>	(M) sensuality	4.117	**
	(M) activity/freedom	17.481	*****
	(M) insecurity	6.693	***
	(M) money/ability	3.068	*
<u>Products</u>	(F) personal (cosmetic)		
	(M) consumer durables	4.861	**
	(M) organisations	68.785	*****
<u>Settings</u>	(M) occupational interior	18.739	*****
	(M) open exterior	7.565	***

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

M: male stereotype
 F: female stereotype

Table 5:18

Sub-codes in favour of 'mass market' magazines compared to 'up market' magazines

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sub-codes</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	(F) decorative	14.383	****
	(F) parent	4.060	**
<u>Domestic work</u>	(F) child care	7.739	***
<u>Leisure</u>	(F) rest/recline	3.194	*
<u>Touch</u>	(F) touch/tend self	6.262	***
	(M) adult	3.453	*
<u>Attention direction</u>	(F) to reader	10.406	***
	(F) eyes cast down	3.550	*
<u>Activity/position</u>	(M) standing	7.955	***
<u>Clothing</u>	(F) female (feminine)	6.333	***
	(F) female (all)	8.861	***
<u>Part exposed</u>	(F) face/shoulders	9.972	***
<u>Span</u>	(F) medium	5.283	**
<u>Tone</u>	(F) exotic/surreal	8.695	***
<u>Appeal</u>	(F) general appearance improvement	3.855	**
	(F) value/economy	5.456	**
<u>Settings</u>	(F) print colour	30.913	*****
<u>Products</u>	(F) personal (cosmetic)	7.899	***
	(F) personal (body)	4.039	**
<u>Product use</u>	(F) direct use	25.319	*****

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

M: male stereotype
 F: female stereotype

Table 5:19

Sub-codes in favour of 'up market' magazines compared to 'mass market' magazines

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sub-codes</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	(M) host	3.904	**
	(M) lover	6.918	***
	(M) ordinary	4.000	**
	(F) houseworker	6.262	***
<u>Leisure</u>	(F) introvert	4.144	**
<u>Competence</u>	(F) neutral	7.133	***
<u>Touch</u>	(M) product/object	7.130	***
<u>Attention direction</u>	(M) to product	3.601	*
	(M) to object	5.067	**
	(M) to work/hobby	11.699	****
	(M) to second character	3.931	**
<u>Activity/position</u>	(F) reclining	8.631	***
<u>Physique</u>	(F) slim	67.474	*
<u>Hair colour</u>	(M) grey	4.768	**
<u>Clothing</u>	(M) working	4.194	**
	(F) smart	7.791	***
<u>Clothing colour</u>	(F) white/light	6.666	***
<u>Relationships</u>	(F) talking	7.697	***
<u>Span</u>	(M) large	7.222	***
<u>Tone</u>	(M) ordinary	28.737	*****
<u>Appeal</u>	(M) sensuality	7.459	***
	(M) time-saving	11.511	****
	(M) style/expertise	15.923	****
<u>Settings</u>	(F) domestic interior	48.843	*****
<u>Products</u>	(M) large household	60.045	*****
	(M) consumer durables	5.691	**
<u>Product use</u>	(M) no attention	34.098	*****

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

M: male stereotype
 F: female stereotype

Table 5:20

Sub-code data in favour of 'young' magazines compared to 'up market' magazines

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sub-codes</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	(M) worker	5.706	**
	(F) decorative	18.449	*****
<u>Expression/manner</u>	(F) sexy	4.178	**
<u>Touch</u>	(M) adult	5.888	**
<u>Attention direction</u>	(F) to reader	12.290	****
<u>Hair style</u>	(F) head covering	2.922	*
<u>Clothing</u>	(F) female (feminine)	5.354	**
	(M) leisure	4.585	**
<u>Marital status</u>	(M) neither	7.880	****
<u>Part exposed</u>	(F) face/shoulders	24.692	*****
<u>Tone</u>	(F) romantic/sexual	6.840	***
	(M) enthusiasm/fun	17.343	*****
	(F) just modelling	3.825	**
<u>Appeal</u>	(M) activity/freedom	8.587	***
	(F) general/appearance improvement	4.806	**
	(M) money/ability	3.211	*
<u>Settings</u>	(F) print colour	37.369	*****
	(M) occupational int.	4.802	**
<u>Products</u>	(F) personal (cosmetic)	32.624	*****
	(F) personal (body)	4.179	**
	(M) organisations	22.360	*****
	(M) leisure	10.165	***
<u>Product use</u>	(F) direct use	22.651	*****

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

M: male stereotype
 F: female stereotype

Table 5:21

Sub-code data in favour of 'up-market' magazines compared to 'young' magazines

<u>Code</u>	<u>Sub-code</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
<u>Role</u>	(F) parent	3.520	*
	(F) houseworker	53.225	*****
<u>Leisure</u>	(F) introvert	4.144	**
<u>Touch</u>	(M) product/object	10.890	****
<u>Attention direction</u>	(M) to product	15.661	****
	(M) to work/hobby	9.659	***
<u>Activity/position</u>	(F) reclining	5.970	***
<u>Hair colour</u>	(M) grey	2.993	*
<u>Hair style</u>	(F) coiffed	4.769	**
<u>Clothing</u>	(F) female (ordinary)	9.817	***
	(M) male	4.287	**
<u>Marital status</u>	(F) married/engaged	7.880	****
<u>Part/exposed</u>	(M) most/all of body	20.020	*****
<u>Tone</u>	(M) ordinary	13.874	****
	(F) homely/cosy	5.992	***
<u>Appeal</u>	(M) time-saving	10.771	***
	(M) style/expertise	13.435	****
	(F) value/economy	3.073	*
<u>Settings</u>	(F) domestic interior	60.378	*****
<u>Products</u>	(F) small household	28.148	*****
<u>Product use</u>	(M) no attention	27.112	*****

***** p.< .0001
 **** p.< .001
 *** p.< .01
 ** p.< .05
 * p.< .10

M: male stereotype
 F: female stereotype

(i) 'Mass market' and 'young' magazines

The sub-code frequencies for 'mass market' and 'young' group magazines were compared and the results given in Tables 5:16 and 5:17. The following observations are made on the results:-

- (i) The imagery which was strongly evident in the 'mass market' magazines, but which was missing from the 'young' magazines, was that concerning all aspects of 'domesticity', characterised by the significantly greater incidences in 'mass market' magazines of the 'parent' and 'houseworker' roles, 'food' and 'small household' goods, the 'homely/cosy' tone, the 'domestic' interior and appeals to 'for family' and 'value/economy'. It was also interesting to note that in 'all rated' data by major codes, 'mass market' magazine advertising was significantly more rated for all 'domestic work' ($X^2=30.440$ p.<.00001).
- (ii) By contrast, it was the appearance-related and narcissistic imagery which figured significantly more in the 'young' magazines, typified by the 'touching /tending self', the conventional female attractiveness of 'long hair', 'slim physique', 'part/no clothing', 'sexy' expression, and the significantly greater number of 'personal (cosmetic)' product advertisements. By contrast, the appearance attributes which occurred significantly more in the 'mass market' magazines were less 'glamorous' and more ordinary - the 'plump' physique, 'short/straight' and, 'coiffed' hair, 'female (ordinary)' clothing, and traditional 'male' clothing.
- (iii) It is also notable that the 'young' magazine advertisements contained several significant differences in those sub-codes which had been pre-defined and noted in main character data to be strongly 'masculine'. For example, the 'worker' sub-codes - 'worker' role, 'working' clothing, the 'occupational' interior, 'organisation' products - occurred significantly more in the 'young' magazines, as well as such 'masculine' freedom aspects as appeals to 'activity /freedom', to be 'neither married/engaged', 'fast' movement, 'sports/

swimwear' clothing, 'open exterior' settings, the 'ordinary' role. Also the 'masculine' characteristics of touching an 'adult', 'enthusiasm/fun' tone, appeals to 'money/ability', the 'lover' role, 'dark' hair colour and clothing, appeals to 'sensuality' were all significantly more present in the 'young' magazines.

It is also interesting to note that in 'all rated' data, on major codes, females in 'young' magazine advertisements were significantly more likely to be rated at all in the 'behaviour', 'activity/position' and 'work' codes, regarded as 'masculine' stereotypes (see Section 5:2) (behaviour, $X^2=33.286$ $p.<.00001$; activity/position, $X^2=9.612$ $p.<.0005$; work, $X^2=21.423$ $p.<.0001$).

In fact, taking the total 59 sub-codes on which the two groups of magazines were compared, on pre-defined stereotypes, 30 were 'masculine' and 20(67%) of these including some very strong 'masculine' stereotypes ('worker', 'ordinary' role etc.), were recorded significantly more in the 'young' magazine sample. By contrast, of the 29 'female' stereotypes, 19(66%) occurred significantly more in the 'mass market' sample, including such strongly feminine attributes as the 'houseworker' role and 'anxiety' behaviour.

In short, a comparison of imagery between the two magazine types, on the basis of the significant differences, yielded a picture of 'mass market' magazine advertisement women as being overtly 'domestic', with some more prosaic appearance aspects, married, and showing a notable proportion of female stereotyped behaviours/associations.

The 'young' magazine advertisement women were not at all domestic, showed many 'masculine' stereotypes of behaviour, work and appeals, but also evinced a traditional 'female' attractiveness and narcissism.

Another point which should be noted, however, is that the 'younger' women sample were significantly more likely than the 'mass market' women to be in the more visible 'large' advertisements and the 'mass market' women in the 'small' and 'medium' ones. That is, the magazine advertisements which were more likely to contain anti-traditional imagery were, again more 'visible'.

(ii) 'Mass market' and 'up market' magazines

The sub-code frequencies for 'mass market' and 'up market' magazines were compared and the results given in Tables 5:18 and 5:19. The following observations are made on this data:-

- (i) What was most interesting about this comparison between magazine types, was the manner in which those characteristics which were significantly more common in 'young' magazines compared to the 'mass market' ones now became significantly more common in the 'mass market' magazines compared to the 'up market' ones. For example, 'appearance' attributes which were more notable in the 'young' magazines now, in this comparison, become more evident in the 'mass market' magazines - the 'decorative' role, 'touching/tending self', appeals to 'general appearance improvement', 'feminine' clothing, 'personal (cosmetic)' products. At the same time, however, the 'mass market' magazines retained some domestic imagery - the 'parent' role, 'child care', 'value/economy' appeals - as well as an emphasis on the more 'female' stereotyped behaviours and associations, such as 'eyes cast down' and the 'exotic/surreal' tone.
- (ii) In comparison with the 'mass market' magazines, the 'up-market' ones - as with the 'young' ones, appeared to show more 'masculine' characteristics - the 'lover' and 'ordinary' roles, 'product/object' touch and 'outer' attention direction, 'working' clothing, and, again, to be 'all rated' in 'behaviour' ($X^2=13.971$ $p.<.0005$). Unlike the 'young' magazines the 'up market' ones, however, also showed domestic imagery but, compared to 'mass market' magazines, a more formal and 'important' domesticity. For example, while the women in 'mass market' magazines were significantly more 'domestic' in terms of 'parent' role, 'child care', 'personal (body)' products, in the 'up market' magazines, it was in the 'hostess' as well as the 'houseworker' role, the 'large household' goods and 'consumer durables'. Also, while the 'mass market' domestic appeals were to 'value/economy', in the 'up-market' magazines it was significantly more to 'time-saving'.

- (iii) Also present in the 'up-market' comparison was a 'smarter' image - the 'hostess' role, 'smart' clothing, appeals to 'style/expertise' as well as a certain languidity - 'reclining' position.
- (iv) On a sex-basis, the same pattern in 'masculinity' or 'femininity' of stereotypes was observed as in the previous comparisons, so that of the 20 'male' stereotypes measured, 18(90%) occurred significantly more in the 'up market' magazines and of the 27 'female stereotypes', 18(67%) occurred significantly more in the 'mass market' magazines.

In short, the imagery in 'mass market' magazines, compared to the 'up market' ones, still retained a strongly 'female' stereotyped orientation, with more emphasis on 'appearance' attributes, but a retained emphasis on the more menial aspects of domesticity and 'female' behaviours.

In the 'up-market' magazines there was a strongly 'masculine' orientation, with a domestic emphasis in its larger, more 'formal' aspects, and a certain 'smartness'.

(iii) 'Up-market' and 'young' magazines

The sub-code frequencies for 'young' and 'up market' magazines were compared and the results are given in Tables 5:20 and 5:21. The following observations are made on this data:-

- (i) Since both of these groups of magazines had shown more 'masculine' characteristics than the 'mass market' ones, it was not surprising to observe that of the 20 'masculine' stereotypes measured in this comparison there was an equal distribution between the two groups. 10(50%) were observed significantly more in the 'young' magazines and 10(50%) in the 'up market' group. The 'masculine' characteristics which occurred in the 'young' magazines again clustered around 'worker' attributes ('worker' role, 'organisation' products, 'occupational' interiors) and 'freedom' attributes ('activity/freedom' and 'money/ability' appeals, 'enthusiasm/fun' tone, 'leisure' products) and for the 'up market' magazines around 'outer' direction in touch and attention direction.

- (ii) In the case of the 'female' stereotypes, of the 24 observed, 13(54%) occurred significantly more in 'young' magazines and clustered around the 'appearance' and 'narcissistic' attributes ('decorative' role, 'sexy' expression, 'feminine' clothing, 'personal (cosmetic)' products, appeals to 'general appearance improvement') and those for 'up market' magazines around a domestic imagery ('parent' and 'houseworker' roles, to be 'married/engaged', 'small household' goods, the 'homely/cosy' tone, 'value economy' appeals, 'domestic interiors').

In short, in this comparison, the 'young' magazines again appeared to be associated with an imagery of 'appearance' concern, and 'masculine' attributes of 'work' and 'freedom' - very similar in fact to the comparison with 'mass market' magazines - while the 'up market' magazines took on 'masculine' characteristics in an 'outer' directed manner, but retained a significantly greater domestic imagery.

Summary

1. 'Mass market' magazines

Compared to both other groups of magazines, the 'mass market' group showed consistently fewer 'masculine' stereotypes and more 'feminine' ones. In comparison with 'young' magazines, this femininity in imagery obtained a domestic orientation, and, compared to 'up-market' magazines, a mixture of domestic and appearance/narcissistic imagery. Between the two comparisons, the 'mass market' magazines appeared to show significantly more 'female' stereotypes of all types.

The most common characteristic of this group, however, remained its domestic imagery, particularly in the case of the 'parent' role which occurred in 'mass market' magazines significantly more than in both the other groups, as did the incidence of appeals to 'value/economy'. The domestic imagery also appeared to be the more informal and home-orientated type - particularly in comparison with the more 'formal' domesticity of the 'up-market' magazines.

If the data is examined from a simple proportionate basis (see Appendix C), then not only is the domestic imagery reinforced - this group was most likely to show the 'homely/cosy' tone, 'for family' appeals, advertisements for 'food,' 'children's products, 'child care' - but also the more 'negative' aspects of female behaviour - 'anxiety', 'passive sexuality', 'touching/tending self,' 'eyes cast down', attention 'not seen', 'divergent' relationships. It is also notable, that while only 3% and 4% of women in the 'young' and 'up-market' magazine advertisements were shown as 'incompetent', 14% of the 'mass market' advertisement women were.

It has also been noted, in comparison with the 'young' magazines, that the 'mass market' group were more likely to show the more mundane aspects of appearance, but over all three groups this is reinforced by the evidence that 'mass market' females were most likely to be shown as 'fat/plump,' 'thin,' to wear 'ordinary' female dress, the 'traditional male dress'. They were also least likely to have 'long hair.'

The 'mass market' females were also least likely to be engaged in work. They were least likely to be 'workers,' to wear 'working' clothing, to be in 'occupational' interiors, and to be in 'organisation' advertisements. In addition, they were least likely to be 'ordinary' ('ordinary' role, 'ordinary' tones), to demonstrate sexuality ('active' and 'passive' sexuality behaviour, 'lover role', 'romantic sexual' tones), but most likely, ironically, to be 'married/engaged.'

The overall imagery, in comparison with the other two groups of magazines, was of a rather ordinary housewife, with a mundane and domestic appearance and lifestyle, and somewhat negative and passive behaviours. Nonetheless, in direct contrast to this - and in evident support for the 'happy housewife' syndrome which feminists have criticised - the 'positive' expression occurred significantly more among 'mass market' advertisement women than in both other magazine groups. The 'mass market' advertisement women were also most likely to be 'laughing' in relationships, to be in 'comedy' tones, and were the least likely to be showing 'negative' or 'faraway' expressions. Nonetheless, despite this 'happines ethic,' these

women were least likely to be associated with appeals to 'sensuality', that is, some 'self-indulgent' pleasure.

In short, if any group of magazines might have had claim to the 'domestic' and 'female' stereotyped advertising imagery which is assumed in all women's magazines, this group was notably the one.

2. 'Young' magazines

The women in advertisements in the 'young' magazines yielded a more 'masculine' imagery, particularly in comparison with the 'mass market' group.

The most notable imagery which distinguished this group from both the 'mass market' and 'up-market' groups, however, was its significantly greater incidence of 'worker' characteristics. Not only was it significantly more rated in 'all work' categories than both the other two groups, but also in the 'worker role', 'occupational' interiors, 'organisation' advertisements, and appeals to 'money/ability'. On a proportionate basis, the 'young' magazine women were also most likely to show 'working' clothing, and all 'professional,' 'clerical' and 'security' work types.

This group also showed a significantly greater incidence of the more 'masculine' behaviours and stereotypes, and a lower incidence of the more negative and stereotyped, 'female' behaviours. For example, they were significantly more likely than both other groups to be associated with appeals to 'activity/freedom' and 'money/ability', and with 'enthusiasm/fun' tones but, in proportionate terms, they were also the most likely of the three groups to show 'extroversion,' the 'ordinary' role, and the least likely to show 'anxiety,' 'follower' or 'introvert' behaviour, 'no-communication' in relationships, the 'anxious/puzzled' expression, 'incompetence', to be 'holding/stroking' the product, or to be associated with appeals to 'youth/M-F'.

There was also a greater association with sexual freedom in their imagery. They were significantly more likely than both other groups to show a 'sexy expression', and to be 'obviously neither married/engaged'. Proportionately, of all the groups, they were the most likely to show 'active sexuality' behaviour, to be in 'romantic/

sexual' tones, and the least likely to be engaged in 'passive sexuality' behaviour. A certain aggression may also be interpreted through the greatest incidence of 'looking' in relationships.

In short, this group of advertisements, compared to those in the other two groups, evinced not only more 'masculine' imagery, particularly in the imagery of work and 'freedom/activity' elements, but also in an absence of domesticity, a greater sexuality, and a 'pleasure' aspect. To be sure, there were also some notable elements of traditional 'female' stereotyping, such as the significantly greater number of appeals to 'insecurity/male reward,' the often greater concern with, and notation of, 'appearance' aspects, and a certain 'quietness' in some of the imagery, such as the lowest incidences of 'positive' expressions, 'laughing,' 'talking,' and the greatest incidence of 'sitting position' and 'faraway/preoccupied' expressions, 'listening' and 'resting'. On balance, however, the differences, both significantly and proportionately, which characterised the advertisements in this group of magazines tended to indicate the most contra-traditional stereotyping of all.

It is also interesting to note that in several instances, the 'masculinity' or 'femininity' of a sub-code made the greatest proportionate contrast with the 'mass market' group. The significant differences have already been noted, which indicated a strongly disparate imagery between the two magazine groups but, proportionately, it was also found, for example, that the 'mass market' magazines were least likely to show, and the 'young' magazines most likely to show, the 'worker' and 'ordinary' roles, 'active hobby/sports,' 'organisation' products, 'sportswear', and 'leisure' clothing, 'black' hair - all 'masculine' characteristics, and the 'mass market' group were most likely to show, and the 'young' magazine group least likely to show the 'incompetence' behaviour, 'no communication' in relationships, the 'homey/cosy' and 'exotic/surreal' tones - the more 'feminine' stereotypes. In short, if there was an evident contrast between any of these three groups of magazines, the strongest appeared to be between the 'mass market' and the 'young' ones, the former representing a bastion of 'traditional', and the latter 'anti-traditional' imagery.

3. 'Up-market' magazines

Of all three groups of magazines, the 'up-market' group appeared to have the most homogeneous mixture of sex-role imagery. Compared to the 'mass market' group, it was at the same time 'masculine', in terms of 'outer' direction and certain appeals, but, in comparison with that group and with 'young' magazines, retained a strongly domestic imagery. In relation to domesticity, the 'houseworker' roles and the 'domestic interior' settings occurred significantly more than the other two groups respectively.

It has been suggested that the way in which the 'domestic' imagery in this group could be distinguished from that in 'mass market' magazines lay in the type of work and product association. The 'mass market' group evinced more domestic imagery in a parental and 'home' capacity, while the 'up-market' group appeared to be connected with domestic work in a more direct sense, as well as by association with a certain 'formality'. For example, while the significantly greater incidence of the 'houseworker' role and 'domestic interiors' has been noted, this group of magazines also showed the proportionately greatest incidence of the 'hostess' role, 'household labour', 'house repair' and 'domestic' work (all rated). In addition, it has already been noted that while 'mass market' magazines appeared to be associated more with appeals to 'for family' and 'value/economy', those in 'up-market' magazines were to 'time-saving'. It was also the largest products with which this group was most associated - 'large household' goods and 'consumer durables' - and it is notable that while 'mass market' magazines showed the largest number of 'food' advertisements, the 'up-market' group showed the least. This group was also the least likely to be associated with 'child care,' 'touching a child,' and no advertisements for 'children's' products were found in these journals.

Despite this apparently 'female' stereotype in these magazines, which contrasted only in type with that in 'mass market' magazines, there was also a strong element of disparate 'masculine' imagery, which did not feature in the 'mass market' group. This occurred particularly in connection with 'outer' direction, so that in five sub-

codes connected with outer direction (touching an object, attention to product, to work/hobby, etc.) this group scored significantly more than both the other two. This group of magazines, significantly more than both the other two groups, also showed the 'ordinary' tone, a strongly 'masculine' stereotype on other main character data. By contrast, this 'up-market' group did not over-emphasise elements of the 'worker' role - the 'mass market' and 'young' groups showed the least and most instances of this role.

Of the 'female' stereotypes, this group showed a relative lack of the 'decorative' role and traditional 'female' appearance attributes, in significant comparison with the other two groups and, in fact, showed the 'decorative' role and 'general appearance improvement' appeals significantly less than both other groups. Proportionately, this group was also least likely to show 'feminine' female clothing, 'short/curly' hair, to be 'just modelling,' to be associated with either 'personal (cosmetic)' or 'personal (body)' products.

In fact, the 'domestic' imagery apart, this group of magazines, compared to the other two, exhibited a mixture of imagery which orientated to both the 'masculine' and 'feminine'.

It may be, however, that the imagery in these magazines is explained more by recourse to function than for either of the other two groupings. The emphasis on domestic work, particularly when combined with some suggestion of 'style' (the greatest incidence of 'smart' clothing, the significantly greatest proportions of appeals to 'style/expertise') would appear to relate to the function of many of these magazines, which is to disseminate often expensive, domestic imagery.

In conclusion, an analysis of the sex-role imagery present in the three groups of magazines indicated that the sex-role stereotyping varied by magazine type, although this trend was strongest in the 'mass market' and 'young' magazines, both individually and by comparison.

If, however, the imagery of the advertising in each magazine group was a direct reflection of readership type - which has been suggested by some empirical studies

(Courtney and Whipple 1974; McArthur and Resko, 1975; Sexton and Haberman, 1974) as well as in Chapter 3, then it would appear that the interpretation of general data on sex-role stereotypes in women's magazines should be modified by consideration of magazine groupings, interest and readership. The extent to which readership imagery reflects in choice of magazine type is the subject of research in later chapters of this thesis but, certainly, these results did modify any impressions of homogeneity in image which the overall stereotypes of advertisements in women's magazines may have suggested.

Section 5:13 Evidence for sex-role stereotypes - hierarchies and visual prominence

The advertisements examined in this study demonstrated an overwhelming emphasis on female characters, and there was a greater probability of female adults appearing in an advertisement than any other character - adult or child. For example, it was found that while no males appeared in 1198 of the 1663 advertisements, no male children in 1526, no female children in 1520, no babies in 1625 and no animals in 1629, in only 214 of the advertisements did no female adult appear. In fact, the advertisements examined were six times more likely to contain no males as no female adults and, on other analysis, were three times as likely to contain one female as one male, and three times as likely to contain two or more females as two or more males (adults).

The chance of babies appearing was about the same as for animals, and there was an equal likelihood of male or female children appearing.

The total characters noted in these advertisements were:-

1883 female adults
657 male adults
162 female children
160 male children
38 babies
46 animals.

Thus, female adults represented 74% of all adult appearance in these advertisements, and male adults, 26%. Overall, the female adults outnumbered the male adults by 3:1.

In addition, females were more likely to appear alone, or in couples, than males, so that the advertisement types by adult character construction was as follows:-

891 (54%) female alone
94 (6%) male alone
82 (5%) female couple
11 (1%) male couple
193 (12%) 'mixed' couple.

The remaining 12% of advertisements contained a larger group of children alone, or with adults.

Of the main characters coded, 1252 (86%) were female and 203 (14%) were male.

This coding of characters which, as noted in Chapter 4, represented the advertisers' assumed emphasis in design and attention factors, demonstrated an even greater female to male preponderance of 6:1. That the 'all character' ratio was lower than the one for main characters, was attributable to the fact that second character sex proportions were more equitable, showing 196(50%) females and 193(50%) males. This was a factor peculiar to the stereotype of 'second characters', and has been discussed in an earlier section.

What is, however, important about these observations on the character frequencies in these advertisements, is that there was an overwhelming emphasis on female actors and the female alone. If the data is grouped in the manner used by Millum, 1974 in his study on advertisements in women's magazines, then the 74% of females observed among adult characters (all characters) in this study compares well with the observation of 71% female characters in his study. The general female emphasis that Millum noted is apparent, in this study, almost ten years later, and not only supports observations on the emphasis on females in American women's magazine advertisements, made by Venkatesan and Losco, 1975 (see Chapter 3),

but also comments by casual observers among feminists. For example, Winship, 1978 in her recent study on women's magazine imagery, wrote that the advertisements in these journals were defined by 'the relation of women to women, simultaneously defined in relation to absent men/masculinity, (p.134).

This prominence of women is a factor which has been so self-evident to other observers, that the visual implications of the female character has often been ignored. Although, for example, certain sex-role stereotypes may have been observed in terms of what pre-defined stereotypes distinguished the sexes, this was an analysis of how advertisers have depicted the sexes 'in toto', but, as an analytical approach, it did not give sufficient emphasis to exactly what characteristics were most visible, most often.

Thus, in no way diminishing the validity of the sex-role stereotypes observed in the data, it is also worthwhile to note the visual emphasis which arose from the greater preponderance of female characters. For example, what was the ratio of females to males in the 'male' derived sex-role stereotypes? The results of this analysis are set out in Table 5:22

Table 5:22

Female visual and frequency dominance in male stereotypes

	<u>Sub-code</u>	<u>Females</u> (N)	<u>Males</u> (N)	<u>Ratio</u> (To Females)
<u>Role</u>	sports/hobbyist	16	15	1:1
	worker	68	51	1:1
	lover	58	20	3:1
	ordinary	159	36	4:1
<u>Behaviour</u>	active sexuality	14	8	2:1
<u>Expression/ Manner</u>	negative/stern	35	13	3:1
<u>Touch</u>	product/object	334	95	4:1
<u>Attention/ Direction</u>	to object (not product)	46	15	3:1
	to second character	87	31	3:1
	to work/hobby	58	27	2:1
<u>Activity/ Position</u>	standing	490	107	5:1
<u>Hair Colour</u>	brown	327	73	5:1
	black	101	23	4:1
<u>Hair Style</u>	short/straight	187	118	2:1
<u>Clothing</u>	leisure	56	52	1:1
	working	44	17	3:1
	sports/swimwear	82	23	4:1
	historic/exotic	31	21	2:1
<u>Clothing colour</u>	brown/fawn	80	25	3:1
	black/dark	38	18	2:1
<u>Marital status</u>	neither married/ engaged	103	15	7:1
<u>Relationships</u>	looking	33	17	2:1
<u>Tones</u>	ordinary	196	72	3:1
	comedy	46	30	2:1
<u>Appeals</u>	sensuality	216	54	4:1
<u>Part-exposed</u>	half of body	308	81	4:1
<u>Settings</u>	studio backdrop	64	22	3:1
	occupational interior	57	18	3:1
	open exterior	77	28	3:1
<u>Products</u>	alcoholic drink	28	13	2:1
	large household	102	25	4:1
<u>Product use</u>	secondary	26	15	2:1
	selling	22	8	3:1
	no attention	55	16	3:1

N.B. all ratios rounded to nearest whole number

Thus, of 34 'male' stereotypes as proven by main character data through statistical comparison, in simple visual terms females showed these characteristics in women's magazine advertisements up to five and seven times as often as males.

Only for six sub-codes was this pattern not found:-

industrial work	1	24	24:1(males)
house repair	7	12	2:1(males)
muscular physique	7	81	12:1(males)
bald/balding	1	29	29:1(males)
grey hair	15	19	1:1(males)
male clothing	101	39	3:1(males)

of which the three sub-codes on 'appearance' were perhaps self-explanatory.

A similar emphasis on females was also noted in 'all rated' data for the major codes. Of 20 in which there was a chance of being 'not rated', the advantage to females is found in all of them.

Thus, despite the nine 'male', 'major' code stereotypes noted in Section 5:2 so called through the greater probability of males being rated in them, females were still numerically more frequent in all of them, as may be seen in Table 5:23.

Table 5:23

Female visual and frequency dominance in male, major code stereotypes

	<u>Females</u> N	<u>Males</u> N	<u>Ratio</u> (to females)
Work	84	60	1:1
Behaviour	398	90	5:1
Leisure	164	50	3:1
Competence	205	68	3:1
Relationships (type)	358	94	4:1
Activity/position	917	176	5:1
Physique	794	162	5:1
Clothing	1074	193	6:1
Tone	650	175	4:1

N.B. All ratios rounded to the nearest whole number

Thus, females were coded up to six times as often as males in 'work,' 'behaviour,' 'competence,' 'activity/position,' and 'tone' of advertisement.

Finally, taking this form of analysis further, it is also notable that in some instances male stereotypes could be shown to be more common, in simple frequency terms, than certain of the 'female' stereotypes.

Among the 'role' data, for example, although the 'houseworker' role was evidently a 'female' stereotype, it only accounted for 8% of female role allocations, while the 'ordinary' role - a 'male' stereotype - accounted for 13%.

In fact, females were proportionately more likely to be 'ordinary' than 'houseworkers,' 'mothers' or 'wives', respectively. Also, women were almost as likely to be portrayed as 'workers' as 'mothers' or 'houseworkers', and more likely to be shown as 'workers' than as 'lovers', 'wives' or 'hostesses', respectively. With male characters, it was also observed that, in frequency terms, and despite the 'female' stereotype associated with the 'decorative' role, they were more likely to be 'decorative' than 'lovers' or 'sportsmen'. In 'behaviour' codes, females were more likely to show 'leader' or 'extrovert' behaviour than 'anxiety,' 'follower' or 'introvert' behaviour. In terms of 'competence' females were shown to be 'competent', more often than 'incompetent'; in products, to be associated with consumer durables as often as 'food,' or 'children's' products.

Males were more likely to show 'anxiety' behaviour than 'active/sexuality,' to be in advertisements for 'small household' products more often than for 'cigarettes/tobacco,' 'alcoholic drink' or 'consumer durables,' to be as often associated with appeals to 'youth and masculinity' as to 'money/ability'.

In short, although there was good evidence for sex-role stereotypes on statistical criteria, it should not be forgotten that in terms of frequency and visibility, not only were females more likely to show in almost all the 'male' stereotypes, but both sexes could be found to show some cross-sexed attributes as, or more often than those which related to sex-role stereotypes.

Chapter 5: Summary

(i) Evidence for sex-role stereotyping

The first analysis of data suggested that there was good evidence for the existence of sex-role stereotypes in the sample of women's magazine advertisements. The review of these results in Section 5:1 showed that stereotypes of appearance emerged for both sexes, but then females appeared to be stereotyped by a greater concern for appearance, menial domesticity, non-work, some 'inner-direction', 'passive sexuality' and a defined marital status. A certain lack of female 'relevance', and association with 'reality' emerged by interpretation. For males, stereotypes of work, 'larger', more external domesticity, more active and 'outer-directed' behaviour and sexuality, leisure, freedom from marital status, the freedom to be 'ordinary', some sexuality and enjoyment, and greater 'relevance' and 'reality' were observed. The observations on individual stereotypes, and that of 'relevance', were supported by 'all character' coding (Section 5:2), and certain stereotypes were suggested as 'persistent', in that they also occurred in second character data (Section 5:3), particularly those on appearance, work, and 'inner/outer'-directed touch and attention direction. The data on character ages (Section 5:4) supported a stereotype of a 'younger' advertisement woman, and the evidence on 'younger' and 'older' women suggested that older females were associated with some less 'glamorous' and more mundane, or 'negative', appearance and behavioural characteristics, and a certain domesticity.

Certain 'strong' stereotypes emerged, (Section 5:5) where high frequencies of incidence was observed to tally with certain stereotypes, and these congregated again around appearance attributes for both sexes, but also, 'decorative' and domestic roles, and traditional female work for women, and for males, the 'worker' and 'ordinary' roles, 'house repair', 'outer-directed' touch, traditional male work and 'sensuality' appeals. Several of the 'stronger' stereotypes also appeared to work in a 'dilution-concentration' effect through advertisement types, particularly in the

case of the 'decorative' and 'worker' roles, aspects of touch, appearance and product association (Section 5:6).

Up to this point, the analysis of data equated with and, to a large extent, supported, that in other studies on media stereotypes. The evidence particularly supported many feminist criticisms of the advertising image and gave supportive evidence to stereotypes observed in advertising studies. The feminist critical triad of the decorative/domestic/non-working advertisement woman was seen to be present in this sample, as were other empirical study observations on the 'decorative' role (see Table 2:1 references 6,7,4), 'domestic' role (1,2,3,5,4,7), 'non-worker' (3,6), work types (1,2,3,5), 'domestic' work types (5,10), touch and attention direction (5,8), youth (5), beauty products (1,2,3,5), product use(4,5,6), product symbolism (6), and general relevance in women's media (all studies). Support for the 'male' stereotype was given in the case of leisure (5), the 'worker' role (1,2,3,4), work types (1,2,3,5), 'outer direction' in touch and attention (8), older ages (5), relationship to the product (4,5) and exterior settings (3,4,5).

Further analysis, however, delineated certain modifications to these observations.

(ii) Evidence against sex-role stereotyping

Certain 'inappropriate' stereotypes were found for males. Further analysis yielded evidence that males were associated with domestic products and domesticity to a greater extent than the first analysis suggested, and while this could be interpreted as a form of 'pull', in advertising terms, and did not suggest that males were actively involved in domestic work, which was still a 'female' stereotype, this factor was not observed in other advertising studies. Evidence emerged, however, for a male 'buffoonery' in terms of comedy and 'incompetence', a feature, it was suggested, of women's magazines only, and supported in other studies (Section 5:7).

Of particular interest were the stereotypes which were found to be non-significant between the sexes (Section 5:8). In several of these instances, stereotypes were disproven which had been found in other studies, such as aspects of 'leader/extrovert' behaviour for males, and 'introvert/follower' behaviour for females (see

Table 2:1 references 3,5,7,4), 'competence' for males and 'incompetence' for females (3,14), 'neutral' expressions for females (8) and 'domestic' and 'interior' settings for females (5). Among the non-significant differences it was also interesting to observe how association with product type - a strong feature of stereotypes in other studies - was not proven in this sample for most of the products investigated, including 'clothing' (1,2,3) and 'household' products (1,2,3,5), and the dichotomy between larger, external and smaller, internal goods (1,2,3,5). The non-significant differences in 'behavioural' aspects also contradicted some feminist assertions as to the greater passivity/introversion/incompetence of women, and the association of appeals to 'insecurity/male reward', 'for family' and 'youth/femininity', with female characters.

A visual hierarchy analysis of the non-significant differences, and several stereotypes, also suggested that many were 'weak', in that they differed significantly between the sexes, but through very low frequencies. This was found particularly in those 'negative' behavioural and associated sub-codes which, again, had been the subject of feminist criticism. This analysis of visual hierarchies (Section 5:9) also showed that several of these 'weak' stereotypes - particularly the more negative ones - were often subordinate to strongly 'positive' and dominant sub-codes, which were often the most frequent for both sexes and non-significant between them. It was suggested that, in these cases, the advertising desire for effective advertising structure and the presentation of an 'ideal' image may have overridden the sex-role stereotypes in frequency. This was found particularly in the cases of 'positive' expressions, 'competence', 'leader' and 'extrovert' behaviour, 'direct' product use, 'larger' and more 'colourful' advertisements, the 'standing' position, 'active leisure', and attention 'to the reader'.

The sex-role stereotypes and imagery were then analysed by function, from an advertising perspective. It was found that despite the overall sex-role stereotyping inherent in certain sub-codes, when these aspects were analysed by role and function (Section 5:10), in fact the role appeared to define the related behaviours,

and product/advertisement characteristics in both a logical fashion, and in ways which did not differ significantly between the sexes. For example, male and female 'decorative' roles were most likely to be associated with 'personal (cosmetic)' products, 'domestic' roles with 'domestic' products, 'lovers' with 'romantic' advertisement tones. Thus, although a sex-role stereotype could be assumed by the fact that significantly more of one sex was portrayed in a role, when the role itself was examined, the portrayal of it was relatively un-stereotyped and reasonable.

An analysis of the sex-role stereotypes by different groups of women's magazines also served to modify the overall imagery in this sample (Section 5:12). It was found that there was some evidence for different magazine groups to show different balances of stereotypes. It was, in fact, only the 'mass market' magazine group which showed a set of differentiated imagery which most clearly approximated to the traditional image of women's magazines as a sub-culture of female stereotypes of 'domesticity' and 'negative', female behaviours. The 'young' magazine group was the most likely to shown contra-traditional imagery, particularly in the case of 'work', while the 'up-market' group showed some mixed imagery, and evidence of imagery related to function.

Finally, two analyses on portrayal and frequency produced evidence on the visibility of stereotyping. In the first instance, an analysis on second character data (Section 5:11) demonstrated that males and females in less visible and subordinate positions showed not only fewer stereotypes, but frequently 'inappropriate' ones; compared to main characters their attributes were often significantly cross-sexed. When this analysis was compared to a similar interpretation of the 'older female' data (Section 5:4), it was evident that advertisers appeared to have reserved the strongest incidences of sex-role stereotyping for those characters which were the most visible. The corollary of this was, by implication, that advertisers were capable of producing fewer sex-role stereotypes, and some relatively androgynous imagery, but apparently chose to do so only in the more 'harmless' and less evident advertisement situations.

Finally, as a rider to all the other analyses, it was observed that no analysis should omit observation of the relevance of the disproportionately large number of females in these advertisements (Section 5:13). The use of statistical analysis tends to cloud this fact. Analysis of the simple frequencies of women characters indicated that in many cases of masculine sub-code and major code stereotypes, female characters, in fact, outnumbered the male characters in ratios of up to 7 to 1. Using this form of analysis on other female codes, it was also shown that, in simple frequency terms, some of the 'female' stereotypes, for example that of 'houseworker' were also less frequent than certain 'male' stereotypes, such as the 'ordinary' role. This analysis did not detract from the incidence of certain strong stereotypes - such as the 'decorative' role, but did illustrate that in simple frequency terms some of the 'male' stereotyped behaviours might have been more visually evident to the reader than certain female stereotypes, particularly the 'weaker' ones.

In summary, although good objective evidence was observed for the existence of sex-role stereotyping in women's magazines, further analysis revealed that not only inappropriate stereotypes but also non-significant differences could be found to modify these conclusions. Consideration of advertising function and advertising design also served to suggest that stereotypes may not only be explained by role function but also by elements of the 'ideal' image and the desire for 'positive' imagery in advertising. Also, advertisers were capable of producing non-stereotyped imagery - albeit in the less evident character roles, and analyses of frequency revealed, in fact, often greater incidences of sex-inappropriate images among characters than sex-appropriate ones.

Interpretations of these results, however, must rest on the basis of other independent evidence. Although it has already been suggested that a unilateral interpretation of these images as simple 'sex-role stereotypes' might be misleading, and that both the 'feminist' and 'advertiser' views have relevance to inferences to be drawn from the data, more evidence was needed, not only on the perceptions,

attitudes and actual stances of these two parties, but also of the ordinary women who are exposed to the advertising imagery in women's magazines.

Several strands of data which appertain to this form of inference have been reviewed in Part I of this thesis, but the more direct studies to be described and discussed in Part III must also be considered.

The combination of this independent evidence and its implications for inference from the women's magazine content analysis results are made fully in Chapter 9.

Part III

Introduction

No content analysis on media can be regarded as a totally useful study in its own right. As researchers, although we may study a particular aspect of a medium - in this case, sex-role stereotyping - the evidence cannot stand alone as it might in, say, experimental psychology where a particular hypothesis, proven or unproven, can build logically on a strand of theory, and contribute to that theory in its own right.

Although the evidence on sex-role stereotyping in women's magazines can be shown to build upon theory in the sense that it supports or contradicts other studies on media sex-role stereotyping, this study, and others in the genre, must be regarded as data in a 'vacuum', since however well a researcher may find a trend or trait in a medium, this cannot be interpreted as how the people exposed to that medium interpret it. To reiterate the quotation by Mendelsohn, 1974 in Chapter 2:-

"...what the communicator puts into a message is not necessarily what the recipient gets out of it... In essence all content analysis whether formal or informal, qualitative or quantitative, must be normative. Without accompanying data on how these signs are transformed into actual stimuli by audiences, analyses alone have the same value for media policy as any other speculative data..." (p.383).

In short, whatever the evidence on the presence of sex-role stereotyping in women's magazine advertising, before adequate judgement or interpretation of the results can be made, more information is required as to 'how these signs are transformed' by the women who are exposed to them. Do feminists, for example, who have been largely responsible for the criticism of female imagery in advertising, transform or perceive advertising images in a different way to 'ordinary' or non-feminist women? Do feminists, as advertisers claim, perceive these images as 'stereotypes' because such images do not reflect their status as

'extraordinary' women, and do 'other women', by contrast, perceive and transform these images into accurate and creditable reflections of themselves?

Accurate, empirical evidence on the perceptions of feminists and 'other women' will contribute to deeper interpretation of the results of the content analysis on women's magazine advertising since such evidence, as it stands, simply by investigating sex-role stereotypes, has been largely gathered from the feminist stance. Do these images also transform to 'sex-role stereotypes' for non-feminist women, or do they have narrower significance as accurate reflections of their world? In short, does the evidence on sex-role stereotyping have main and unique relevance to feminist women?

The third part of this thesis is devoted to an investigation of these issues. Essentially, it examines the meanings of, and associated with, the advertising concept among different groups of women, defined according to their statuses as 'feminist' or 'other' women. It examines the relationship between the advertising concept - both general, and specific to women's magazine advertising - and 'self' and 'stereotype' concepts. It seeks to find the extent to which 'feminist' and 'other women' perceptions might contribute to interpretation of the results on sex-role stereotyping in women's magazines, and in advertising generally.

Five studies were made sequentially in this investigation.

Kelly 'construct' study

This study had two aims. In the first instance, it aimed to investigate the denotative and associated meanings of the general 'women in advertisements, 'self', 'ideal self', and 'women in general' concepts for 'feminists' and 'other women'. Its second aim was to elicit constructs which could be transformed into a semantic differential form for a wider investigation of these concepts, and that of 'women in women's magazine advertisements'.

in Chapter 2.

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Study 1 - Questionnaire ('Feminists' and 'Other women')

Using items derived from the previous study, semantic differential forms were produced which 'feminists' and 'other women' rated in terms of the concepts noted in the Kelly study, and also the narrower concept of 'women in women's magazine advertisements'. Media exposure data on the two groups of women were also elicited.

Study 2 - Questionnaire ('High-scoring' and 'Other women')

The questionnaire used in Study 1 was modified and shortened and administered to a large sample of non-feminist women, randomly sampled from various groups. One aim of this study was to establish to what extent the results of Study 1 could be replicated on a wider and larger sample. A second aim was to examine to what extent the results on 'feminist' comparisons could also apply to comparisons between the non-'feminist', but relatively 'anti-traditional' women, and 'other women'. Additional media exposure data was elicited to complement and add to the data elicited in Study 1.

Study 3 - Questionnaire (Advertisers)

A modified set of the semantic differential forms were administered to advertisers and marketers to investigate their concepts of 'women in advertisements', 'women in general' and the 'woman closest to you', in order not only to gain some estimate of the advertiser views of these concepts, but also to make some broad comparisons with the concepts derived from different groups of women in the previous two studies.

Data on the sex-role orientation of the advertisers were also elicited.

The design and methodology of these studies are set out in the next chapter. The results are discussed in two parts. First, the results of the Kelly study are given in Chapter 7. Second, Chapter 8 discusses the results of the remaining three questionnaire studies, the first two on women being discussed in tandem, for reasons of comparability and to avoid unnecessary repetition.

The overall implications of these study results to those of the women's magazine content analysis are given in Chapter 9.

Chapter 6

Kelly and Questionnaire studies - rationales and methodology

Chapter 6

'Kelly' and Questionnaire studies - rationales and methodology

A central point in the debate on sex-role stereotyping in advertising is that the debate itself, and the ensuing controversy, have originated almost entirely from feminist criticism and interest. From the earliest polemical writings by Friedan, 1963 to the most recent analyses by, say, Adams and Laurikietis, 1976, the feminist view has been not only that advertising imagery contains sex-role stereotypes of women, but also that these images are harmful and manipulative of the women exposed to them, that they do not reflect all the women's 'self' aspects. It was observed in Chapter 1, that the feminist view often contained a distancing phenomenon, that women other than feminists were believed to be notably affected by such imagery and were especially vulnerable to it; that such imagery did not equate with what the feminists considered to be the 'self-view' of these 'other women'. These arguments are most notable in the general field of advertising, but in Chapter 3, it was shown that the same arguments could be found to apply in the more specific field of women's magazine advertising.

Advertisers have argued that the feminists hostility to advertising springs from a cause of 'misplaced imagery'; that feminists are 'extraordinary women' and cannot represent, or even perhaps empathise with, the views of non-feminist or 'other women', who form the majority to whom most advertising is directed.

The arguments in these general and specific debates spring from a bedrock of assumptions which relate to feminist, 'other women' and advertiser perceptions, and, as has been frequently noted, it is these assumptions which have never been adequately investigated empirically. The same assumptions cover both the perceptions of general advertising and women's magazine advertising, and in this Chapter, four studies will be described which investigated these assumptions, and attempted to obtain some empirical evidence for or against them.

The four studies were all inter-connected, but each examined separate aspects of the assumptions in the general and specific advertising debate. While the central aim has still been to investigate the perceptions of women in order to aid interpretation of women's magazine advertising, it is also essential, as has been noted in the introduction to Part III of this thesis, to examine the wider context of attitudes to 'women in advertising' generally.

Section 6:1 Kelly 'construct' study - rationale and methodology

The first study in the series of four, of which the methodologies are discussed in this Chapter, was one based on the Kelly construct theory. The rationale for this study is given below.

1. Rationale

The fundamental aim of this series of studies was to investigate the perceptions of concepts which underlie both the general advertising debate and the more specific one which has centralised in women's magazine advertising. In the first instance, the basic question upon which the studies were to be based was, simply, in what ways, if any, do 'feminists' and 'other women' differ in their perceptions of advertising, 'self' and 'stereotype' concepts, and how do these concepts relate for each group?

Obviously, then, two basic concepts which required measurement related to both the general image of 'women in advertisements', and the narrower image of 'women in women's magazine advertisements'. Since, however, the question of how these concepts related to self-imagery was also a fundamental point in the advertising debates, concepts of 'self' and 'ideal self' also required to be measured. It is also these two concepts which figured largely in the theory of advertising 'effectiveness', as noted in Chapter 2.

In addition to these four concepts, another area to be considered was the question of stereotypes. Cadet, 1967 for example, has suggested that reflection of stereotypes is an important issue in advertising design for effective reflection of

target consumer group perceptions, while it is also the perception of stereotypes which has been shown, importantly, to differ 'feminists' from 'other women'. (see Chapter 2, Section 2:5). The measurement of 'persons' and 'concepts,' which was to be the basis of the studies in this third part of the thesis, thus involved extensive consideration of both method and content.

In the first instance, as Warr and Knapper, 1968 observe in their book on 'person perception', person and concept perception may be approached from either the aspects of 'connotative' or 'denotative' meaning. 'Connotative' meaning is concerned with the implications, associations and connotations of a word or concept, while 'denotative' meaning is concerned with the referent of a word or concept, that is, what it refers to or denotes.

While the 'denotative' meaning of the concepts under investigation was clearly relevant, and this will be returned to later, it was evident that it was the 'connotative' meaning of the concepts which should form the basis of the investigations, particularly in consideration of the potentially different judgements of the concepts between the different groups of subjects.

The assessment of 'connotative' meaning is most commonly achieved by the use of the semantic differential scale, which is a set of bi-polar items upon which subjects are required to mark their assessment of a concept in the 'semantic space' between the poles of each item. It is a technique for specifying differences between concepts in terms of their meaning, and is not only a simple technique from both the subjects' and experimenters' viewpoint, but is also open to a variety of analyses, which will be discussed in a later section.

The semantic differential has been frequently used in studies in social psychology, and notably in studies which bear close resemblance in their aims to those posited here. They have been used in the measurement of perceptions of politicians (McGrath and McGrath, 1962; Gardiner, 1965), self and parent concepts (Marks, 1966) and, more particularly, in the assessment of media figures (Pyke and Stewart, 1974; Busby, 1974) and sex-role imagery (Broverman et al, 1972; Jenkin and Vreogh, 1969).

One of the most important considerations in the use of semantic differential, however, is the selection of items which the scale has to measure, particularly when used in person perception. As Warr and Knapper, 1968 observe:-

"person perception not only involves judgements we make about people, (tall, bald etc.) but is primarily concerned with the impressions formed of people as people, (impulsive, religious, liked etc)" (p.3).

The items chosen for measurement should contain an admixture of components, or what Brunswick, 1956 describes as 'overt distal variables', which are directly observable, and 'covert distal variables', which are indicative of personality characteristics, interests, needs, values and so on.

The choice of items, however, cannot be made simply at random. The 'content validity' of the semantic differential scale relies on the choice of items which are relevant to the concept being measured. In short, a semantic differential is held to have 'content validity' when it covers a representative sample of the behaviours and characteristics of the person/concept to be measured. As Osgood et al, 1957 observe a 'criterion in scale selection is relevance to the concepts being judged.... Since irrelevant concept-scale pairings usually yield neutral judgement, their inclusion reduces the amount of information gained with a given number of scales' (p.78), while Warr and Knapper, 1968 reiterate more broadly:-

"The content validity of a semantic differential form is matter for careful inquiry. If we are interested in the meaning of a concept we need to be satisfied that we are sampling all the important aspects of meaning....." (p.93).

The items chosen for the concept measurement in the ensuing studies, therefore, should have relevance to those concepts. The important question, of course, was which items should be chosen to be common and applicable to the five concepts to be measured? It would, for example, have been easy to merely translate the sex-role stereotype items, used in the content analysis coding schedule in the second part of this thesis, into the semantic differential scale to be used in the third part. Such fluidity in study technique, while seductive, would, however, have been spurious. In the first instance, the items chosen would only be relevant as 'sex-role

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stereotypes', and could not be assumed to be relevant to, say, the 'self'-concepts of the subjects in the studies. To use this method would be to once again give priority to the researchers' and published feminist view of the advertising problem. As has been frequently noted in this thesis, it is the perceptions of women themselves, in the context of advertising imagery, which have been notably ignored by researchers, and there is certainly no basis on which it may be assumed that the 'sex-role stereotypes' used by researchers and perceived as such by feminists are also the same concepts which 'ordinary' women would use. The very fact of only selecting sex-role stereotypes as a basis for investigation assumes that these concepts are important to, or the essence of, women's perceptions - whether of 'self' or 'advertising' concepts.

Finally, to simply use sex-role stereotype concepts from the content analysis coding schedule would pose a problem in the derivation of 'opposites', or bi-polar concepts, upon which the semantic differential scale was to be based. Bi-polar variables may take several different forms. There is, for example, the uni-polar variable which measures the strength of one attribute ('very aggressive - not at all aggressive'), and the opposite bi-polar concept ('aggressive - passive'). In addition, there is the problem of how the researcher selects the semantic opposites. The opposite concept of 'aggressive' may be 'passive', as noted, but what, for example, would be the opposite of 'housewife'? Is it 'not a housewife', 'working/career woman', or is there a qualitative judgement inherent in the term i.e. 'good housewife - bad housewife'?

Thus, having settled upon the semantic differential scale as a feasible means of measuring the relevant concepts, it became important to develop a technique to establish those items which could be used in the common semantic differential scale and which would:-

- (i) be relevant for both 'feminists' and 'other women' subjects.
- (ii) include items relevant to all five concepts.
- (iii) elicit bi-polar variables with a relevant selection of correct opposites.

- (iv) give a valid balance between overt and covert distal variables.

The method chosen was a technique based on the Kellian 'construct' theory.

The Kellian, construct technique is one which returns to the individual to define his or her own world-view of concepts. The technique relies on eliciting a set of personal constructs which are bi-polar in nature and which are related to 'elements' (people, situations, ideas etc). Essentially, the important part of the Kellian approach is that it utilises an individuals' own understanding of certain concepts.

There are many variations on the use of the flexible Kellian technique of which several reviews exist (e.g. Kelly, 1955, Bannister, 1962) but its most common and central theme is to present subjects with rotating sets of three 'elements' from which the subjects are asked to observe in which ways two of the 'elements' are alike, but different from the third. The importance of the Kellian technique is that it provides both context and integration in the evocation of subject's perceptions of sets of elements. For the purpose of the studies under discussion it was also felt to be useful and relevant for the following reasons:-

(i) Bi-polar concepts

As Warr and Knapper, 1968 point out, the Kellian, construct technique is 'essentially a sorting test, from which the way in which persons..... are construed, may be determined' (p.98). Its advantage also lies in the fact that a 'construct is measured in terms of a pair of adjectives similar to a semantic differential scale' (p.98).

In short, the constructs evoked by this technique could be easily transferred in the form of bi-polar variables to a semantic differential scale.

(ii) Different concepts

The Kellian technique evokes constructs in a complex and integrative manner; that is, the constructs evoked are within the context of several related concepts. It provides an essentially integrative approach to the question of meaning. As Adams-Weber, 1970 observes:-

"The meaning of each construct is viewed on its specific linkages with other constructs in the system. Kelly designed the repertory grid technique to reflect this kind of interaction between constructs and figures, rather than figures and constructs in isolation" (p.88).

Thus, since several concepts were to be measured, using the same semantic differential scale, if the items used in that scale were evoked in the context of the relevant concepts, then it could be assumed that they would have relevance to each and all of these concepts.

(iii) Different subjects

The central assumption of the Kellian technique is that it utilises an individual's own understanding of certain concepts. If the subjects chosen for this technique were representative of the main types of women on whom the wider concept testing was to be done, then it may be assumed that the constructs (items) elicited would bear some relevance to the subjects used in the wider tests.

(iv) Overt and covert distal variables

As Slater, 1969 observes, the constructs evoked by the Kellian technique are of a wide variety of type, and often construct sub-systems may be observed. In short, if a certain balance between distal variables evoked in the constructs, in the context of the relevant concepts, may be observed, this could give some broad guidance to the balance of such variables to be included in the derived semantic differential form.

(v) Denotative meaning

Quite apart from its usefulness in deriving items for a semantic differential format, the Kellian technique also enables the extraction, from relevant subjects, of the denotative meaning of concepts. This facility would be particularly useful in the investigation of concept meaning among 'ordinary' women, as well as enabling a more specific investigation of meaning among 'feminists', of which latter group most information spawned has been from published writings by feminist 'media' figures, rather than the 'grass-roots' feminists to whom advertisers more particularly direct their criticism in this country.

In addition, the Kellian technique focuses denotative meaning into different contexts. In this respect it has already been noted in Chapter 1 that there appears to exist a common, strong and perhaps socialised stance against advertising, a stance which also appears to have crystallised into the raison d'etre of feminist critics who have an almost on-line response to the concept of 'women in advertisements'.

The contextual emphasis of denotative meaning evoked by a Kellian technique, particularly if a 'forced' comparison approach were adopted, might produce a more considered, and perhaps honest evocation of constructs in respect to feminists', 'self' and advertising concepts. In relation to 'other women', by deriving denotative meaning directly from them, it would not only be possible to obtain data relevant to the advertising debate, but would to a large extent eliminate the potential experimenter influence which has been observed in the selection of semantic differential items in other sex-role stereotype and press media studies. With very few exceptions, (see Broverman et al, 1972) these studies have used a technique of isolating items for measurement which the experimentors have felt to be relevant in the perceptions of sex-imagery, going on then to use subjects' assessments of these items as indications of subjects' attitudes. In short, the researchers make a prior definition of terms for the subject and the subject can then only

be assessed in those terms. A Kellian technique reduces much of this potential researcher bias, and in the context of the denotative meaning evoked by the technique, it would also be possible to compare the emphases of subjects themselves with those of experimenters in say, media sex-role stereotype studies, not least the study in the earlier part of this thesis.

(vi) Identification

A fundamental component in the advertising sex-role debate has been the question of identification. Advertisers have asserted that their advertising sex-role imagery allows for identification among the women exposed to it as part of the principle of advertising effectiveness, while feminists argue that this imagery is less based on 'identification' than manipulation. Identification is also an issue which has been raised in the context of feminist hostility to advertising imagery (see Chapter 1).

The Kellian technique is useful as a means of examining and quantifying this issue of identification, and is a fundamental assumption in the evocation of personal constructs. It is also interesting that it is this inherent issue of identification which has been used in studies utilising the technique, and which bear a close resemblance to the studies posited here. Noble, 1971 for example, used the Kellian technique to measure the identification of 'self' and 'ideal self' with significant other concepts such as 'television heroes'. He used the 'emergent' pole (that which describes perceived similarities between elements), to describe the 'perceived similarity between images of self and others, experienced in terms of personal constructs' (p.172).

In summary, then, the Kellian Technique was felt to be a useful tool to evoke items which could be used in the semantic differential form which would, in turn, measure concepts of 'self, 'ideal self', 'women in general' and the advertisement concepts. In addition, however, it could also be used as a study in its own right to evoke the denotative meaning of those concepts for both 'feminists' and 'other women', providing a fitting contribution to the more general question of how feminists differ from 'other women' in their perceptions of concepts.

2. Study design

As observed above, the Kelly construct technique was to be used both to evoke bipolar constructs for insertion in a semantic differential scale, and also to examine the denotative meaning of various concepts for feminists and 'other women', to provide some contributory data to the wider issues of advertising, 'self' and 'stereotype' perceptions.

Subjects

Since this was felt to be essentially a derivative and 'depth' study, the number of subjects was restricted to 20, of whom 10 were members of Aston University, or Birmingham Women's Liberation groups, representing the 'feminist' sample, and 10 were 'other women'. The 'other women' included five students who had no association with feminist groups, and who, from previous association and questioning, were known to have equivocal, if not indifferent views on feminism and 'women's position'. The remaining five 'other women' included two full-time housewives, and two part-time housewives, with ages ranging from 35 to 55 years, and a part-time, unmarried nurse (age 28 years). These latter five women were known to hold relatively 'traditional' views on women. It is quite possible that a larger sample could have been used, but - as will be observed and commented upon later - it was found to be difficult to obtain contact with both 'other women' and, particularly 'feminists', who could take part in these studies. Also, between them, these 20 women evoked nearly 500 constructs on the presented triads of elements,

and it was felt that this was more than sufficient for the primary aim of this study, which was to evoke bi-polar concepts for the later semantic differential form.

Elements

The following elements were chosen for presentation to the subjects:-

- 'your ideal self'
- 'you'
- 'women in general'
- 'women in advertisements (generally)'

The 'women in advertisements (generally)' concept was chosen, rather than the more specific concept of 'women in women's magazine advertisements', since it was felt that the more general concept could then be assumed to encompass perceptions which could be applied more specifically in the later semantic differential study, to 'women in women's magazine advertisements'. To focus the subjects on a specific concept, then to assume that the results could be assumed to apply also to the wider concept, was felt to be logically and conceptually less valid. No doubt, it would also have been useful to present the triads to include the specific concepts, but since six triads were felt to be useful from the general advertising concept alone, then to include such narrower investigation would have entailed the presentation of 12 sets of comparisons, which the subjects would have found tiring. As it was, the presentation of the six triads (noted below) took up to 1½ hours to complete.

Method

All interviews were conducted, in isolation, over a period of two weeks. All students were tested at the University Applied Psychology Department in an interview room. The housewives, nurse and four of the 'feminists' were tested during a visit to their homes.

Half of the interviews were conducted by the writer, and half by a female research student at the Applied Psychology Department at Aston University.

The interviews varied in length. Those with the 'feminist' sample tended to be shorter, lasting between half and three-quarters of an hour. Those with the housewives took longer, in two of which cases the interviews lasted one and a half hours.

Some consideration was given to how the triads of 'elements' were to be presented. The usual method in this application of the Kelly technique is to present the cards and allow the subjects to draw their own comparisons. It was known, however, that the subject of advertising imagery might be assumed to produce a somewhat 'socialised' stance, and there was some doubt over whether subjects would spontaneously choose to draw comparisons between the 'women in advertisements' element and themselves ('self', 'ideal self' elements), particularly those subjects in the 'feminist' sample. It was, therefore, decided to use the less common technique of forcing subject responses by asking that they describe similarities and differences from pre-selected triads of elements. Subjects, however, were told at the beginning of the interview that, if they so felt, they could record 'no association' or 'no comparison' if they felt any of the presented triads so prompted.

Six pre-selected triads were used:-

1. 'you' and 'your ideal self' v 'women in advertisements (generally)'

This triad was designed to measure in what ways the two self-concepts of the subjects differed from the advertising concept, and was felt to represent an available, or perhaps 'stereotyped' response to the advertisement concept.

2. 'you' and 'women in advertisements (generally)' v 'your ideal self'

3. 'your ideal self' and 'women in advertisements (generally)' v 'you'

These two triads were designed to force the ways in which the subjects' two self-concepts identified with the advertisement concept.

3. 'your ideal self' and 'women in advertisements (generally)' v 'you'

These two triads were designed to force the ways in which the subjects' two self-concepts identified with the advertisement concept.

4. 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements (generally)' v 'you'

This triad was designed to evoke constructs appertaining to the singularity of the subjects, particularly in the light of the 'feminist' status as potentially 'extraordinary' woman.

5. 'women in general' and 'you' v 'women in advertisements (generally)'
6. 'women in advertisements (generally)' and 'you' v 'women in general'

These two triads were designed to force the ways in which the subjects 'self' concept related to the two 'stereotypes' and were designed to give more insight to the triad '4'.

There were, no doubt, other permutations on the four triads which could have been assessed, but these six sets were felt to give not only a good range of alternatives for the evocation of bi-polars, but also some insight into different perceptions of 'feminists' and 'other women' in the main issues of identification.

In some cases, subjects spontaneously asked for definition of the self-concepts. For 'ideal self' they were told that this represented 'how, or what they would like to be in the best of all possible circumstances'. For 'you', they were told that this represented 'exactly how they saw themselves in everyday life'. There were no problems of definition over 'women in general', and the advertisement concept.

In the presentation of the triads, subjects were given the elements typed onto white cards. The two cards for which a similarity was asked were placed together and slightly apart from the 'contrast' element, in front of the subject, who was asked to describe how the first two concepts were the same, but different from the third.

All responses were written down by the experimenter verbatim. Usually, the subject had no difficulty in evoking a list of several constructs on first request. After these first responses, some prompting was used ('anything else?', 'yes?') until no further responses were made. The experimenter then passed on to the next triad. Where a subject had difficulty in making an association or contrast, this was recorded by the experimenter. The order of triads was rotated between subjects. The broad results of this study are reported in Chapter 7, at the end of which the derivation of the semantic differential form for the ensuing questionnaire studies is presented and discussed.

Section 6:2 Questionnaire - Study 1; rationale and methodology

1. Rationale

The 'Kelly' study, described in the previous section, served to give some measure of the denotative meanings of the four concepts - 'women in advertisements (generally)', 'women in general', 'ideal self', and 'self' - for 'feminists and 'other women'. The denotative meanings, through the constructs elicited, were transformed into a semantic differential form. The aim of the second study in the series was to apply this semantic differential form to another sample of 'feminists' and 'other women', to measure the connotative meaning of the four concepts noted above, and also the more specific concept of 'women in women's magazine advertisements'. In addition, this study also attempted to gain some data on the media exposure patterns of the two groups of women. Basically, the aim of this study was to investigate in what ways the five concepts varied between the perceptions of the two groups of women, and also how the concepts interrelated within each group.

2. Study design

Five versions of the semantic differential form were prepared and headed respectively according to the five concepts to be measured. A front page to the questionnaire included questions relating to television exposure, magazine readership, and usage of women's magazines. The questions are set out in Appendix E. The questions on media exposure simply asked subjects to estimate how many hours per week they devoted to television and women's magazine exposure/readership. In the case of women's magazine readership, a simple weekly estimate was asked for. In the case of television exposure, subjects were asked to give a viewing figure per night, and this was summated by the researcher into a weekly figure, since this technique has been found to give a better and less underestimated figure for weekly television exposure (Goodhart^d et al, 1975).

In the case of specific types of women's magazine readership, subjects were asked, respectively, which of these magazines they 'liked', 'read' and 'bought'. In the event, such distinction in preferences produced considerable overlap and some confusion on the part of the subjects, so in data analysis the results on the three questions were summated into a general preference/mention list.

The results of the media exposure data were coded, and the broad coding categories are given in Appendix B. Briefly, the exposure data were divided into three groups of 'low' to 'high' exposure. With television exposure, this was graded from 0 hours per week to 7 hours per week (up to one hour a night per week) to over 21 hours per week (over 3 hours a night). The definition of 'low' to 'high' was relative to the data in the questionnaire. Magazine exposure was similarly rated from 0 hours per week to 2 or more hours. The preference/mentions of women's magazines were grouped into the broad categories of 'mass market', 'young' and 'up-market' magazines noted in Chapter 4. A residual category of 'feminist/political' magazines was introduced for such journals as the feminist magazines 'Spare Rib' and 'Shrew'.

Since the fundamental aim of this study was to compare the responses of women according to their 'feminist' status or as 'other women', some measure was also needed of this status among subjects. Although the 'feminist' subjects were originally defined by their membership of 'feminist' groups, it was felt desirable to have some 'cross-check' of this status, particularly in the light of comparisons with subjects in the next study.

The best validated measure of this type of status among subjects is the 'Attitude to Women' scale. (Spence and Helmreich, 1972). This scale, according to its authors, is 'an objective instrument to measure attitudes towards the rights and roles of women in contemporary society' (p.1) and is devised to give assessment of attitudes in a grading system which distinguishes between more or less 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' attitudes to women.

This scale has been used extensively in studies on sex-roles and has been successfully used to distinguish 'feminists' from 'other' women (Greenberg and Zeldow, 1976).

The scale has two main formats. The longer scale includes 55 items, and the shorter version 25 items, the latter representing a uni-factorial set of items which have accounted for 67.7% of the variance in female response to the longer scale, and 69.2% for the male. Correlations between the subjects' scores on the longer and shorter scale have been found to be .97 for both male and female subjects. (Spence and Helmreich, 1972). As the authors suggest, the shorter scale may be used to replace the longer scale when 'testing time is important, and a numerical score for each respondent rather than distribution of responses to the individual items is sought' (p.52).

Since it was both the numerical score of subjects - that is their grading as 'high' (feminist) or 'medium' to 'low' (other women) - and a short easily completed scale which were felt necessary for the study planned, then the shorter version of this scale was used in the questionnaire, in Study 1.

Basically, the subjects needed to be graded according to their status in 'attitudes to women' in order to judge the relative differences between the groups. Thus, the scores of subjects on this scale were coded into seven broad groups from 'low' to 'high' scorers, and these coded groups are set out in the questionnaire coding sheet in Appendix B. A similar relative assessment of scores has been used in other studies, where, for example, only the top 'N' scorers and bottom 'N' scorers have been used (e.g. Hjelle and Butterfield, 1974). In the questionnaire study, the top scorers would be regarded as holding relatively 'feminist' attitudes, the residual would be typified as 'other women'.

Thus, the shorter 'Attitude to Women' scale was included in the questionnaire, after the facing page, which elicited media data, and before the five semantic differential forms. It was questioned whether introducing the scale early in the questionnaire might bias the subjects' responses in the later semantic differentials,

but it was felt that the nature of the items in the semantic differential scales would be as equally obvious in their intent as the 'Attitude to Women' scale, so that no great advantage would accrue from any other placement of the scale. In addition, it was felt advantageous for subjects to complete the scale while they were still 'fresh'.

Subjects

55 Subjects completed the questionnaire; 13 feminists were included and the remaining women were 25 members of the South Birmingham branch of the 'Housewives Register', and 17 students from Aston University.

The members of the Housewives Register were all part - or full-time housewives whose ages ranged from late twenties to early forties. None was also a member of a feminist group. The students were a random sample from all departments of the University who responded to an advertisement request for subjects. None of these students belonged to a women's liberation group, or classified themselves as feminists.

The 'Housewives Register' subjects were supervised in the completion of the questionnaire at one of their meetings. All other questionnaires were given to subjects, accompanied by a letter of instruction and a stamped addressed envelope with which to return it, if not delivered by hand. Owing to the fact that questionnaires were administered by voluntary response, there was a full return rate on those given out.

All the 13 subjects who scored in the coded '7' or most 'anti-traditional' group of scores on the 'Attitude to Women' scale (between '69' and '75' on the original scale) were the subjects who had been pre-defined as the feminist sample - that is, were all members of Women's Liberation groups. These represented 24% of the total sample and were taken as the 'feminist' group for the subject divisions.

It is accepted that this is a relatively small sample but, for two reasons, it had to be considered acceptable. In the first place, considerable difficulty had been

encountered in not only contacting strictly feminist women, but in obtaining their time and agreement for inclusion in the studies discussed here. A total of 23 feminists had been used for both the 'Kelly' and this questionnaire study -different subjects had been used for each study both to eliminate potential bias arising from the previous study and in order to validate the 'feminist' responses in the first sample - and this must be considered an achievement in its own right. Similar problems of feminist contact have been encountered in other studies. Block, Von/der Lippe and Block, 1973 using a sample of 'low femininity' women whose attributes can be compared with the feminist characteristics noted in Chapter 2, ('aggressive', 'autonomous', 'financially independent' etc.) used a sample of 17 women in the extreme 'feminist' group ('low femininity'/'low socialisation'), while Diamond, 1955 using as a 'feminist' definition women who rejected the traditional female role, used only a total of 23 such women in his study.

Horner, 1972, in a study involving women who were low in 'fear of success', also a concomitant of feminist orientation (Alper, 1974) used a sample of 12 such women, while Hawley, 1971 using subjects who were unmarried, in an 'androgynous' career and whose associated concepts and scores on several scales yielded a sample which would be described as 'feminist' in orientation, used only 10 women. In studies directly comparable to Study 1 of this thesis, similar total subject and 'feminist' sample sizes have been used. Greenberg and Zeldow, 1976 used a sample of 44 women, of whom 15, as assessed on the Spence and Helmreich 'Attitude to Women' scale, were the most 'liberal', or anti-traditional scorers, while Athanassiades, 1977 in a study on 'self' and 'stereotype' concepts in a design similar to the one to be used in Study 1 of this thesis, used a total sample of 50 women.

Hjelle and Butterfield, 1974 in a use of the 'Attitude to Women' scale similar to that in the Greenberg and Zeldow study, used a sample of 20 liberal and 20 conservative female subjects. In short, the use of 13 'feminist' women in Study 1 is not atypical of other studies in this genre.

Second, although a normatively small sample, the use of 13 feminists in this study may also be considered a relatively representative sample. No study has ever established the exact proportion of true feminists in the general population, but one measure could feasibly be the number of women who read and subscribe regularly to the feminist magazine 'Spare Rib'. The core circulation of this magazine is a regular 25,000 readers. If this number is taken as representative of the 'hard-core' feminist population then, compared with the total number of women over 16 in this country, about 16 million (Scott, 1976a), the feminist proportion of the population may be about .2% of the adult female population. This is evidently an understated figure, but in consideration of the fact that 13 feminists in a sample of 55 women is 24% of that sample, it must be considered more than representative of the wider population.

The remaining 42 women in the sample, who were to be considered as the 'other' or 'non-feminist' women, scored between '2' and '6' on the coded scale scores for 'Attitudes to Women'. This represents a slightly skewed distribution towards a relatively non-traditional stance. This skew is also observed in the norm scores established by Spence and Helmreich in the derivation of their test on women, but is, nonetheless, not totally relevant in the study findings, since the use of the shorter form of the scale eliminates any valid conclusions as to distribution of results (see earlier). In this study, too, the relationship of scores between the women is of less relevance than a simple division of 'other women' and 'feminist' stances.

Data Analysis

Several methods of data analysis were used in the Study 1 questionnaire results:-

- (i) In analysing the media exposure data, where frequencies and groupings of data permitted, X^2 , 2X2 contingency tables were used to test differences between the two groups of women. Observation of 'N' values and percentages were also used to make general, directional points.

- (ii) In analysing the semantic differential data, three main forms of analysis were used.

First, to give some relative estimate of the differences between whole-scale concepts, use was made of Osgood's 'D' statistic. Osgood derived this statistic since:-

"what is required to express semantic similarity is some measure of relation that takes into account both the profile covariation and the discrepancies between the means of the profiles, thereby reflecting more fully the information available in the data"

Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957 (p. 91).

The 'D' statistic, termed a 'generalised distance formula', is represented by the equation:-

$$D_{il} = \sqrt{d_{il}^2}$$

where D_{il} is the linear distance between the points in the semantic space representing concepts i , and l , and d_{il} is the algebraic difference between the coordinates of i and l on the same dimension. Summation is over the N dimensions of the scale. In practice, the calculation of the 'D' statistic is achieved by finding the difference in mean responses of the two groups, or two concepts of the same group, on each item in the semantic differential scale, squaring it, and adding all such squared differences over the number of items in the scale. The square root of this figure is then calculated, and the resultant figure represents the 'D' statistic. The size of the statistic is dependent on the number of items in the scale, but a value of '3' to '6' over 65 items may be termed very small representing an average difference between means of .7 and less but that of 12 and above is relatively large, indicating average differences of 1.5 and above.

Fundamentally, the 'D' value is not a statistic in the traditional sense since the distribution of 'D' is not known. It is primarily useful in combination with other correlation statistics to indicate relative differences, and may also be used in the form of matrices which can then be transformed by more conventional non-parametric tests. (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957).

The non-parametric test used in combination with the 'D' statistic, to give some measure of association between whole-scale concepts, was the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient (r_s). It is usual in comparisons of the semantic differential whole-scale profiles to use certain sign and directional tests, such as the 'Mann-Whitney 'U' Test' and the 'Wilcoxon Matched Pairs Sign Test'. Such statistics, however, require a common direction in the data - for example, to positive from negative or vice versa. This, however, was not possible in the specific semantic differential form used in this study, since the items did not render themselves capable of translation to these criteria, neither could they totally be compared as 'masculine' or 'feminine', since while many of the items were related to such concepts, others which were relevant to the Kelly study and the concepts measured, were not. (e.g. 'rich-poor', 'things go wrong - things never go wrong').

The third method of analysis was utilisation of the Osgood 'D' matrices. In these formats, the continuous comparisons of concepts for different groups of subjects may be made, indicating some patterns in the distancing of these concepts. Such matrices are, however, open to the common directional 'sign' tests, and in these instances the 'Wilcoxon Matched Pairs Signs Test' was used and, in small sample comparisons, the 'Mann-Whitney 'U' Test'.

Finally, it is also noted that where a more informal analysis was needed, the whole-scale concept data were inspected through the more visual means of profile inspection, where the means of the different groups and concepts were compared through diagrammatic connection.

- (iii) In certain cases analysis was also required, on a more detailed level, of the differences between means of individual items in subject group comparisons. For these analyses, the Student's 't' test was used. It is accepted that the central assumption of the 't' test, that the data be normally distributed, could not be assumed for all the items in the semantic differential data. Nonetheless, this test remains the most robust one for such data, and is widely

used by researchers utilising the semantic differential scale. It is also found in studies on the validity of the 't' test that violation of the parametric assumption may not markedly affect the significance and validity of the test (Black, 1972).

Another restriction to the use of the common 't' test is the assumption of equal sample variances. The establishment of (significant) differences between sample variances is, however, provided by the 'F' ratio, and where this 'F' value is significant for two samples the common 't' test should not be used.

In these instances, however, the alternative calculation - 'approximation' to 't' - may be used.

The SPSS computer package used for the 't' test calculations provided 'F' values and their significance levels for each item mean comparison between the two samples. It also provided both 't' and 'approximation' to 't' values.

Where the 'F' ratio was significant at p.05 and below the null hypothesis that the two sample variances for that item were equal, was rejected, and the 'approximation to 't' value was used. Where the 'F' value was not significant i.e. at above the p.05 level, then the common 't' value was used.

Where 't' and 'approximations to 't' have been used in the quoted significance levels for differences between sample means for each semantic differential item, then these are indicated in the list of 't' values in Appendix F:1.

- (iv) In the analysis of the Spence and Helmreich 'Attitude to Women' scale scores, a 't' test was used to compare means of the different subject groups. Inspection of diagrammatic representation of the score distributions was also used. Other, more detailed analysis was not required, since only the broad distinction between the coded 'group 7' and 'other' groups was used in the analyses.

The results of this study are set out in Chapter 8, where they are primarily discussed in tandem to the results of Questionnaire Study 2.

The results of Questionnaire Study 1 were, however, modified on certain criteria to strengthen and 'tighten' the methodology in Study 2. In this respect Study 1 served not only as a study in its own right, but also represented a pilot for the larger, later study. These modifications are discussed in the next section.

Section 6:3 Modifications to Study 1

1. Advertisement concepts

One of the first results to emerge from Study 1 was the evident similarity in ratings, for both groups of women, between the 'women in advertisements (generally)', and 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concepts. These broad results are discussed in the first part of Chapter 8 but, briefly, it was found that there was not only a high and significant Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient between the two concepts, but also very low 'D' values for the overall scales, representing average item mean differences of only .5 and below.

In addition, with only a few exceptions, the differences which were found to be significant between the two groups of women for the 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concept were also common to the 'women in advertisements (generally)' concept. Inter-concept comparisons with 'self', 'ideal self' and 'women in general' showed, in addition, markedly similar patterns. Of the two concepts, it was also the general 'women in advertisements' concept which most discriminated between the two groups, within which the more specific 'women's magazine' concept was felt to be subsumed and repeated.

The implications of these results are discussed in the next chapter, but in the context of experimental design for the larger study, and in consideration of the factor of time of completion of the questionnaire (see next point) the more specific 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concept was felt capable of exclusion from the wider Study 2.

From these results it was

felt that the more specific

2. Time of completion and scale modifications

The Questionnaire Study 1, with five concepts for completion, represented 325 individual item assessments for subjects. In addition to this, the 'Attitude to Women' scale took longer for subjects to complete than expected. The combination of these two factors gave rise to what appeared to be an over-long questionnaire, contributing to some evident fatigue and irritation on the part of the subjects. Many of these subjects were supervised in completion of the questionnaire, but since the next questionnaire (Study 2), would have to be administered and returned by mail in many cases, a system which alone tends to reduce response rate (see Kerlinger, 1973 p.414), it was felt that such fatigue and irritation would not only contribute to a very low response rate but also inadequate or careless completion of scales.

Thus, it was felt important to attempt to reduce the length of the questionnaire used in Study 2 and two shortening devices were used. In the first place, the 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concept was excluded on the criteria noted above. Secondly, a shorter version of the 'Attitude to Women' scale was devised, since on evidence from the first study, this scale took almost as long to complete as one of the semantic differential scales.

The shorter version of the Spence and Helmreich, 'Attitude to Women' scale was, therefore, examined in order to see if it were possible to lift out certain of the items which would be representative of the scale as a whole, and which would still be capable of allowing adequate comparisons between subjects of the two studies.

In order to establish which items could be so extracted, several tests were made on the pilot study responses, in addition to results from other studies which the writer had made, using this scale, on other subjects. 155 completed versions of the 25 item 'Attitude to Women' scales, obtained from female subjects, were available from these sources, and the results were coded and computed. Three validation tests were made to extract these reduced and selective items.

(i) Correlation coefficients

The 25 items on the shorter scale were cross-correlated with the total scale scores for the 155 subjects. The results are given in Table 6:1 below.

Table 6:1

Item by total correlation for the 25 item

Spence and Helmreich 'Attitude to Women' Scale

<u>Variable (Item)</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>	<u>Correlation Coefficient (item by total)</u>	<u>Variance/ Co-variance</u>
1.	.001	.3700	4.500
2.	.001	.6387	6.0805
<u>3.</u>	.001	<u>.4261</u>	<u>3.1089</u>
4.	.001	.4090	5.1470
5.	.001	.5110	7.4453
6.	.001	.5570	7.0797
7.	.001	.5969	8.3360
8.	.001	.4524	4.0042
9.	.001	.3021	3.7398
10.	.001	.7242	9.9135
<u>11.</u>	.003	<u>.2202</u>	<u>2.3396</u>
12.	.001	.6163	6.2367
<u>13.</u>	.001	<u>.6666</u>	<u>8.4747</u>
<u>14.</u>	.001	<u>.5741</u>	<u>6.9965</u>
15.	.001	.5241	6.0667
16.	.001	.2610	3.0009
17.	.001	.5495	6.3332
18.	.001	.6424	8.3703
<u>19.</u>	.001	<u>.7549</u>	<u>9.5592</u>
<u>20.</u>	.001	<u>.4656</u>	5.5885
21.	.001	.6618	8.5912
<u>22.</u>	.001	<u>.7107</u>	<u>10.1659</u>
<u>23.</u>	.001	<u>.6916</u>	<u>9.8313</u>
<u>24.</u>	.001	<u>.5988</u>	<u>6.4507</u>
<u>25.</u>	.001	<u>.3157</u>	<u>3.0683</u>

The high correlation of all items scores with the total score supports the unifactorial nature of the scale. Nonetheless, the correlation coefficients and variance/co-variance measures indicated that certain items were 'stronger' than others. These items were, 2,10,12,13,18,21,19,22,23,24 representing 10 items in all (Underlined).

(ii) Factor analysis

The results of the 155 subjects were then factor analysed using the SPSS 'factor' programme and the results of the first extracted factor as the 'principal factor with iteration' is given in Table 6:2 below. This factor represented 31% of the overall variance, with no other factor representing more than 8%. (Factor 2: 7.7%, Factor 3: 2.2%).

As may be seen in Table 6:2, the 10 items noted in Table 6:1 to have the highest item/total correlation coefficients, and variance/co-variance scores were also those found to have the highest factor loadings in the principal factor. These items are underlined.

Table 6:2

Principal factor items for the 25-item

Spence and Helmreich 'Attitude to Women' scale

<u>Variable (Item)</u>	<u>Factor loading</u>
1.	.28346
2.	.65144
3.	.45818
4.	.33515
5.	.43375
6.	.55462
7.	.56409
8.	.45016
9.	.21284
10.	.72161
11.	.12926
12.	.61986
13.	.65413
14.	.56939
15.	.50357
16.	.19448
17.	.53035
18.	.64918
19.	.78075
20.	.39548
21.	.65757
22.	.70743
23.	.68492
24.	.62141
25.	.32721

(iii) Distribution of scores between Studies 1 and 2

Since the new shortened scale was to be used to extract the higher and 'other' scoring women, investigation was then made of the distribution of scores for the 155 subjects on both the 25 item scale and that which could be formed from the 10 items isolated in the previous two tests. In order to do this, the new scale had to be coded in a system similar to that used for the 25 item scale, that is, in groups of '0' to '7'. In order to do this, it was assumed that since the new scale was approximately a third of the length of the original one, and in order to give the same balance to the first '0' category, and equal divisions to the new scale groups, a 3-point interval was to be used for scores over '9' on raw data from the new scale. The new scale was thus allocated into groups of '0' to '7' on the basis of raw scores of 0-9, 10-12, 13-15, 16-18, 19-21, 22-24, 25-27, and 28-30.

The subject scale scores for both the 25 item scale and the new, 10 item scale were then allocated to these two groups of coded data scores. The results are given in Table 6:3 below.

Table 6:3

Coded score data for the 25 and 10 item 'Attitude to Women' scales

<u>Category Code</u>	<u>25 item scale (Subject frequency is:-)</u>	<u>10 item scale (Subject frequency is:-)</u>
0	6	12
1	5	6
2	16	20
3	30	18
4	32	30
5	26	24
6	20	22
7	20	23
	<u>N = 155</u>	<u>N = 155</u>

Three tests were performed on this data. First, a Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient (r_s) was performed on the distribution of coded scores. The correlation between the scores for the 25 and 10 item scores was .800 ($p < .05$). Second, a Wilcoxon Matched Pairs Sign Test was used on the data scores, and this demonstrated that the distribution of scores was non-significant between the two scales. ($N = 8$ $T = 14$).

Third, since the data of the new scale would be used to compare two groups of women on the basis of scores of '7' and '0-6', then a 2X2, X^2 contingency table was drawn up to compare the frequency of scores in these two categories, for each scale. The resultant X^2 value of .243 was also non-significant, indicating no difference in score distribution for the two categories between scales. In short, the results of these three tests indicated that the distribution of scores on the new 'Attitude to Women' scale, the 10 item version, was highly comparable with the old 25 item scale. In addition, it would be expected that the new scale would also 'pick-up' the same proportion of 'high' and 'other women' scorers as the old version.

Finally, a spot-check was made on the data to ensure that, although the distribution of scores was evidently highly similar for the two scales, they were also 'picking-up' the same types of women. This was, however, found to be so. All the women who had scored in categories '7' and '0-6' on the 25 item version, also scored in '7' and '0-6' respectively in the 10 item version. By converse, the 10 item scale's coded '7' and '0-6' categories, 'picked-up' the '7' and '0-6' scorers respectively in the 25 item version. The 10 item scale did, however, include in its '7' category, two women who would have scored in the '0-6' group in the 25 item scale. Since both of these women scored in the 67-69 band range in the 25 item scale and were only marginally out of the '7' category, this result was not felt to be an important distinction, since the main objective of the two scales had only been, for the purposes of the Studies 1 and 2, to take the most extreme scorers. If the new scale code group '7' 'picked up' women in the very low original scores in the 25

item scale, then this would have been extremely disquieting. In the event, the new scale did not have this effect, and may be regarded as not only highly comparable with the old scale, but capable of rendering results comparable between the two studies.

3. Media data modifications

Two media data questions in Study 1 were slightly modified for Study 2, and these concerned, first, the collection of data on women's magazines. It was observed in Study 1 that several subjects spontaneously remarked that they needed to mention magazines other than those classified as 'women's' in the question relating to magazines 'read, bought or enjoyed'.

This short-coming in the design of Study 1 was modified in Study 2, by asking subjects to note simply which magazines (not women's magazines'), they 'read, bought and enjoyed' the most, and selection was left to the subjects. Such a broader category was also felt to give some indication of the relative importance of women's and other types of magazines to the different groups of women, and to estimate the relative importance of women's magazine preference in this genre. New coding categories were therefore introduced to take in these additional magazine types in Study 2, and these included categories for 'general', 'trade' and 'men's magazines'. The coding system for these categories are given in Appendix E. Similarly, subjects were asked only for 'magazine' rather than 'women's magazine' exposure time.

Second, it is again reiterated that the division in Study 1 between three groups of magazines as to whether they were 'read', 'bought' or 'liked' proved artificial and irritating for subjects, not to say confusing in data coding. The data on these three aspects were collapsed in reportage of results for Study 1 and a single question to cover all aspects was introduced into the questionnaire used in Study 2. The modifications were introduced largely to broaden the scope of data collected. In effect, however, since the primary object of data collection in both studies concerned the relative and not absolute levels of media exposure between subject

groups then the slight potential enlargement of response due, say, to magazine exposure levels between studies, were not felt to affect the general comparability of study results.

Section 6:4 Questionnaire - Study 2; rationale and methodology

1. Rationale

Questionnaire Study 1 had been both a pilot study in design modification for Study 2, but as a study in its own right, it had investigated the responses of a 'feminist' sample - that is, 'political feminists' who were strongly committed to the feminist view and were members of Women's Liberation groups.

In Study 2, the main rationale was to translate the fundamental study design and execution of Study 1 to a larger number of women in order to test the pervasiveness of Study 1 results, but, in this instance to specifically exclude the 'political feminist' women. It was observed in Chapter 2, Section 2:5 that other studies attempted on such 'non-feminist' women, even when partialled out for relatively high and low intensity of attitudes to feminist topics, showed no major differences in their perceptions of advertisement design from a 'sex-role' perspective.

Study 2, therefore, was an attempt to replicate the general direction of those studies, but in the context of perceptual ratings of concepts relevant to the advertising sex-role debate. The results could be broadly compared with the differential scores of 'feminists' and 'other women', but from the viewpoint of merely 'non-traditional' but 'non-feminist' women, and 'other women'. The main investigative criteria of Study 2, therefore, was in essence the same as for Study 1, but on a more 'general' sample of women.

2. Study Design

The study design of Study 2 was essentially the same as set out for Study 1 in Section 6:2. The differences in the questionnaire design have been established at the end of that section centring upon a shortening of the questionnaire and

involving a modified version of the Spence and Helmreich, 'Attitude to Women' scale, modifications in media data reportage, and the use of 4 semantic differential scales to assess the main and broader concepts of 'self', 'ideal self', 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements (generally)'. The items in the questionnaire relevant to this study are set out in Appendix E.

All media exposure data were coded in the same way as for Study 1, and the 'Attitude to Women' (AWS) scores were coded according to the method set out in Section 6:2. The 'high-scoring' women were those who scored in coded group '7' in this scale, and the 'other women' those who scored in coded groups '0' to '6'. As a measure of the sex-role comparability of the subjects between the two studies, the AWS coded scores for subjects in Studies 1 and 2, respectively, were calculated and are set out below, in Table 6:4.

Table 6:4

'Attitude to Women' scale coded scores for Studies 1 and 2

<u>Coded AWS score</u>	<u>Study 1</u>			<u>Study 2</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>C%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>C%</u>
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	0	0	0	6	2	2
2	1	2	2	5	2	4
3	6	11	13	18	7	11
4	13	24	36	45	17	28
5	9	16	53	69	26	54
6	13	24	76	58	22	76
7	<u>13</u>	24	100	<u>65</u>	24	100
<u>Total</u>	<u>55</u>			<u>266</u>		

N: frequency, %: percentage, C%: cumulative percentage of subjects in coded AWS scores.

The mean score of subjects in Study 1 was found to be 5.27 and in Study 2, 5.26. A 't' test performed on these results showed that there was no significant difference between the mean AWS scores for the two groups ('t' = .074 NS; F = 1.04 N.S).

Data Analysis

The data analysis for Study 2 was the same as for Study 1, as set out in Section 6:2.

Subjects

For Study 2, a wider variety of subjects was chosen than for Study 1. For some groups of subjects (for example, the schoolgirls) it was possible to supervise the completion of the questionnaire, but with other subjects this was either sent and returned by mail (for example, the women's groups), or sent and returned by hand as a result of an advertisement in Aston University. Copies of the questionnaire, accompanied by a pre-paid, self-addressed envelope, were also distributed to students' Halls of Residence. The final sample of usable questionnaires numbered 266 and of these, 107 represented responses from schoolgirls from two Birmingham schools. One school was an inner city comprehensive (Waverley School) and the other a direct grant, grammar school (King Edward's Camp Hill School). 50 responses were elicited from the first school and 57 from the second. 66 female students from Aston University also responded, and the remainder of the sample was made up of non-student, part and full-time working women (the part-time workers were also housewives) numbering 81 subjects, and 12 full-time housewives. Non-student adult women thus represented 93 (35%) of the sample. It was felt desirable to obtain more of these 'ordinary' women, but of the 300 questionnaires sent out to women of this type through personal contact, and 'housewives' groups, the 31% response rate was not only typical of the 'mail' questionnaire response, but also represented the same difficulties that the writer encountered in contacting any non-student women for Study 1. The use of schoolgirls and non-student women represented, however, 75% of the total sample, and the under-emphasis on the

female student, unlike other studies in sex-role research, was felt to give greater credibility to this study as a measure of 'ordinary' women.

Section 6:5 Questionnaire - Study 3 (Advertisers)

Rationale and methodology

1. Rationale

The role of the advertiser and marketer has been seen by many feminist critics as an important factor in the advertising, sex-role debate. It was observed in Chapters 1 and 3 that feminists often suggest the intrusion of advertisers' perceptions into the advertising they produce. As noted in Chapter 1, the advertisers' response to such criticism has been to suggest that through their research and experience they have a greater knowledge and more accurate perceptions of 'ordinary women' than do feminists and, by implication, their concept of 'women in advertisements' is reflective of what these 'ordinary' women are really like.

It was decided, therefore, that some investigation of what the advertisers' perceptions were of 'women in general', 'women in advertisements' and the 'women closest to them' would not only contribute to the general advertising, sex-role debate, but also help to illuminate the specific issues of women's magazine advertising, particularly from the angle of data inference. It was observed in Chapter 2, that such empirical data did not exist, and neither had adequate measurement ever been made of the sex-role attitudes of advertisers.

Thus, the rationale for this study was to be to add to objective evidence in the advertising, sex-role debate, and to the result analysis of women's magazine advertising. The fundamental questions to be considered related, firstly, to how such advertisers and marketers might score on the 'Attitude to Women' scale, both as research of interest in its own right, and also as a comparison with 'women' as evidenced in data from Studies 1 and 2. This would give some indication of advertiser 'sex-role attitudes' about which feminist assumptions have been made.

A second strand of the analysis would relate to the advertisers' perceptions of the three concepts noted above; namely, how these three perceptions interrelated for the advertisers and marketers and, more importantly, how they compared with the different perceptions of the 'other women', 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women of Studies 1 and 2. This latter investigation would also add to the existing knowledge on the status of these three groups of women, in terms of their own perceptions, and also to the advertisers' assertions that they 'understand' the 'ordinary' woman. Such data would also help to investigate the apparent communication problem of feminists and advertisers in the wider sex-role debate.

Study Design

A revised form of the existing questionnaire was used for this study. It was felt that only the advertisers' scores on the 'Attitude to Women' scale, and the three main concepts were relevant to the studies in this sequence. Since this thesis is not concerned with male media exposure and behaviour, such data, while interesting was not overtly relevant to this discussion. The Study 2 version of the Attitude to Women scale was used. It was also accepted that the return rate on such a mailed questionnaire (see below) would be low, on conventional standards, and therefore as short a version of the questionnaire as possible was desirable.

Subjects

Two samples of 'advertisers' and 'marketers' were used to make up the total. First, a set of questionnaires was sent to all the members of the Birmingham and Coventry branch of the Institute of Marketing. Members of this Institute are almost exclusively involved in the advertising and marketing field of business. 150 questionnaires were sent out and after reminder letters, 48 completed questionnaires were returned.

Second, a sample of 52 advertising and marketing specialist students from the Birmingham and Lanchester Polytechnics were administered the questionnaire in two separate, supervised sessions at those colleges. All of these questionnaires were completed.

Data analysis

Data were analysed through the same techniques as noted for Study 1 in Section 6:2. The results of this study are set out and discussed in Chapter 8, including data on the advertisers', 'Attitude to Women' scale scores.

Section 6:6 Content analysis - questionnaire data comparisons

The content analysis of women's magazine advertisements was made on journals published in 1975, whereas the questionnaire studies took place during 1976 and 1977. Although it is unlikely that there would have been large shifts in the magazine imagery over this period, and it cannot be assumed that the women's assessments of women's magazine advertising could be more than generalised 'perceptions', only theoretically comparable with the results of the content analysis, it was felt important to give some estimate of potential change in those magazines over the 'missing' time period.

In short, in order to establish if there had been any major change in women's magazine advertisement imagery over this period, a sample check was made.

At the time of the sample check, which slightly post-dated the questionnaire studies, the nearest available sample of magazines was for October, 1977, and, additional to this month, those for May, 1976 were chosen, on a random basis, as a sample for that year.

One magazine was taken from each of the content analysis group samples, with the exception of Nova, which had then gone out of print. To balance this an extra copy of the comparable 'Over 21' magazine was taken. All advertisements from these magazines were removed, excluding overlaps, and those including human characters were used as the basis for the sample check. This left a sample of 165 advertisements for coding. Only female 'main characters' were used. Four coders, two men and two women, were asked to assign the advertisement main characters to the 'role' categories used in the content analysis as the major code. As this was felt to be a 'quick check' study this was felt adequate to indicate any significant

changes in advertising imagery which might have occurred over the 18 month period. It was also the 'role' data which had provided the basic stereotypes in the first content analysis; many of the other stereotypes were derived from, or clearly associated with, the 'role' data.

Most of the subjects agreed on the role classifications, but to eliminate idiosyncratic coding, where three or more of the subjects agreed on a classification then this was included in the final sample.

On this basis, 151 advertisements were accepted and 14 rejected. The role allocation for the two samples of advertisements for the two time periods are given in Table 6:5 below:-

Table 6:5

Women's Magazine Advertisements: Sample check 1975-1977

<u>1976-77 'Role' sample</u>			<u>1975 'Role' sample</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Decorative	68	45	1. Decorative	717	58
2. Ordinary	33	21	2. Ordinary	159	13
3. Mother	13	9	3. Housewife	102	8
4. Worker	10	7	4. Mother	79	6
5. Lover	8	5	5. Worker	68	6
6. Housewife	7	5	6. Lover	58	5
7. Wife	6	4	7. Wife	27	2
8. Hostess	4	2	8. Sport/Hobbyist	16	1
9. Sport/Hobbyist	2	1	9. Hostess	15	1
Total	<u>151</u>		Total	<u>1241</u>	

N.B. All percentages rounded

Using the Mann-Whitney 'U' test, the null hypothesis that there was no difference in 'role' allocation between the two samples could not be rejected. There was no significant difference in the percentage distribution of scores. ($U = 27$). A similar result is given for the Wilcoxon Sign Test where on $N = 7$, $T = 11.5$ and non-significant. In addition the Spearman Rank Correlation coefficient value (r_s) for the two samples was high, at .88 ($p < .001$).

In short, it may be assumed that the distribution of the roles in women's magazines has not undergone a radical shift between the content analysis made in 1975, and current content in 1976 and 1977.

Chapter 7

Kelly construct study

Chapter 7

Kelly Construct Study

It was noted in Chapter 6 that the Kelly study was designed for two overlapping reasons. First, the study was designed to elicit bi-polar constructs which would provide the basis of the semantic differential scale to be used in the studies of subject perceptions of advertisement, self and stereotype concepts. Second, it was also to be used to give some measure of the denotative meaning of those perceptions.

How the constructs elicited were translated into the semantic differential items is given at the end of this Chapter. The main part of this Chapter, however, is devoted to an analysis of the nature of the constructs elicited, since these are not only relevant in their own right as a contribution to the advertising, sex-role debate, but also provide the bases for certain informal hypotheses as to the directions of subject perceptions in the later studies.

The discussion of the constructs elicited from the 'Kelly' study is divided into two parts. First, the broad results of the study, including a numerical analysis of the constructs and an informal content analysis, are given and discussed in Section 7:1. Second, a more detailed and anecdotal analysis of the tone and nature of the constructs elicited in each triad is given in Section 7:2.

Section 7:1 Broad results: numerical and content analysis

A total of 468 constructs were elicited from the total sample of 20 women, over the 6 triads. 300 constructs were elicited from the 'feminist' group and 168 from the 'other women' group.

The number of constructs given by each of the 20 subjects for each triad is given in Table 7:1, below. The notation A to F is used to represent each triad as delineated in Chapter 6, Section 6:1.

Table 7:1
Construct numbers by subject/triad

<u>'Feminists'</u>	A	B	C	D	E	F	Mean number of Constructs
S1	7	3	0	6	9	1	4.3
S2	5	5	5	1	1	1	3.0
S3	9	1	0	9	3	0	3.7
S4	15	2	0	4	5	0	4.3
S5	11	6	11	7	8	5	8.0
S6	12	4	8	13	6	0	7.1
S7	11	10	3	10	12	5	8.5
S8	9	4	5	9	8	6	6.8
S9	5	2	0	0	2	0	1.5
S10	10	0	0	3	3	10	4.3
							<u>3.10</u> Total: 300
<u>'Other women'</u>							
S1	6	4	0	1	5	3	3.1
S2	0	5	6	1	8	0	3.3
S3	3	1	2	0	4	2	2.0
S4	2	1	2	1	1	1	1.3
S5	0	1	5	3	3	0	2.0
S6	5	1	3	5	4	10	4.7
S7	9	4	3	5	6	0	4.5
S8	0	2	10	1	7	2	3.7
S9	1	1	0	1	5	0	1.3
S10	6	0	2	1	3	0	2.0
							<u>1.68</u> Total: 168
<u>'Feminist'</u> Response (Mean)	9.4	3.7	3.2	6.2	5.7	1.8	
<u>'Other women'</u> response (Mean)	3.2	2.0	3.3	1.9	4.6	1.8	

Summary of results

- i. In 4 out of the 6 triads, the mean 'feminist' response was higher than that for the 'other women'. Applying the Mann-Whitney 'U' Test to the range of mean responses of the two groups on the 6 triads, the 'feminist' response was significantly higher than for the 'other women'. (U=6 p.< 05)
- ii. This difference in mean response is also interesting when associated with the fact that the time to elicit these responses from 'feminists' was generally shorter than for 'other women'. It is unlikely that this discrepancy may be explained by familiarity with the Kelly technique alone, since the students in the sample who may have had contact with this technique in the past were roughly equal in the two samples, speculatively 4 'feminists' and 3 'other

women' students. These results point, more feasibly, to a greater articulacy through the triads among the 'feminist' sample. Such a result may also point to a greater degree of 'ready or on-line' responses among the 'feminist' group, an interpretation supported by the observably higher mean 'feminist' responses in Triads A and C which were designed to test more 'socialised' responses to the elements presented. (see Section 6:1).

- iii. To examine mean responses alone, however, can have a masking effect concerning individual subject responses in the two groups.

Examining the individual responses, it is evident in Table 7:1 that there is a greater range of total responses per subject to the 6 triads in the 'feminist' than 'other women' group. Calculation of the standard deviations (SD) for subject response over the 6 triads for each group (column labelled 'mean number of constructs'), revealed that the SD value for the 'feminist' subjects was almost twice as high as for 'other women' (SD ('feminists'): 3.10, SD ('other women'): 1.63).

Why this should be so is open to interpretation, but may involve some greater range of individual differences in the 'feminist' group, particularly in terms of articulacy, or desire to respond, in certain triads. Whatever the reason, such a result does give some first support to a view of the 'feminists' as different or 'extraordinary' women.

Overall, however, a simple numerical analysis of Table 7:1 indicates a more articulate, or on-line 'feminist' response to the 6 triads and a greater deviation in individual subject responses.

2. Construct qualities by group

After initial numerical analysis of the constructs, an informal 'content analysis' was made of the constructs to isolate trends in construct type, or quality, between groups.

There is, however, no objective method by which such an analysis can be made.

Attempts to group the constructs into sex-role stereotype-related categories quickly proved fruitless and misleading. Such a grouping cannot take into account the often idiosyncratic choices of bi-polar opposites in the two groups. In addition, certain constructs did not relate well to such categorisation, referring to behaviours and facts deemed to be outside the sex-role stereotype scope - for example, standards of living, friendliness, reality etc. Where possible, category groups relating to sex-role issues were used, but a system was devised simply to take into account what was presented in the data. Again, because of the idiosyncracies in bi-polars, some of these categories had to be broad. For example, it was not feasible to separate references to domesticity' and 'work' since constructs often mingled these concepts (e.g. 'lives for family - wants other things'; 'housewife - career woman'). Thus, a 'role' category had to include both these qualities.

Initially, a relatively detailed category system was used, but this was collapsed into even broader groups for more wieldy discussion in later analyses.

As with the translation of the constructs into the semantic differential form, the opinions and suggestions of colleagues proved helpful. In the event, 14 categories were used for the detailed format and 8 for the broader one. The first detailed categories are given in Table 7:2 below:

Table 7:2
Detailed Categories for Construct Type

<u>Categories (reference to:-)</u>	<u>Reference to (example)</u>
1. Appearance	physical beauty, dress, fashion, youth and age
2. Intellect	intelligence, education, culture, knowledge
3. Conformism	individuality, gullibility, advert. persuasion
4. Control/independence	dominance/submission; autonomy; affected by others; independence
5. Ambition/competence	ambition, determination, competence, success, direction
6. Life-style/money	wealth, style of living, easy/hard life, social life,
7. Roles	domesticity, career, children, marriage
8. Reality	real, perfect/human, idealism
9. Stability/extroversion	stability, extroversion, problems, friendliness, anxiety, emotion
10. Liberation	feminism, liberation
11. Male relativity	success, dependence on men, male/female work,
12. Sex objects/sex	sexuality, sex object
13. Like me/like her	I like her, like me, identification
14. Products	product mentions, good/bad buyer

Using this broad system of categorisation, analysis of the 'feminist' and 'other women' constructs was made and the results are given in Table 7:3 below. (Data for each triad are discussed later). For this analysis, 2X2, X^2 calculations on each category were made for the two groups of women. Directional advantage for each group is also given.

Table 7:3

Subject group comparisons of construct type

Categories (reference to:-)	Feminists (F)		Other Women (OW)		X^2	Sig. Level	Dir.
	N	%	N	%			
1. Appearance	37	12	36	21	5.801	.02	OW
2. Intellect	27	9	16	10	.034	NS	OW
3. Conformism	30	10	12	7	1.224	NS	F
4. Control/independence	29	10	11	7	1.343	NS	F
5. Ambition/competence	24	8	8	5	1.782	.10	F
6. Life-style/money	30	10	26	16	3.691	.05	OW
7. Roles	21	7	14	8	.027	NS	OW
8. Reality	29	10	25	15	2.876	.05	OW
9. Stability/extroversion	47	16	16	10	3.418	.05	F
10. Liberation	2	1	0	0	1.128	NS	F
11. Male relativity	14	5	0	0	8.086	.01	F
12. Sex object/sex	5	2	0	0	2.822	.10	F
13. Like me/like her	2	1	2	1	.391	NS	Equal
14. Products	3	1	2	1	.024	NS	Equal
Totals	300		168				

N.B. All percentages rounded.

Summary of results

(i) From a content analysis of all the constructs, it was found that 'other women' were significantly more likely to mention constructs relating to more physical aspects of 'appearance', 'wealth' and 'life-style'.

It is also interesting to note, particularly in the context of feminist concern that 'other women' are likely to be affected by the images in advertising, that within the context of the elements presented in the six triads, each of which contained the element 'women in advertisements', it was the 'other women' and not the 'feminist' group who were significantly more likely to mention factors of 'reality'.

(ii) 'Feminists', on the other hand, in comparison with the more tangible and

'reality' based constructs of the 'other women' group, were significantly more likely to use constructs based on the more abstract, behavioural aspects of 'ambition/competence' and 'stability/extroversion'.

Although the results were non-significant between the groups, this emphasis on behavioural aspects also extended to Categories 3 and 4, relating to 'conformism' and 'control/independence'. If these 4 groups are combined (Cats. 3,4,5 and 9) then the 'feminist' use of these constructs was significantly higher than for 'other women' ($X^2 = 12.61$ p. < .001).

What is particularly interesting about these results is that if concern for construct qualities is implied by the relative frequency of mention, then the 'feminist' group appeared to be significantly more concerned with aspects of 'ambition', 'stability extroversion', 'conformism', and 'control/independence', in the consistent context of "women in advertisements" than 'other women'. It is also, notably, these aspects which occur most frequently in feminist criticisms of advertising, and in sex-role stereotype studies. (see Appendix A). In this context, too, it is important to note that, given the concern feminists also have with male dominance, the use of sex-objects in advertising, and liberation generally, within the context of the advertising, sex-role debate, it was only the 'feminist' group in the 'Kelly' study who used constructs relating to these issues. (Cats.10,11,12).

- iii. Given these observations, then, it is notable that in two other categories in which a significantly higher 'feminist' response would be expected on the basis of feminist writings - Category 2 (intellect) and 7 (roles) showed no significant differences in frequency of mention between the two groups. In these categories, at least, it would appear - again if frequency of mention relates to concern - that 'feminist' concern equates with that of 'other women'.

Re-examination of the constructs which make up the broader categories revealed

no proportionate discrepancies in the 'roles' category for the two groups of women in mention of pure domesticity, comparisons between housewife and career women, or in job satisfaction. 'Feminists', however, tended to mention more often (5:2%:1:6%) the cleanliness attached to housework, and concern for it. In the case of 'intellect', while 'other women' made more references to 'experience and culture' orientated constructs (6:2%:9:5%), 'feminists' tended to emphasise more 'intelligence-education' aspects (19:6%:7:4%) and 'politicism' was only mentioned by 'feminists'. The emphasis comparisons between 'experience/culture' constructs and 'intelligence/education' constructs demonstrated a significant difference between the two groups of women ($X^2 = 4.36$ p. < .05).

Thus, emphasis on 'intelligence/education' and 'politicism' emerged as a further 'feminist'-orientated category.

In summary, an analysis of the qualities of the constructs used by the two groups of women showed that 'other women' were more likely to use constructs relating to more concrete aspects of 'reality', 'appearance' and 'life-style'. 'Feminists', were not only significantly more likely to use constructs relating to 'ambition/competence' and 'stability/extroversion', but in combined categories used these and more intangible, behavioural and notably 'sex-role' related types of constructs significantly more than 'other women'. In addition, 'feminists' were significantly more likely to use references to 'intelligence and education' compared to the 'other women's' emphasis on broader 'culture/experience' constructs and it was only 'feminists' who used constructs relating to 'liberation', 'sex objects' and 'sexuality', 'male relationships' and 'politicism'.

If these results are combined with those noted earlier on construct numbers, it would appear that 'feminists' differed from 'other women', not only in their articulacy, but also in the tone and flavour of constructs they used within the context of the 4 elements and 6 triads presented. This is particularly interesting in the context of the advertising, sex-role debate, since all constructs elicited were done so in the context of the 'women in advertisement' element.

3. Constructs and sex-role stereotype studies

Given the overall analysis of construct quality, the emergence of differential emphasis between the two groups of subjects and the commonality of the 'women in advertisements' concept, some comparisons were made of these results with studies which have, in the literature, investigated the 'women in advertisements' concept, and which have frequently made inferences from their results concerning the effect and relevance of such imagery on the 'ordinary' woman. To make this comparison, and to render the construct groups comparable with the 'Kelly study emphasis, the data were further collapsed into 8 categories. These are given in Table 7:4 below.

Table 7:4

Collapsed (Broad) Categories of Construct Type

Categories (reference to:-)

1. Adverts/products	(Categories 14 + all ad't mentions)
2. Roles	(Category 7)
3. Appearance	(Category 1)
4. Life-style/money	(Category 6)
5. Reality/identity	(Categories 8 and 13)
6. Males/sex-objects	(Categories 11 and 12)
7. Stability/extroversion	(Category 9)
8. Sex-role values/behaviour	(Categories 2,3,4, 5 and 10)

N.B. Category-8 is so labelled since all items related closely to those in sex-role stereotype studies (see Appendix A)

Such a comparison is ambitious and, by definition, somewhat crude since there is only a very general comparability between the constructs, their categories and the codes employed by researchers in their studies. Nonetheless, these collapsed categories were felt to be broadly comparable. More detailed analysis would have

been misleading, if not luxurious.

The studies used for this comparison were the 12 advertising, sex-role stereotype studies noted in Chapter 2, Section 2:1. All the codes were pooled using only wider codes rather than the more detailed ones, giving a total pool of 70 codes. Table 7:5, below, gives the frequencies of category mentions for the 'feminist' and 'other women' groups, alongside the frequencies in these categories for the study codes.

Table 7:5

Constructs and advertising, sex-role stereotype study codes by category

<u>Categories</u> (reference to:)	<u>'Feminists'</u>		<u>'Other women'</u>		<u>Total</u> (All subjects)		<u>Studies</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Adverts/products	3	1	2	1	5	1	14	20
2. Roles	21	7	14	8	35	8	18	26
3. Appearance	37	12	36	21	73	16	5	7
4. Life-style/money	30	10	26	16	56	12	11	16
5. Reality/identity	31	10	27	16	58	12	(discussions)	
6. Males/sex objects	19	6	0	0	19	4	13	19
7. Stability/ extroversion	47	16	16	10	63	14	6	9
8. Sex-role values/ behaviour	<u>112</u>	37	<u>47</u>	28	<u>159</u>	34	<u>3</u>	4
<u>Totals</u>	<u>300</u>		<u>168</u>		<u>468</u>		<u>70</u>	

N.B. All percentages rounded

Again, on the assumption that frequency of mention is an indication of concern with constructs and categories, it is notable that only in the instance of the 'life-style/money' category does the researchers' concern tally approximately with that of the women subjects. On the other hand, it would appear that concern in advertising, sex-role stereotype studies with aspects of 'advertisements/products', 'roles' (including occupations) and 'male/sex object' notation, goes against the

direction of concern that women, both grass-roots 'feminists' and 'other women', hold. In fact, the strong emphasis in the studies on 'male/sex-object' notation would even appear to over-emphasise the 'feminist' position.

By contrast, the studies appear to have underestimated the concern that both groups of women have with constructs relating to 'appearance' and, particularly, with 'behaviour', both in terms of 'stability/extroversion' and that which can be described as 'sex-role' related. It was, however, this aspect of 'behaviour' under-emphasis which was noted in Chapter 2 Section 2:1. In that discussion, the under-emphasis was observed in relation to feminist critics' writings, but it is interesting that such an imbalance also compares with 'grass-roots', 'feminist' emphasis and with that of 'other women' too.

Finally, it is notable that although aspects of 'reality' were obviously relevant to both groups of women - 'other women' in particular - only 3 studies in the advertising, sex-role stereotype field chose to discuss the issue of 'reality' in relation to a context similar to that used in the 'Kelly' study, and relevant to the advertising, sex-role debate; that is, in relation to women's self, stereotype and advertisement concepts. Women themselves do not ignore the issue of the 'reality' of imagery in these contexts, and it is therefore questionable why the researchers do, although one reason may be related to the perception of women as 'gullible', as noted in Chapter 1 Section 1:4, that 'ordinary' women take the advertising images seriously; and another that the researchers themselves take the imagery seriously. Either way, it would appear that the issue of 'reality' concerns women, and should concern researchers in this field, an issue which is returned to in more detail in Chapter 9.

Obviously, such comparisons can only draw very general conclusions, particularly in consideration of the nationality of many of the studies, their age and different media emphases, but it would appear that the emphases of researchers in studies relating to the advertising, sex-role debate, and the implied relevance to women's self-concepts only partially compares with the emphases of women themselves.

Finally, in the context of these criticisms, it would be unfair of the writer not to also give some mention of the coding schedule used in Part II of this thesis. The 25 codes used in that schedule were therefore broadly categorised as in Table 7:5 above, and are set out in Table 7:6 below.

Table 7:6
Thesis coding schedule by categories

<u>Categories</u> (reference to:-)	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Adverts/products	7	27
2. Roles	3	12
3. Appearance	5	19
4. Life-style/money	0	0
5. Reality/identity	*	
6. Males/sex-objects	0	0
7. Stability/extroversion	10	40
8. Sex-role values/behaviour)		
<u>Total</u>	25	

* discussed in detail in Chapter 9

N.B. All percentages rounded.

It would appear from this broad analysis that the writer, as with other researchers, has, compared with the results of the Kelly study, over-emphasised the 'advert/product' and 'role' codes. 'Life-style/money' codes are under-emphasised. It would also appear that some codes on direct 'male/relativity' and 'sex-objects' would have been desirable to take in the 'feminist' view, although it should be noted that discussion of both issues was made through cross-code analysis, and advertisement selections, so it was not ignored.

The large emphasis on all types of 'behaviours' and activities in the coding schedule

does, however, appear to reflect more adequately than any other study the emphases given by women themselves, and must therefore be considered a valuable contribution to data in the advertising, sex-role debate generally. The large emphasis on appearance in the coding schedule also appears to have been warranted in respect of what women themselves will emphasise, while it is noted that the issue of 'reality' is a central component of this thesis, returned to in more detail in Chapter 9, and thus also reflects a real emphasis for women.

Overall, however, one important issue must be raised, and that is the question of the overall relevance of the 'sex-role stereotype' debate to women generally. The observations above have all been made on the pooled scores of all female subjects, but it was noted earlier that it was markedly the 'feminist' groups who made the major emphases on 'behaviour', 'males/sex-objects', and other factors central to the advertising sex-role debate, while the 'other women' sample were apparently more concerned with the more prosaic images connected with 'appearance' and 'lifestyle'. Although these latter categories can and do have some relevance in the context of sex-role stereotypes, it is uncertain whether the raising of these issues by 'other women' was done with the sex-role issues in mind. Certainly, as will be noted later in the context of these categories, the 'other women' take a descriptive, more 'everyday' approach to these constructs, while 'feminists' give them a more judgemental, sex-role orientated approach.

It would appear to be important for researchers to consider this issue, since it is evident that the results of the Kelly study for 'other women' contain emphases which do go against those in the more 'sex-role stereotype dominated studies. Quite simply, it must be questioned whether the emphasis on, and the whole issue of sex-role stereotyping in advertising as now researched, is an artifact of researcher/feminist interest, and whether such an interest per se, or the way it is translated into research, adequately reflects the attitudes and priorities of more 'ordinary' women.

This is an issue which occupies the whole of this thesis and will be considered in

depth in Chapter 9 where the results of not only this, but 3 other studies are taken into consideration.

Section 7:2 Detailed observations on triads

In this Section, a more detailed analysis of each triad is made for the two groups of subjects. Inferences are drawn from the data, although it is accepted that such an analysis must, by definition, be more anecdotal and impressionistic than in the previous Section. Table 7:7 below gives the data partialled out for each triad, using grouped categories designed, in this case, to facilitate discussion rather than compare with other studies.

Table 7:7
Construct categories by subject group and triad

<u>Triad</u> <u>Categories</u>	A		B		C		D		E		F		Totals	
	F	OW	F	OW	F	OW	F	OW	F	OW	F	OW	F	OW
1. Appearance	N 8 % 9	6 19	4 11	6 30	6 19	7 21	5 8	3 16	9 16	8 17	5 28	6 33	37	36
2. Intellect	N 12 % 13	7 37	2 5	2 10	0 0	1 3	5 8	2 11	7 12	4 9	1 6	9 0	27	16
*3. Behaviours	N 35 % 37	9 28	22 60	6 30	14 44	10 30	24 39	4 21	18 32	10 22	7 39	3 17	21	42
4. Life-style/ money	N 11 % 12	1 3	3 8	3 15	5 16	11 33	6 10	2 11	5 9	5 11	0 0	4 22	30	26
5. Roles	N 8 % 9	2 6	2 5	0 0	1 3	2 6	7 11	4 21	3 5	2 4	0 0	4 22	21	14
*6. Reality	N 6 % 6	6 19	1 3	2 10	6 19	2 6	4 7	0 0	13 23	16 35	1 6	1 6	31	27
*7. Feminist topics	N 10 % 11	0 0	3 8	0 0	0 0	0 0	4 7	0 0	2 4	0 0	2 11	0 0	21	0
*8. Products/adts	N 4 % 4	1 3	0 0	1 5	0 0	0 0	7 11	4 21	0 0	1 2	2 11	0 0	13	7
<u>Totals</u>	F OW	94 32	37 20	32 33	62 19	57 46	18 18	300 168						

Note 1. 'F' (Feminists) OW (Other Women)

*Note 2. Category 3 is an amalgamation of previous Cats. 3,4,5,10. (Table 7:3), and is considered a strongly 'sex-role related code.

Category 6

Cats. 18,13

Category 7

Cats. 10,11,12

Category 8

14 and refs. to advert persuasion.

Note 3. All percentages rounded

Such re-grouping consolidated the results and gave larger and clearer cell sizes. Where greater detail becomes relevant to the discussion, this is given in each triad discussion.

The main points which emerged from each triad are discussed below. Where necessary to illustrate idiosyncratic references, Table 7:7 above will be referred to. Owing to the unwieldy size of each triad, and the generally large number of constructs, the full list of constructs for each triad are given in Appendix D only. Subject numbers referred to are those given in Appendix D.

Triad A 'You' and 'Your ideal self' -v- 'Women in advertisements'

This first triad was designed to elicit the ways in which the subjects perceived all aspects of themselves to differ from 'women in advertisements'. It was also felt to be an indication of the more 'socialised' responses of the subjects. The following observations are made on the results of this triad, set out in full in Appendix D:1.

1. No 'feminist' subject encountered difficulties in making comparisons between elements. With 3 'other women', however, it was spontaneously remarked that could see no real differences between themselves and 'women in advertisements'.
2. The 'feminist' sample elicited nearly three times as many constructs as the 'other women' sample, and the responses in this triad were the largest numerically for the 'feminist' group, but only the third largest for the 'other women' group, indicating either a greater relevance of, or enthusiasm for this triad among the 'feminist' group.
3. For both groups of women, the overwhelming direction of response was to regard 'women in advertisements' in a negative manner compared to themselves. In this respect, the two groups did not differ. If there was a difference, it was in a notably more extreme or vituperative type of response among the 'feminists', and a less extreme and more moderated one among the 'other women'. (e.g. 'not dumb blondes - dumb blondes' -

('feminists'); 'intelligent' - 'not intelligent' - ('other women')). If a contribution is put on the construct tone, the 'feminist' responses were somewhat more 'energetic'.

4. Evident in the 'feminist' sample was the recurrence of such 'feminist', 'political' phrases, very common in feminist literature and journals, such as 'manipulated', 'conformism', 'norms', 'stereotyped', 'defined by', 'sex symbol', 'identity', phrases which were totally absent from the 'other women' sample who used more prosaic terminology. This suggests either a convention operating in the 'feminist' response or a form of 'on-line' imagery which comes into play with such a triad comparison.
5. In line with the previous observation, it is observed in Table 7:7, that nearly half of all 'feminist topics' - those concerned with 'liberation', 'male relativity' and 'sex objects', which only feminists ever used in the triads - were used in this one triad. There was also a relatively larger 'feminist' emphasis on factors of 'behaviour'. Many of these 'behavioural' references were phrases which were highly redolent of the sex-role stereotype concepts noted in Chapter 4 (listed in Appendix A:3), such as 'passive', 'submissive', 'cannot cope with difficulties', 'less confident', 'unstable' etc, used to describe the 'women in advertisements' concept, and traditionally 'feminine' in tone, while their own self-concepts utilised the stereotype opposites, conventionally used in the 'male' stereotype - 'active', 'extrovert', 'ambitious', 'competent', 'competes on achievement', 'strong' etc. A similar trend was noted in the 'feminist' references to 'role' aspects ('housewife' - 'career-woman').

In addition to this behavioural, 'sex-role stereotype' emphasis, however, it was interesting to observe a form of 'anti-hero' emphasis on money and wealth, which was used more often by 'feminists' than 'other women' and usually referred - often disparagingly - to a better standard of living, more possessions etc. among 'women in advertisements'. (e.g. 'possessions not that

important - materialistic; needs lots of possessions').

6. 'Other women', by contrast, used not only more prosaic phrases, as noted above, but also showed a greater relative emphasis, and in a more descriptive manner, on factors of 'appearance', 'intellect' and, most pointedly, on factors of the 'unreality' of the advertisement image compared to themselves, including its perfection and romanticism.
7. These noted differences apart, however, and despite the greater simple frequency of 'feminist' mentions, both groups demonstrated a similar hierarchy in types of construct mentioned, both groups giving greatest emphasis to factors of 'intellect' and 'behaviour'.

Summary

In this first triad, the generally negative tone associated with 'women in advertisements' compared to self-concepts was common to both groups, although the 'feminist' responses tended to be more frequent, stronger in tone, and more extreme. Feminists tended to use feminist 'political' phrases and those redolent of sex-role stereotypes, which were less, if at all evident in the 'other women' sample, who used more prosaic phrases and showed greater emphasis on factors of 'appearance' 'intellect' and 'reality'.

These factors, combined with the total 'feminist' response and the unwillingness of 3 'other women' to see differences between the emergent and contrast poles, suggest that while the direction of feeling was similar between the two groups, the differences between the two poles were of more interest, or generated more enthusiasm among the 'feminist' group.

2. Triad B 'You' and 'Women in advertisements -v- 'Your ideal self'

This triad was designed to force the ways in which the subjects felt that they could identify with 'women in advertisements', compared to their 'ideal self', considered to be an unrealised and desired state.

The following observations are made on the results of this triad, set out in full in Appendix 0:2.

1. Although all subjects were told that they could give no response if they saw no similarities/differences, it is notable that, despite the range and tone of the 'feminist' responses in the previous triad, where clear and apparently unambiguous ways in which they were unlike 'women in advertisements' were stated, only one 'feminist' refused to respond because she saw 'no similarity' in the emergent pole in Triad B. Only one 'other woman' saw 'no difference' between the poles. This suggests that the 'ideal self' may have had a positive compounding 'effect' on the results of the previous triad, in which case, lower identification, and fewer constructs representing identification would be expected in the next triad.

Nonetheless, despite the fact that most subjects responded, it is notable that the number of constructs reduced for both samples, compared to the previous triad, although, in line with the greater frequency and extremity of 'feminist' response in the previous triad, in this one, the 'feminist' response decreased by two-thirds, and that of 'other women' by only one-third. Since all triads were randomised in subject presentation, this cannot be simply due to a 'rebound' effect after the first triad, and may be a first pointer to a lower 'feminist' identification of 'self' with 'women in advertisements', evidenced by a greater reluctance, or inability to make associations between the two concepts.

2. Another interesting aspect to this set of constructs, however, is the manner in which both samples, in a reversal of the trend in the previous triad, now produced notably negative emergent poles. That is, their real 'self' was compared with 'women in advertisements' in a negative or ordinary manner. The 'ideal selves' by contrast were almost always perceived as the more positive. This result again points to a potentially positive and compounding

effect of the 'ideal selves', which will be supported if the 'ideal self' association with 'women in advertisements' is positive, in the next triad. Alternatively, an interpretation is that the previous triad did produce a totally socialised and 'stereotyped' response to the elements, and this triad forced a more 'honest' response.

3. The second interpretation, that these constructs represented a more 'honest' response, particularly on the part of 'feminists', is supported, however, by the fact that phrases of feminist 'politicism' become much less pronounced and more moderated in Triad B compared to A. It is fascinating, too, to observe that while the emphasis on 'behaviours' among constructs was nearly twice as common among the constructs produced by 'feminists', the tendency now was to see their 'selves' identified with 'women in advertisements' in a singularly, 'female', sex-stereotyped manner, with the 'ideal self' taking on the more extreme 'masculine' notation. ('less intelligent - intelligent', 'dependent on others - independent'), suggesting that for 'feminists', it is the 'ideal self' which carries the weight of 'anti-traditional' attitudes. 'Other women', however, followed a trend noted in the previous triad, and consolidated and increased the relative proportion of constructs relating to 'appearance' and 'life-style', the more tangible types of construct. There was still an emphasis on 'behaviour' but the references to 'appearance' and 'life style' accounted for 45% of their constructs, and 'behaviours' 30%. In comparison, 'feminist' constructs on 'behaviour' accounted for 60% of constructs, and on 'appearance' and 'life-style', 19%. It is also notable, that among the 'other women' references to 'appearance' are evident the very few possible ways in which they see themselves as like 'women in advertisements' - ('like to be beautiful', 'like to attain chic, glamour'). Also, for both groups of women, in a detailed inspection of constructs (Appendix D:2) references to 'happiness' and 'security', that is, more intangible, abstract concepts, were more marked than in the previous triad.

4. Finally, again within the context of contrast with the previous triad, and the issue of identification and honesty, it is surprising how often direct contradictions are noted between the two triads, and particularly in the 'feminist' sample.

For example, only one direct contradiction is noted in the 'other women' sample, when Subject 4 of that group saw her 'selves' different from 'women in advertisements', in the previous triad, in that she had 'less emphasis on physical appearance', but in this second triad she states that in common with 'women in advertisements', she is 'conceited about appearance'.

Such contradictions are more common in the 'feminist' sample. For example, Subject 4 in the 'feminist' group noted that 'she had no need to look attractive' in contrast with 'women in advertisements', but in this triad, in common with 'women in advertisements', she strives to be fashionable and 'wears make-up'. Subject 5 among the 'feminists' observed in the previous triad that she was 'reasonably liberated', and 'women in advertisements' were not, but in this triad, in common with those 'women', she is a 'sex object' and 'appealing to men'. Subject 6 induces a similar contradiction. In the first triad she 'works', but in the second, 'time is dominated by cooking and the home'. Subject 10 in the previous triad was 'not influenced'; 'does not identify with advertisement women', was 'not affected by women in advertisements', but in this second triad she observes, apparently ingenuously, that in common with 'women in advertisements' she is 'influenced by the media' and is 'conditioned and influenced'.

Summary

For both groups of women, most subjects were able to state ways in which they were similar to 'women in advertisements' and this was commonly found to be in a more negative and ordinary manner, in contrast with the more positive 'ideal self'. Nonetheless, both groups perceived fewer ways in which they were like 'women in

advertisements' than unlike them (Triad A). This contrast was, however, less marked for 'other women' and suggests a greater identification of 'self' with 'women in advertisements' than for 'feminists'. It was also notably an 'other woman' subject who directly stated that she 'would like to be like women in adverts'. (Appendix D:2) An interpretation of the tone of the constructs in this triad, compared to the previous one, particularly in the reduction of 'feminist', 'political' phrases and the use of negative, female stereotype-related concepts, suggested a greater 'honesty' among the 'feminist' sample, and again raises the question of whether such responses would have arisen if a more voluntary, element association method had been used in this study. Given the more overt and obvious method of rating which will be used in the semantic differential studies later, it also raises the question of whether such 'honesty' will occur in the results again.

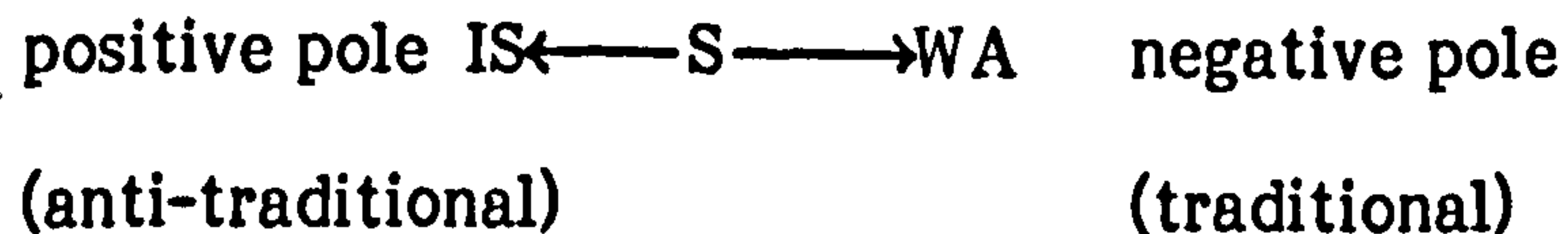
3. Triad C 'Your ideal self' and 'Women in advertisements -v- 'You'

This triad, in comparison with the previous one, was designed to examine in what ways the subject now identified their 'ideal selves' with 'women in advertisements' compared to their 'self' concepts. The following observations are made on the results, set out in full in Appendix D:3.

1. If 'feminists' were prepared to indicate in what ways their 'real' selves were the same as 'women in advertisements', as noted in the previous triad, this willingness did not extend so freely to comparisons of 'ideal self' and 'women in advertisements', let alone to the contrast with 'self'. Five of the ten 'feminist' subjects refused to make any comparisons between the two poles. This factor was not observed for the 'other women' sample, who, in fact, gave more associated constructs with 'ideal self' and 'women in advertisements' than they had with 'self' in the previous triad. Also, while only 3 'feminists' saw more ways in which their 'ideal selves' were like 'women in advertisements', 8 of the 10 'other women' did so, suggesting that for 'other women' the 'ideal self' and 'women in advertisements' concept is not only closer than for 'feminists', but closer than the 'self' and 'women in

advertisements' concepts.

2. For all subjects, however, the 'ideal self' concept compared to that of 'women in advertisements' in a more positive manner, contrasted with 'self', and suggests that, for all women in the study, 'women in advertisements' are seen as an identifying force with the 'real self' in a more negative and mundane manner, and with 'ideal self' in a more positive and 'desirable' manner. This observation, combined with that of the previous point, noting the reluctance of 'feminists' to construe such an association, suggests that the direction of non-identification in Triad A may have been compounded by this 'stronger', 'ideal self' concept, with a greater effect among the 'feminist' group. In short, the results suggest a greater extremity of 'ideal self' compared to 'self', in a more positive direction, from which the advertisement concept is most distanced, and which is most extreme, in terms of distances, in the 'feminist' sample. This is illustrated below:-



3. In terms of construct type, the same general emphasis on 'behaviours' was noted for the 'feminist' group, but, for them, there was the greatest emphasis of all the three triads, on the more tangible 'appearance' 'money/life style' constructs, and on 'reality' notation. In combination, these constructs exceeded relative mention of 'behaviours', and suggest that these are importantly, or are perhaps allowed to be, the main ways in which these 'feminist', 'ideal selves' compare with 'women in advertisements'. Notably too, there were no mentions of 'feminist', 'political' phrases or 'feminist topics'. A similar trend to more 'tangible' constructs was seen in the 'other women' group.

Summary

Members of the 'feminist' sample were less prepared to make comparisons between their 'ideal self' and 'women in advertisements' concepts than 'other women', and the lowest number of constructs, of these three triads was used in this context. For both groups of subjects, 'ideal selves' and 'women in advertisements' were compared in a more positive fashion than 'women in advertisements' and 'self' in the previous triad. The tone of the constructs yielded more tangible, 'appearance'-orientated characteristics, and an emphasis on more neutral, 'happy' and 'secure' behaviours. This occurred for both groups, but the contrast was most evident among the 'feminists', and consolidated a trend witnessed in the previous triad.

4. Triad D 'Women in general' and 'Women in advertisements' -v- 'You'

This triad was designed to investigate the ways in which subjects' 'self' was different from the two female stereotypes - those in advertising and 'in general'. As with Triad A, this comparison was felt to elicit a more socialised stance. The following observations are made on the results of this triad, which are set out in full in Appendix D:4.

1. As in Triad A, the other 'socialised response' triad, there was a large discrepancy between the two groups in the number of constructs elicited. Furthermore, between the two groups, this triad elicited an even greater discrepancy, in that, in this instance, the 'feminist' response frequency was over three times that of 'other women'. Again, too, this discrepancy appeared to result from the lack of difficulty 'feminists' had in establishing differences between the 'stereotype' concepts and themselves, and the greater difficulty of 'other women'.
2. As with Triad A, the terms used by the 'feminists' in describing the 'stereotype' concepts and how they differed from 'self', reintroduced the tendency to feminist 'political' phrases, and 'feminist topics', in a negative-positive direction across the poles. References to female stereotypes,

housewifery, and 'traditional' roles became, again, more common.

One striking tendency in this triad, however, was the marked increase in references to advertisement 'effect' among the 'feminist' group. Since this triad most replicated the elements present in published feminist writings on advertising stereotype effect - the advertising stereotype in relation to 'women in general' with themselves as proponent or external variable - then this increase in reference is interesting, and goes some way to suggesting that such writings, in such a stance, are tapping the same norms or stereotyped responses noted in this triad, and in Triad A. Half of the 'feminist' sample (5 subjects) mentioned advertisement persuasion, representing 7 constructs, 11% of the total. Several of these references made note of the 'stereotypes' gullibility, and although such references were also evident in the 'other women' sample, the 'feminists' used much more absolute concepts to describe how the 'stereotypes' differed from 'them', (e.g. 'not affected so much by adverts' - ('other women'); 'not persuaded', 'not taken in by personalities', 'not influenced by women in advertisements', 'do not try to be like advertisers' ideal woman' - ('feminists')). The 'feminists' who rendered these constructs did not appear to be inhibited by the earlier ways in which they suggested they were similar to 'women in advertisements', and this again points to the strength of a socialised, as opposed to 'honest' stance in the 'socialised' triads, both A and D.

Both groups of women saw the two stereotypes as more negative in relation to themselves, but it should be noted that in the 'other women' sample, as in Triad A, although the general direction of constructs was the same, less extreme and judgemental phrases were used. In fact, several were purely descriptive, with negativism more implied than grossly evident (e.g. 'the masses'; 'talkative'; 'not wear jeans'). In fact, it was occasionally possible to construe a form of 'sympathy' from the tone of the 'other women' constructs, (e.g. 'not very strong', 'similar everyday life-style') and occasionally, a more

positive association ('glamorous'; 'have many possessions'), as well as some negative characteristics among their 'self' concepts., ('less feminine', 'no idea how to cook or sew', 'much quieter', 'not have many possessions at all', 'not glamorous'), results which again support the notion of less distancing for 'other women' from the 'stereotype' concepts than for 'feminists'.

There was also a certain defiance and modification in some of the 'feminist' responses which compared directly with those of 'other women'. For example, while 'other women' saw occasionally somewhat negative ways in which their 'self' differed from the 'stereotypes', and rendered these constructs as simple description, the 'feminist' group appeared to 'get round' this negative possibility in their 'self' comparisons by adopting a judgemental, or perhaps 'political' stance, again in the 'anti-hero' or 'anti-establishment' mode, and used phrases such as 'not concerned with these things', 'not concerned with appearance', 'not concerned with pleasing men', not interested in possessions', 'not influenced by possession'.

Summary

In summary, the impression remains from the constructs elicited in this triad, that 'feminists' see themselves considerably more distanced from both 'women in advertisements' and 'women in general', both in frequencies and manner of differentiation of the constructs. 'Other women' did show a similar direction in distancing themselves generally in a more 'positive' manner, but their constructs were far fewer, the negativism was not as consistent as that in the 'feminist' group, and even could be construed positively, or 'in sympathy' with the 'stereotypes'. The 'feminist' response, as with the other socialised triad, again evoked a return to the feminist 'political' phrases, and 'sex-role stereotype' concepts, and there was a particular emphasis on the gullibility of the 'stereotypes', their chance of being affected or persuaded by advertisements and media, suggesting that it is the context of such a comparison which may induce the stance noted in feminist critical writing.

Finally, there was also a certain seriousness in the 'other women' comparisons, a sympathy, which suggests that the concept of 'women in general' may be more 'real' than for 'feminists', and it is notable that no 'other women' subject raised issues of 'reality' in the context of this triad. It is possible that this greater perceived 'reality' of 'women in general' brings the image closer to 'other women' and their 'self' concept than it does for 'feminists', who appear to view it as consistently evil as 'women in advertisements', a total stereotype.

5. Triad E 'You' and 'Women in general' -v- 'Women in Advertisements'

Triad E was designed to force the same identification that Triad B achieved earlier. The following observations are made of this triad of which the results are set out in full in Appendix D:5.

1. 57 'feminist' constructs and 46 'other women' constructs were elicited in this triad, with no woman in either group not responding, and by shifting to a more comparative number of constructs elicited, demonstrated the same 'about-turn' in emphasis as was witnessed between triads A and B in the earlier comparisons. In short, again, despite the distancing of 'feminists' and 'other women' in the previous triad, both groups were, when forced, able to find ways in which they were like, in this case, 'women in general'.

The nature of the identification, however, worked in a particularly interesting way. In Triads A and B, for example, the movement from the socialised, to the forced comparison stance, led to an identification of 'self' with 'women in advertisements' but in a more 'negative' manner. In Triad E, under discussion, when subjects were asked for ways in which they were like 'women in general', but different from 'women in advertisements', the identifying tone of the emergent pole was positive. For the 'other women' group, this would appear to confirm the impression of the previous triad, that there is a certain 'sympathy' with 'women in general', that they might see this image as more positive than 'women in advertisements', and thus different

allow it to act as a modifier in their responses. In Triad E, the 'outlawing' of the 'women in advertisements' modifier thus allowed the positive responses to emerge.

This interpretation is essentially impressionistic, and it is necessary to consider the results of the semantic differential studies for confirmation of such an inference, for it could also be interpreted, as in Triad B, that a simply more 'honest' response has emerged in this group, which just happens to be in a more positive direction.

Nonetheless, if the suggestion that 'other women' feel a greater identification with 'women in general' than 'women in advertisements' is accepted, this cannot explain the about-turn in the 'feminist' response, for whom it was suggested that the 'women in general' concept was more distanced and negative than the 'women in advertisements' one. One interpretation which might be made, however, is that when associated with another 'stereotype', that of 'women in advertisements', the 'women in general' concept, for the 'feminist' group, took on the characteristics of a 'stereotype' rather than an image of 'ordinary' women. In the forced comparisons of Triad E, in comparison with themselves, the 'women in general' concept took on flesh and blood and 'feminists' were reminded that such women were those they were aiming to represent. This is a cynical interpretation and the results of later studies will add or detract from it.

Nonetheless, both groups of women did see 'women in general' as more 'positive' in relation to themselves, compared to 'women in advertisements'; in the 'feminist' group as being 'likeable', 'loving', 'kind', 'interesting', 'competent', 'practical', 'intelligent' etc. and in the 'other women' group as being 'very competent', 'more respected', 'intelligent' etc. For both groups, too, there were constructs with a strong flavour of 'sympathy' and 'realism'. For example, 'feminists', saw themselves as similar to 'women in general' and different from 'women in advertisements' in terms of 'lots of faults -

perfect', 'day-to-day problems' - no day-to-day problems', 'mundane things - not do mundane things', 'real, natural - not real, do not exist'. This was also seen in the 'other women' sample, in terms of 'comfortable - thin', 'ordinary homes - perfect homes', 'have flaws - flawless, glossy', 'more common/true to life - less common and true to life', 'real, are what they appear - not always what they appear'. However, in support of earlier arguments, it is notable, 'about-turn' of both groups notwithstanding, it was the 'other women' group who more than doubled their constructs compared to the previous triad, suggesting, again, greater identification with 'women in general' than differentiation, while the 'feminist' group slightly reduced their number of evoked constructs. It was also the 'other women' group who were more likely to raise issues of the 'unreality' of 'women in advertisements' compared to 'women in general' and their 'self' (see Table 7:7).

Summary

For both groups of women, there was a tendency to see themselves as similar to 'women in general' in a positive and 'sympathetic' light in contrast to 'women in advertisements', whom they perceived more negatively and, although concepts of 'unreality' were raised more by 'other women', as notably 'unreal'. This swing in response was pronounced compared to the previous triad, among the 'feminists', although 'other women' showed evidence of greater identification, in the shift in construct numbers.

The results of Triads D and E were compared, and some interpretations placed on the contrasting results, in which it was implied that the results confirmed a greater identification for 'women in general' than 'women in advertisements' for 'feminists' and 'other women's 'self' concepts, and that the interpretation in the previous triad of a distancing of 'women in general' further from 'women in advertisements' for 'feminists' was not rebutted by the evidence of this triad, but indicated a possible change in concept perception.

6. Triad F 'You' and 'Women in advertisements' -v- 'Women in general'

This triad was designed to reverse the associations of the previous triad. The following observations are made on the results, which are set out in full in Appendix D:6.

1. This triad was perhaps the most confusing to interpret, particularly for the 'feminist' group. It appeared to be a combination of the traits of apparent identification with 'women in advertisements', noted in Triad B, and a certain hostility towards 'women in general', noted in Triad D. The emergent pole for 'feminists', for example, contained some strong trend of identification, even that which may be called 'positive', while the 'women in general' or contrast pole was generally 'negative'. (e.g. 'more ambitious-less ambitious'; 'more glamorous, and sophisticated -less glamorous, sophisticated'; 'more attractive - less attractive'; 'independent - dependent'; 'success with men - less success with men (!)').

Perhaps one interpretation which may be put on this triad result is a suggestion that the 'feminist' hostility to the 'women in general' concept has over-ridden their hostility to the 'women in advertisements' concept, or that there is, perhaps, in denotative terms, more to identify with in the latter than the former concept. Such a result might also be symptomatic of the evident 'feminist' hostility to 'women in general' noted as 'coming through' the feminist critical writings in Chapter 1, Section 1:4.

If there is such a 'feminist' hostility to the 'women in general' concept, however, then this again compares with a more modulated response from the 'other women' group, who did not demonstrate the marked negativism seen in the 'feminist' group. Among other women the 'contrast' pole comprised a range of more simple and modulated descriptive terms. For example, while the contrast pole of the 'feminist' group described 'women in general' as comparatively 'mundane', 'dependent', 'critical, bitchy to other women' (!),

'less ambitious', 'less successful with men', the 'other women' group employed terms such as, 'honest about who they are', 'older', 'wider range of age groups', 'obvious physical advantages', 'have children', 'routine life-style', terms which also included, as was noted in the previous triad, a certain 'sympathy', lacking in the 'feminist' sample; for example, 'busy, slow, tiring life', 'put up with being a housewife', 'ordinary, semi-suburban house'.

In short, the overall trend of these results again suggests that 'other women' have a more 'positive' view of the 'women in general' concept than do 'feminists'.

2. Overall, however, both groups of women obviously had difficulties in eliciting constructs for this triad. For both groups of women the lowest number of constructs per triad was evoked, and 5 women in each group refused to make any observations. Each group of women only evoked 18 constructs. It is difficult to interpret why the difficulty arose. One reason could be that the two 'stereotype' concepts were too similar, but this did not hinder comparisons in the previous triad. Perhaps it may be that both groups of women found it easier to identify with 'women in general' than with 'women in advertisements', the tone of the constructs elicited by the two comparisons notwithstanding.

3. It appears, however, that when subjects do have difficulty in making associations between elements, then there is a tendency to revert to constructs based on more 'appearance', or mechanical characteristics. This trend was also observed in the comparatively low construct numbers in Triad

C.

Summary

This triad was difficult to interpret, and appeared to be a combination of trends witnessed in Triads B and D. Nonetheless, it was observed that the results could be interpreted as a continuation of the 'feminist' hostility towards the 'women in

general' concept, a result supported by the lack of such a clear trend among 'other women', who in other contexts have not demonstrated this 'feminist' hostility. It was also suggested, however, that 'self' for both groups of women may identify more easily with 'women in general' than 'women in advertisements'.

Summary of Triads A to F

The observations on the 6 triads, individually, have been noted and summarised above. These triads through different contexts, or sets of comparisons, investigated the denotative and contextual meaning of the 4 concepts 'self', 'ideal self', 'women in advertisements' and 'women in general'.

The following summarised observations may be made on these 6 triads:-

1. Two triads (A and D) were assumed to measure the more 'socialised' responses of subjects, and in both of these instances there were straight comparisons of 'self' and 'stereotype' concepts. In both instances, the 'feminist' group produced about 3 times as many constructs as did the 'other women' sample. The 'feminist' group also tended to use more 'political' and 'sex-role stereotype' construct types, and employed a more forceful tone. Both these triads were assumed to replicate the context of criticisms which have been evoked in the advertising, sex-role debate and, thus, it was suggested that the number, type and tone of response of these triads, and the 'feminist' contribution to the debate, were comparable. It would appear that the context of the elements 'women in advertisements' and/or 'women in general' when placed in a straight comparison with the 'self' concept produces this form of 'on-line', or almost 'stereotyped' response among the 'feminist' group, and it was suggested that it is this very context which may contribute to the tones of feminist critiques in the advertising, sex-role debate. This interpretation is also supported by the use in Triad D (that which perhaps most nearly replicates the conditions of the debate) of the most frequent mentions by 'feminists' of the characteristics of 'effect' and 'gullibility'.

By contrast, this trend was not observed in the 'other women' group who, first, did not use the same common 'political' phrases, references to 'effect' and 'gullibility', and second, employed fewer constructs and a more modulated tone in them. Although the general tone of the two groups of subjects was comparable in both triads suggesting that the two groups of women had some attitudes in common, the overall results suggested that the 'feminists' did emerge as more extreme and 'extraordinary' in their overall attitudes, attitudes which were distanced by this vituperation and frequency of response from 'other women'.

2. The 'women in advertisements' concept appeared to have a split factor of identification from a 'denotative' viewpoint. For both groups of women, this concept appeared to identify with 'self' in a more mundane and even 'negative' manner, but with 'ideal self' in a more 'positive' manner, also typified by a greater use of constructs relating to 'appearance', 'life-style' and abstract characteristics such as 'happiness' and 'security'.
3. The concepts of 'women in advertisements' appeared to be a stronger identifying force for 'other women's' 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts than for 'feminists', an observation which may be related to the greater extremity of 'feminist' views. For 'other women', the 'ideal self' concept appeared to be closer to the 'women in advertisements' concept, than the 'self' concept was, and closer than for the 'feminist' group.
4. The 'women in general' concept appeared to be closer to the 'self' concept of 'other women' than the 'feminist' group, who evidenced an apparent hostility to this concept, notably when it was used in the context of the 'women in the advertisements' concept. It was also suggested, however, that it was the 'stereotype' notion of 'women in general' which produced the 'feminist' hostility, and that when it was placed in a context with 'self', then it was forced into a more 'flesh and blood' concept, in which case the 'feminists'

more closely approximated the attitudes of 'other women' in seeing 'women in general' more positively and 'sympathetically'.

5. Some question was made of the 'honesty' in responses of subjects, particularly the 'feminist' group. It was suggested that when 'feminists' were not drawing comparisons in the 'socialised' contexts, that is, those which replicate the advertising, sex-role debate, then the responses compared more closely with those of 'other women', and were more prepared to show some 'negative' or even 'traditional' sex-role aspects. It was, therefore, suggested that 'feminist' responses might be more polemical than real in the 'socialised' context; that in a more 'real' or 'personal' context, 'feminists', in fact, identify with 'stereotype' concepts, in particular that of 'women in advertisements', as much as and in a similar way to, 'other women'.

Overall, however, what is interesting about these results is the obvious similarity which existed between the two groups of women in the general tones of the triads; a similarity which ended in the greater extremity, and apparently more entrenched and idiosyncratic views of the 'feminist' group.

Kelly Study - Summary and conclusions

Two broad strands of data emerged from the 'Kelly' study. In Section 7:1 the data analysis, on a more numerical basis, over all 6 triads, demonstrated that although both groups of women generally used all types of constructs, the 'feminist' group were then significantly more likely to use constructs centred on the more 'behavioural' and 'sex-role' related characteristics; a trend crystallised in the exclusive use by 'feminists' of constructs relating to 'male relationships', 'sex-objects', 'liberation' and 'politicism'. While 'other women' did not avoid mention of the 'behavioural' aspects, they used them significantly less often than 'feminists' and, by contrast, used significantly more of the concrete 'appearance' and 'life-style' based characteristics. Although discussion of these results in the context of sex-role stereotype studies was useful in suggesting that those studies were

somewhat off the mark in relation to women's 'real' perceptions, the results perhaps had most importance in suggesting important ways in which 'feminists' differed from 'other women', and these were in the denotative meaning of the elements presented and in the articulacy of response.

In Section 7:2, in the more detailed analysis of triads, again a certain similarity in general tone and direction of response was observed for the two groups of women, although the specific 'flavour' of the constructs was re-emphasised for both groups. The more extreme 'feminist' response was also observed, which, it was postulated, may have contributed to the greater 'feminist' distancing, forcefulness and vituperation in certain triads.

The results of Section 7:2, however, were also useful in suggesting that it may be the context of the concepts assumed in the advertising, sex-role debate which produce much of the type and direction of 'feminist' response, notably a particular on-line and almost 'stereotyped' reaction which, out of that particular context, reduced in tone and direction.

All these observations will be returned to in discussions of results in later studies, and particularly in Chapter 9. At this stage, however, the results of the 'Kelly' study may be regarded as useful in drawing up some first informal hypotheses which are principally that:-

1. there are no differences between 'feminists' and 'other women' in the general direction and pattern of their perceptions of the 4 concepts 'self', 'ideal self', 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements'.
2. 'feminists', however, tend to show greater extremity in their ratings of these concepts than 'other women'.
3. 'feminists', therefore, tend to show greater distances in comparisons of both self-concepts with those of 'women in advertisements' and 'women in general'.
4. 'other women' show a more positive concept of 'women in

advertisements' and 'women in general' than 'feminists'.

5. 'feminists' differ in the concept comparisons with 'other women' in ways that reflect their greater concern with certain 'sex-role' related, 'political' and 'masculine' behaviours, as well as issues of 'liberation', 'politicism' and 'male relationships'. By converse, 'other women' differ from 'feminists' in a more positive concern with aspects of 'appearance' and 'life-style' orientated characteristics.

These hypotheses, and others related to points raised in Chapter 2, Section 2:5, concerning the characteristics of the non-feminist, but 'anti-traditional' women, are investigated through the studies in Chapter 8.

Before leaving this Chapter, however, one final area needs to be noted, and that concerns the other aim of the Kelly study, notably, the derivation of items for the semantic differential form which was to be used for studies noted in Chapter 8.

This will be discussed in Section 7:3 below.

Section 7:3 Derivation of semantic differential items

The denotative aspects of this study, which was one of its aims, has been discussed above. The second aim of this study, however, was to derive items which would form a semantic differential format for the questionnaire studies. Some broad details on how the form was derived will now be noted.

A total of 468 constructs were elicited from the 20 female subjects, which presented, on first inspection, a daunting problem of selection. The items were reduced to the final list by a sequential process of attrition.

First, the list was reduced by eliminating all repetition of constructs. For example, the construct referring to 'intelligence' was a common one.

Second, the constructs were grouped into broad areas of 'behaviour', 'appearance', physical 'life-style' aspects as noted earlier. Within these groups - which were arbitrary and simply based on how the data naturally 'fell' - obvious euphemisms for

the same tone of construct were arranged into more detailed groups. For example, 'less appearance conscious', les 'concerned with appearance', were considered to be qualitatively similar. Care, however, was taken to ensure that the flavour of bipolarity was maintained. For example, in the issue of housewifery, two distinct types of bi-polar items were found concerning, respectively, the quality of housewifery ('good - bad') and an opposite comparison with 'career woman'. The elimination of euphemisms and overlaps served to provide the major means of item reduction.

The list, however, was still felt to be too long - containing over 100 items - so the third method of elimination used was to give greater complexity to certain items, by grouping similar concepts. For example, the concepts of beauty and glamour were evoked from several adjectives, and these were combined into one more complex item, referring to 'very plain, homely - very beautiful, seductive glamorous'. Finally, totally idiosyncratic constructs, used by only 1 or 2 subjects, were eliminated. For example, 'live at home - have own accommodation' was noted by only one subject and was excluded.

The final list was now represented by 65 items which was felt to be long, but further attrition was felt to question the validity of the overall tone and range of the constructs.

A randomisation of poles was then made, so that there was no consistency of direction between either 'negative' or 'positive' aspects - since not only would such a factor increase the possibility of 'positive response set', but random direction had been observed between and within the construct triads.

The final list of the 65 items is set out in Appendix E. Overall, inspection of the final list was felt not only to give an equal representation of the 'feminist' and 'other women' constructs - a fact which was not overtly difficult because despite differences in tone, the quality of constructs was often similar, with the 'feminist' group merely reiterating and using a greater frequency of many constructs, but also

to give a good estimate of the overt and covert distal variables.

The emphases on frequency in the final list was also felt to give a good representative sample of the most common constructs.

One final point should be made, which has been noted and assumed in discussion of the 'Kelly results, but which is particularly relevant in the context of later inferences to be made from the semantic differential, individual items.

It was evident, not only in the construct selection, but also in the final item derivation, that many of the items clearly related to aspects of the stereotypes and concepts of 'masculinity-femininity' and 'sex-roles', noted in earlier chapters of this thesis. Obviously, the derivation of such items may have been prompted by the context of the elements presented, but it is notable, for example, how certain of the items referred clearly to the types of 'sex-role stereotype' and 'sex-role behaviour' found in studies investigating these concepts. The results of these studies have been discussed in Chapter 4, and are detailed in Appendix A. Comparison of the semantic differential items and the results of the sex-role stereotype characteristics show a marked similarity in many cases, while implications of such a quality may be made from certain of the 'role concepts' in the semantic differential items. Thus, items referring, for example, to good/bad housewifery, housewife/career woman, dominant/passive, aggression etc, will be taken as referring to relatively 'traditional' and 'non-traditional', 'masculine/feminine' orientations in later discussion.

CHAPTER 8

Questionnaire studies - 1, 2 and 3

Chapter 8

Questionnaire studies - 1, 2 and 3

The main thrust of the studies in Part III of this thesis was to investigate the perceptions of the main parties to the advertising, sex-role debate; to aid inference from data on sex-role stereotypes in media.

It was shown in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 that many of the factors which characterised the main debate were also present in the more particular one concerning women's magazine advertisements. It was, therefore, construed that data on the general aspects of 'self', 'ideal self', 'women in general' and the general concept of 'women in advertisements' would be relevant to both the more general and the specific debates. Data on 'feminist', 'other women' and 'high-scoring' women's perceptions could also aid inference, not only from women's magazine data, but also all aspects of advertising in which 'sex-role stereotyping' was the main concern.

The previous chapter has outlined the results of a study designed to investigate the denotative aspects of the main, relevant concepts, and certain conclusions and informal hypotheses were drawn from the 'feminist' and 'other women' stances. In this Chapter, the semantic differential scale derived from that study, and its application to four groups of women through the Questionnaire Studies 1 and 2 are discussed, in addition to some data from 'advertisers'.

It was accepted that it was the four central concepts of 'women in advertisements', 'self', 'ideal self' and 'women in general' which were of main importance, since these concepts were common to all aspects of the advertising, sex-role debate, in which the one on women's magazine advertising was centralised. The results on these four concepts form the main part of the discussion from Sections 8:2 to 8:9. In Study 1, however, more particular investigation was also made of the concept of 'women in women's magazine advertisements', and discussion of the results on this concept are made in Section 8:1.

Section 8:1 Women in women's magazine advertisements

In addition to the four generalised concepts noted above, in Study 1 the concept of 'women in women's magazine advertisements' was rated by subjects. The first study included 'feminist' and 'other women' ratings of the five concepts and, as such, the measurement of these five concepts was relevant to not only the general advertising sex-role debate, but also replicated the arguments and context of the debate centralising on women's magazine advertising. While reportage of the data on the four main concepts will form the basis of the remainder of this Chapter, that on the women's magazine perceptions will be discussed in this Section. For reference to data analysis see Chapter 6, Section 6:2.

(i) Osgood 'D' matrix on the five concepts

The continuous 5X5 'D' matrix for 'feminists' and 'other women' was calculated for the five concepts measured in Study 1, and the results are given in Table 8:1 below. For the sake of brevity, the notation IS, S, WG, WA, WMA is used here, and throughout Chapter 8, to represent the concepts of 'ideal self', 'self', 'women in general', 'women in advertisements (generally)' and 'women in women's magazines advertisements', respectively.

The broad results of this matrix are discussed in more detail in the next section. What was relevant to the particular issue of women's magazine advertising, was the observation from this matrix that the smallest 'D' statistics for both groups of women lay in the whole-scale comparisons of the two advertisement concepts. Although the 'feminist' results showed a larger difference than those of the 'other women' sample (a factor observed in all results: see Section 8:2) it appeared from these results that both groups of women perceived few differences between 'women in women's magazine advertisements' and 'women in advertisements (generally)'.

Table 8:1

Study 1: Osgood 'D' Matrix for the five concepts

	IS	S	WG	WA	WMA
<u>'Feminists'</u>					
IS		7.96	20.27	23.24	21.38
S			15.92	21.00	19.30
WG				11.59	13.85
WA					6.71
WMA					
<u>'Other women'</u>					
IS		7.67	14.00	11.41	10.20
S			11.94	8.81	10.20
WG				7.60	8.26
WA					3.31
WMA					

This similarity in ratings was also reflected in the continuous comparisons between the advertisement concepts and 'self', 'ideal self' and 'women in general'. In fact, there was no discrepancy in 'D' values of more than 2.26 between the inter-concept comparisons featuring the advertisement concepts, a difference which represented an average item discrepancy of about .10.

(ii) Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient - matrix results

The 'D' matrix gave a useful estimate of the overall differences which existed between the two concepts for the two groups of women in this study.

The Spearman (r_s) statistic, however, was employed to give a measure of association between each continuous pair of concepts. These r_s values with appropriate significance levels (s) are given in Table 8:2 below.

Table 8:2
Study 1: Spearman r_s value matrix for the five concepts

'Feminists'	IS	S	WG	WA	WMA
IS r_s		.82	-.54	-.48	-.35
S		.001	.001	.001	.005
S r_s			-.38	-.62	-.52
S			.001	.001	.001
WG r_s				.53	.26
S				.001	.05
WA r_s					.86
S					.001

'Other Women'	IS	S	WG	WA	WMA
IS r_s		.58	-.28	.18	.28
S		.001	.01	.10	.01
S r_s			.19	.09	.04
S			.10	NS	NS
WG r_s				.36	.14
S				.001	NS
WA r_s					.91
S					.001
WMA					

s : significance level

Again, the broad results of this matrix are discussed in detail in the next section, but of concern here are, again, the results comparing the two advertisement concepts. In support of the low 'D' statistics noted in Table 8:1, for both groups of women the perceptual ratings of the two concepts - 'women in women's magazine advertisements' and 'women in advertisements (generally)', showed, for both groups of women, a positive, significant and the highest correlation of all comparisons. As in the previous matrix, this was shown most strongly in the case of the 'other women' sample. Again, too, the broad interconcept comparisons featuring the advertisement concepts showed similar correlation coefficients, direction and significance levels.

The overall conclusion from these two matrices was, therefore, that both groups of women appeared to see little distinction between the two advertisement concepts. It would appear that there was a general stereotype of 'women in advertisements' which did not differ overtly in the more specific concept of women's magazine advertisements.

In this respect, the trend was most noticeable among the 'other women' sample. If there was a slight exception from this trend, however, it was in the 'women in general' comparisons with the advertisement concepts. This is noted and will be returned to in the discussion in Chapter 9.

(iii) 't' tests on item data

't' tests were performed comparing the two groups of women for all items in each of the five concepts. To further investigate the similarity between the advertisement concepts, however, those performed on the 'women in advertisements (generally)' and 'women in women's magazine advertisements' items are reported here.

The previous analysis had demonstrated that there appeared to be little perceived difference between the two advertisement concepts within the two groups of

women. This second analysis was designed to investigate the extent to which differences between the two groups of women for the two advertisement concepts also might show a similarity. If, for example, the range of significant and non-significant differences between the two groups of women were similar for both concepts then it would suggest that the two advertisement concepts were also inherently similar in differentiating the two groups of women.

Table 8:3 (below) lists, first, the significant differences between the two groups of women which were common to both the 'women in advertisements' (WA) and the 'women in women's magazine advertisements' (WMA) concepts. Details of 't' values and significance levels are given in Appendix F:2.

Table 8:3
Common, between group significant difference in
items for the two advertisement concepts (Study 1)

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Tone</u>	<u>WA</u> <u>Signif.</u>	<u>WMA</u> <u>levels</u>
3	dominance	***	***
4	independence	***	*
5	human/perfect	**	***
28	persuaded by ads.	*	*
29	sex-typed work	*	**
32	compete with men	***	***
36	male relationship	***	**
38	aggression	*	*
39	liberation	***	**
42	I like her	**	**
45	strong/weak	***	**
51	politicism	**	**
56	male/female dependence	**	**

*** p. < .001
** p. < .01
* p. < .05

For these 13 items, the perceptions of both advertisement concepts was seen as significantly different by 'feminists' and 'other women'. In this respect, it would appear that the 'women in women's magazine advertisements' perceptions were not distinguished from the wider advertisement concept in between-group comparisons. More important, however, was the consistency in direction of responses between the two groups of women. For both concepts, in each item, it was the 'other women' who tended to score in a more neutral or, in certain cases (e.g. items 4, 32) positive direction into the opposite pole concept. This, however, as a trend is discussed in more detail in the next section, because it was a factor strikingly common to all differences in the two groups' ratings. What is relevant here, is that the between-group rating of 'women in women's magazine advertisements' showed no difference to that of 'women in advertisements (generally)' in certain significant differences, and in the tone and direction of those differences. (For inspection of the visual analysis, see the semantic differential profiles in Appendices G:4 and G:5).

If certain items were found to be common in terms of significant differences between the two groups of women for the two concepts, this was also seen in items which showed no significant differences. For both advertisement concepts, no significant differences between the two groups of women were found in items listed in Table 8:4. Details of 't' values are given in Appendix F:2.

Table 8:4

Common, between-group non-significant differences in items for the two advertisement concepts (Study 1)

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Tone</u>
1	talkative/quiet
6	happy/unhappy
8	education
9	n (children)
10	social life
12	n (possessions)
13	intelligence
16	culture
17	competence
18	life-style
20	rich/poor
22	trusting/suspicious
24	make-up
26	basic/luxury products
31	good/bad buyer
37	hard/easy life
40	emotionality
44	success with men
47	plain/beautiful
48	respect
49	problems
52	young/old
54	job satisfaction
55	basic/luxury home
57	friendliness
60	husband/wife at work
61	stability
63	sexy/not sexy

For both groups of women, for both concepts, there was no disagreement in the relative assessment of 'women in advertisements (generally)' or 'women in women's magazine advertisements' for 28 items. Taking the results of Tables 8:3 and 8:4 it was then evident that the rating of the two advertisement concepts showed marked similarity, both in the differences and the similarities perceived by the two groups of women. This agreement in differentiation and similarity was observed in 41 items, that is 63% of the total. This result confirmed observations earlier, that there appeared to be a generalised 'advertisement' concept which was reflected in both the rating of 'women in advertisements (generally)' and 'women in women's magazine advertisements' particularly. It was also observed by inspection of the

profiles for the two groups of women over the two concepts, (see Appendix G), that the broad direction of tone for the assessments was markedly similar.

Of the remaining 23 items, 16 showed differences between the groups in the 'women in advertisements' concept only. The implication of this result was that the 'women in advertisements (generally)' concept was a more valid discriminator of the two groups of women, who were more likely to agree in rating assessments of the 'magazine' concept. In all, there were 44 items (68%) of the scale items in the 'magazine' concept in which the responses of 'feminists' and 'other women' were not significantly different, and 38 items (58%) in the general advertisement concept. This result was obviously of inherent interest in the context of the advertising, sex-role debate and will be returned to and discussed in Chapter 9.

Finally, therefore, it was only in 8 items that the 'feminist' and 'other women' ratings of 'women in women's magazine advertisements' were significantly and idiosyncratically different from the 'women in advertisements (generally)' concept. These items are listed in Table 8:5 below, and are grouped by 'tone'. The relevant 't' values and significance levels are detailed in Appendix F:2.

Table 8:5

**'Women in women's magazine advertisements':
idiosyncratic item differences (Study 1)**

	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Tone</u>	<u>Significance Levels</u>
	27	smart/scruffy	**
(1)	19	need to be attractive	*
	34	rely on looks	*
	11	thin/fat	**
	53	femininity/masculinity	**
	46	possible	***
(2)	7	ideal/real	***
	64	reality	*

*** p. < .001

** p. < .01

* p. < .05

While both groups of women again scored in the same general direction on these items, it was the 'feminist' group which was the more extreme. Significantly more than 'other women' they saw 'women in women's magazine advertisements' as 'feminine,' 'smart,' 'thin,' 'reliant on looks' and 'needing to be attractive'. Feminists also perceived these advertisement women as more 'impossible and unattainable,' 'idealistic and romantic' and as more 'unreal, not true to life'.

This simple distribution of differences into two main groups, dealing with 'appearance' and 'reality', were particularly interesting and will be returned to in the discussion of results in Chapter 9.

Summary of results (Section 8:1)

The first data analysis of the results in Study 1, concerned principally with women's magazine advertisements, gave rise to the following observations.

- (i) There appeared to be an overall conceptual similarity for both groups of women between 'women in advertisements (generally)' and the more particular 'women in women's magazine advertisements'. This was supported by the data on 'D' statistics, by a high and positive set of correlations for the two concepts for both groups and a detailed analysis of the 't' tests on item data which demonstrated that common differences and similarities existed for the two concepts in 63% of the items.
- (ii) The 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concept showed a similarity in rating for the two groups of women.
- (iii) The relationships between the two advertisement concepts and other concepts measured were broadly comparable, except for the 'women in general' and advertisement concept comparisons, which were noted and will be discussed later.

The main importance of these results, however, was to question the relevance of using a particularised 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concept in the larger Study 2. Not only did the results of Study 1 suggest that this concept was largely a repetition and reformulation of the perceptions inherent in the broader 'women in advertisements (generally)' concept, but it appeared that this factor was most notable in the 'other women' sample. Since Study 2 was more concerned with these 'other women' then there was additional support for regarding the measurement of such a concept as gratuitous.

In addition, it was found in Study 1 that the questionnaire was over-long. Elimination of this rated concept would shorten it. (For other observations on this point, see Chapter 6, Section 6:2).

It is accepted, however, that the specific observations on 'women in women's magazine advertisements' remained relevant to the inferences which would be made in Chapter 9 from the results of the content analysis of women's magazine advertisements, reported in Chapter 5. They were also relevant to the understanding of the feminist stance in the advertising, sex-role debate centralised on women's magazines, since the subjects in Study 1 comprised such 'feminists'.

Fundamentally, however, given both that the general 'women in advertisements' concept appeared to be a better discriminator of the different groups of women than the more particular 'magazine' concept, and that the wider concept also remained important and relevant in the resolution of issues in the broader advertising, sex-role debate, then the more detailed investigation of the general concept appeared to be more justified and methodologically 'streamlined' than a concentration on, or investigative repetition of, the particular 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concept.

Thus, the 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concept was excluded from the Study 2 questionnaire, so that four concepts remained which were common to both Studies 1 and 2, - 'women in advertisements (generally)', 'women in general', 'ideal self' and 'self'. It was upon these four concepts that the bulk of data analysis

was made, and since they were common and comparative between the two studies, the next three sections of this Chapter discuss the results and implications of these four concepts in tandem.

Section 8:2 Concept comparisons between subject groups

The results of the 'Kelly' study indicated that although the 'feminists' differed from 'other women' in the apparent extremity of their responses in triads, there was a notable similarity between the two groups of women in the general pattern and direction of concept perceptions - namely of 'ideal self', 'self', 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements (generally)'. Observations on studies related to this issue in Chapter 2 suggested, however, that such differences might be more evident between 'political feminists' - those used in the 'Kelly' study and Questionnaire Study 1, - than between simply 'high-scoring' or non-traditional women those used in Study 2 - in comparisons with 'other women'.

From these observations and results, and as a first investigation of Study 1 and 2 data, two main hypothesis were formed concerning straight, whole-scale concept comparisons between the two groups of Studies 1 and 2.

These were:-

H1: there are no differences in the general direction and pattern of the two groups of women in the four concepts, 'ideal self', 'self', 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements (generally)'.

H2: 'feminists' demonstrate a more extreme distance between concepts, compared to 'other women', than 'high-scoring' women, compared to 'other women'.

To test these hypotheses, two forms of analysis were performed on the whole-scale comparisons. The Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient (r_s) was used to test overall similarity, or the measure of association between the concepts, and the 'Osgood' 'D' statistic was used to test overall differences. All details on calculations and statistics are given in Chapter 6, Section 6:2. Mean item scale scores for each concept, in each study, are given in Appendix F:1.

Table 8:6 below, details the results of the two sets of statistics for the two studies.

Table 8:6
Concept 'D' and r_s values for Studies 1 and 2

	<u>Study 1</u>			<u>Study 2</u>		
	<u>'D'</u>	<u>r_s</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>	<u>'D'</u>	<u>r_s</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
Ideal self	7.36	.82	.001	3.68	.93	.001
Self	7.67	.59	.001	3.57	.77	.001
Women in general	5.21	.92	.001	2.88	.95	.001
Women in adverts	8.17	.84	.001	2.92	.95	.001

Summary of results (Table 8:6)

1. The results in Table 8:6 gave strong support to the first hypothesis. In both studies, the measure of association between 'other women', and 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women respectively, as witnessed by the high and significant r_s values, was strong. In short, the sex-role orientation of women did not affect the general direction of perceptions of the four concepts.
2. The results also gave support for the second hypothesis; that greater differences between the whole-scale ratings are observed in the 'feminist'/ 'other women' comparisons of Study 1. The 'D' statistics in Study 1 were observably up to twice as high as those in Study 2. The 'Wilcoxon Matched Pairs Sign' test was applied to the 'D' values of the two studies. Those in Study 1 were significantly larger than those in Study 2. ($T = 0$ $p < .01$).

Two other points of interest could be noted in these results:-

1. For both groups, the smallest 'D' value and highest correlation were found for the 'women in general', that is, the 'female stereotype' concept. To a large extent this result supported those in other sex-role stereotype studies, noted in Chapter 4, that the sex-role stereotype is a common and pervasive one.

2. In Study 1, the largest 'D' value concerned the 'women in advertisements' concept, while in Study 2, this represented the smallest 'D' value. 'D' values are only anecdotal and relative when used alone, but this result did suggest greater disagreement over the advertisement concept between 'feminists' and 'other women', than 'high-scoring' and 'other women'.

In summary, the results in this Section, gave support to the hypothesis that women of different sex-role orientations do not differ in the general pattern of concept perceptions, but that 'feminists' differ significantly more in the extremity of these perceptions than do 'high-scoring' women from 'other women'.

There was also most agreement, in the results of the two studies, for the 'women in general' concept, and least for the 'women in advertisements' concept.

Section 8:3 Within concept comparisons

Given the observations in the previous section, and the confirmation of the hypothesis concerning relative differences of concept scoring in the two studies, inter-concept comparisons were made in which the three primary hypotheses were:-

H1: there are greater differences between concepts for 'feminists' than for 'other women'.

H2: there are greater differences between concepts for 'high-scoring' women than for 'other women'.

H3: the size of differences between groups is greater in Study 1, that is, 'feminists' differ from 'other women' more than 'high-scoring' women from 'other women'.

To investigate these hypotheses, two forms of analyses were used. First, a conventional Osgood 'D' matrix was drawn up to investigate the relative sizes and directions of differences between concepts, for each group, in each of the two studies. Second, Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficients were performed on each continuous comparison to test the overall degree of association.

Each study is discussed individually, and the results of the two studies are then compared.

1. Study 1

Tables 8:7 and 8:8, give the 'D' and 'r_s' matrices for the four concepts for 'feminists' and 'other women' in Study 1.

Summary of results (Tables 8:7 and 8:8)

1. The results of Table 8:7 confirmed the first hypothesis, that the differences between concepts were higher for the 'feminist' group than for the 'other women' group. Observably, the 'D' statistics were up to twice as high in the 'feminist' group, and application of the 'Wilcoxon Matched Pairs' sign test to the continuous 'D' values of the two groups showed that this difference was significant ($Z = 2.2014$ $p < .01$).

2. The results of Table 8:8 demonstrated that these differences in inter-concept comparisons represented different qualities of association for the two groups. The four major 'D' values in the two subject groups, those represented by IS/WG, IS/WA, S/WG and S/WA, were, in the 'feminist' sample, so strongly apposite that there was a high and negative correlation between the concepts. That is, the 'ideal self' and 'self' concepts were rated in a completely opposite direction to 'women in advertisements' and 'women in general' respectively.

With the 'other women' sample, only the IS/WG comparison yielded this directional result, and with a relatively low correlation coefficient. The other matrix scores among the four comparisons under discussion, merely yielded a low but positive correlation at levels which were non-significant or which only approached significance at the .10 level.

Such results indicated that there was a stronger tendency for the 'feminist' group to score 'in extremis' on opposite poles of the semantic differential in such comparisons. This was confirmed by the profile comparisons for these

Table 8:7

Study 1: 'D' matrix

	<u>IS</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>WG</u>	<u>WA</u>
'Feminists'				
IS		7.96	20.27	23.24
S			15.92	21.00
WG				11.59
WA				
'Other Women'				
IS		7.67	14.00	11.41
S			11.94	8.81
WG				7.60
WA				

Table 8:8

Study 1: r_s matrix

	<u>IS</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>WG</u>	<u>WA</u>
'Feminists'				
IS r_s		.83	-.54	-.48
r_s		.001	.001	.001
S r_s			-.38	-.62
r_s			.001	.001
WG r_s				.53
r_s				.001
WA				
'Other Women'				
IS r_s		.58	-.28	.18
r_s		.001	.05	(.074)
S r_s			.19	.09
r_s			(.067)	NS
WG r_s				.36
r_s				.001
WA				

s: significance level

matrix values, set out in Appendix G. These profiles support both observations in points '1' and '2' that differences between 'self' and 'stereotype' concepts were far wider for the 'feminist', than for the 'other women' group.

3. What was striking about the other results, however, was the comparability of the 'ideal self' and 'self', comparison 'D' values for the two samples. Despite the differences in these individual concept assessments, observed by straight comparisons (Table 8:6), within the scope of these differences, both groups of women showed little difference in generalised distance of their 'self' concepts. This result had implications for the 'feminist' view on 'other women' in the advertising, sex-role debate, and will be returned to later.

In the context of the advertising, sex-role debate, however, three important points could be raised from this data:-

- (i) Owing to the more extreme concept assessments of the 'feminists', their perceptions of 'women in advertisements' were not only considerably distanced from their self-concepts, but showed a negative and significant correlation between them.
- (ii) This distancing contrasted sharply with 'other women', whose relative distances were smaller. This point is illustrated markedly in the profiles for the two groups, set out in Appendices G:12 and G:14, and in the broadly contrasting r_s values.
- (ii) This obvious and significant 'feminist' result could not cloud the fact, however, that while 'other women's', 'self' and 'advertisement' concepts and matrix 'D' values were smaller than those of the 'feminist' group, and did not display the strong inverse tendency, the evidence did not point strongly to a clear association between the concepts. Although the two self-concepts of 'other women' did not show a negative association with 'women in advertisements', neither did they show a strong positive, significant correlation. The profile of this association, set out in Appendix G:12, shows that although there was a smaller

separation of concepts compared to 'feminists', there was still some notable distance between the concepts which were, in some cases, represented by opposite pole comparisons.

In short, this data gave some, but not marked, support for the advertisers' contention that 'women in advertisements' relate to women's self-perception, although the 'feminist' result did go a long way to support advertisers descriptions of 'feminists' as 'extraordinary' women, in that context.

(iii) For both groups of women it was the concept of 'women in general' which demonstrated the strongest association with 'women in advertisements', that is, an 'external' rather than 'personal' association. Of the advertisement comparisons, these also had the lowest 'D' values.

2. Study 2

Tables 8:9 and 8:10 give the 'D' and r_s values, in matrix form, for the four rated concepts of 'high-scoring' and 'other women', in Study 2.

Summary of results:(Tables 8:9 and 8:10)

1. The data, set out in Table 8:9 confirmed the same general differences in 'D' value size noted for Study 1 between the two groups of women. The higher differences between concepts in the 'high-scoring' group supported the second hypothesis, that such differences were larger than for the 'other women' group, and application of the 'Wilcoxon Matched Pairs' sign test showed that this difference, as in Study 1, was significant. ($Z = 2,2014$ $p < .025$).
2. The data set out in Table 8:10 showed that, as in Study 1, the most marked differences between the two groups of women were observed in the comparisons between the two self-concepts, and 'women in advertisements' and 'women in general'. In Study 2, however, although three out of the four comparisons for 'high-scoring' women showed the negative correlation of the 'feminist' group, the coefficients were generally lower, indicating a lower negative discrepancy between the concepts, even though they were in a negative direction. In the IS/WA correlation, this discrepancy was even more marked, since in Study 2, the difference was represented by a low, non-

Table 8:9

Study 2 'D' matrix

	<u>IS</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>WG</u>	<u>WA</u>
<u>'High-scoring Women'</u>				
IS		7.49	15.00	13.66
S			10.41	11.77
WG				7.34
WA				
<u>'Other Women'</u>				
IS		7.38	11.19	9.72
S			6.22	8.94
WG				7.34
WA				

Table 8:10

Study 2 r_s matrix

	IS	S	WG	WA
<u>'High scoring Women'</u>				
IS r_s		.66	-.47	.01
S r_s		.001	.001	NS
WG r_s			-.22	-.17 (.094)
WA				.46 .001
<u>'Other Women'</u>				
IS r_s		.56	-.18	.27
S r_s		.001	(.078)	.05
WG r_s			.28	.13
WA			.01	NS
				.33 .005

s: significance level

significant but nonetheless, positive correlation.

With the 'other women' sample, the results yielded a very similar pattern to those in Study 1, in that a higher association, between the 'self' and two 'stereotype' concepts, and the non-significant correlation between 'self' and 'women in advertisements', were highly comparable for the 'other women' of both studies. The inverse and low correlation between 'ideal self' and 'women in general' also compared.

3. Observable in Study 2, however, as in Study 1, was the comparability of the 'self' and 'ideal self' comparisons. Correlation coefficients and 'D' values between groups in the two studies, and between studies, were all very similar. In short, the general direction of results in Study 2 compared well with those in Study 1, with most similarity observed in the 'other women' samples. With the exception of the IS/WA comparisons, the 'high-scoring' women in Study 2 showed a greater dispersion of concept association, compared to 'other women', as did 'feminists', but compared to the 'feminists' of Study 1, the 'high-scoring' women of Study 2, showed lower, negative correlations between self and 'stereotype' concepts.

In the context of the advertising sex-role debate, as in Study 1, three points could be made:-

- (i) Results from the 'high-scoring' women in Study 2 did demonstrate a lower relationship between the 'self' and 'advertisement' concepts than did those from 'other women', but in Study 2, the results were by no means as clear-cut as in Study 1. There was the same negative correlation between 'self' and 'women in advertisements' in Study 2, but the correlation in this case was not only much lower than in Study 1, and therefore did not indicate the same discrepancy in perceptions, but also only barely approached significance at the .10 level. Furthermore, while there was a clear and negative correlation between 'ideal self' and 'women in advertisements' in Study 1, in Study 2, this became low, positive and non-significant.

These results did not indicate a greater proximity of 'self' to 'women in advertisements' among the 'high-scoring' women in Study 2, but did show that there was not the same discrepancy and apposite concept ratings as was seen in Study 1, 'feminist' results. The profiles of 'high-scoring' women for these concept comparisons, set out in Appendix G:15, support this comparison between the two studies, in the visually greater proximity among concepts in Study 2, 'high-scoring' women, compared to the 'feminists' of Study 1 (Appendix G:14).

- (ii) The results on 'other women' in Study 2, however, tended to support the observations in Study 1. Although there was not the relatively low, or inverse relationship between self-and 'advertisement' concepts in this sample, as was witnessed among 'high-scoring' women, neither were there striking similarities. In both studies, the comparisons between 'self' and 'women in advertisements' was low and non-significant, and although there was a slightly higher correlation in Study 2 among 'other women' in 'ideal self' and 'women in advertisements' comparisons, the difference was not notable.

Again, the advertisers' contentions that 'self' and 'women in adverts' concepts reflect each other, was not entirely supported by women themselves. Furthermore, the good evidence that 'feminists' are 'extraordinary' or 'extreme' women was not so well supported for 'high-scoring' women as for 'feminists', although with the 'high-scoring' women's results, advertisers should not ignore the generally low and non-significant trend of the self-and 'advertisement' concept comparisons, which, it must be reiterated, were still comparatively 'worse' than for 'other women'.

- (iii) Again, the 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' concept comparisons yielded, for both groups of women, the highest correlation of the advertisement comparisons, and the lowest 'D' statistics.

Study 1 and 2 Comparisons

The matrix results of the two studies have been compared and noted individually, but a final point of analysis needs to be made. Although the results of the two studies in relation to group discrepancies are relevant, it cannot have escaped the observer that the discrepancies in 'D' matrices were larger in Study 1 than 2. To test this discrepancy, the continuous differences in matrix 'D' values between the two groups in each study were calculated (e.g. 'feminists' matrix values minus 'other women' matrix values). Application of the 'Mann-Whitney 'U' Test' to these figures indicated that the 'feminist' values in Study 1 were significantly larger compared to 'other women', than were the 'high-scoring' women compared to 'other women' in Study 2 ($U = 7$ $p < .05$).

This result confirmed the third hypothesis, given at the beginning of this Section, but was not really surprising, given the observations above comparing the two studies, and provides further confirmation of the visual profile distances between the groups in the two studies set out in Appendices G:1 and G:9.

Sections 8:2 and 8:3: Interim summary

The results of Sections 8:2 and 8:3 gave rise to the following main observations:-

1. The overall pattern and general direction of whole-scale concepts of 'ideal self', 'self', 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements (generally)' appeared to be independent of sex-role orientation.
2. Similarities in the patterns notwithstanding, 'feminists' showed a greater difference in the extremity of these concepts, compared to 'other women', than 'high-scoring' women did compared to 'other women'.
3. The greater extremity in 'feminist' response yielded inter-concept comparisons which were significantly larger than those for 'other women', and in self and 'stereotype' comparisons, showed a notable inverse relationship. Although there was a trend in this direction between 'high-scoring' and 'other women', this was nowhere as marked.
4. The 'other women' of both studies showed similar direction in inter-concept differences. These were always lower and closer than for the 'feminists' and 'other women', but did not strongly confirm the advertisers' contention that their self-and 'advertisement' concepts were related.
5. The discrepancies in the 'D' matrices were larger for 'feminists' and 'other women' than for 'high-scoring' women and 'other women', emphasising, again, the marked extremity in 'feminist' response.
6. The congruence between 'ideal self' and 'self' concepts was similar for all women, independent of sex-role.
7. The 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' concepts were seen to have a greater association in the 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women samples, and were lower in the two 'other women' samples. The highest correlation between these two concepts was observed in the 'feminist' group. Nonetheless, this comparison yielded the strongest relationship of all 'advertisement' comparisons for all four groups of women in both studies.

In short, 'feminists' emerged from these studies as notably 'extreme' in their views, and this was emphasised by comparisons with 'other women', and occurred even more strongly than women who merely had an 'anti-traditional' sex-role orientation. ('high-scoring' women).

The obvious implication that these results had in the advertising, sex-role debate are discussed at the end of this Chapter, and in Chapter 9.

Section 8:4 Within-concept analysis: item data

The broad, whole-scale comparisons made of the subjects, both within and between studies, and examples in the scale profiles, were based on the mean scores of the subject groups.

It was observed in the Kelly study, however, that despite general directions and trends in concepts, there appeared to be important differences in the type of construct employed by 'feminists' and 'other women'.

In order to further investigate this result, the four main concepts were compared between the subject groups, in both studies, by 't' tests on each item-mean, to discover if whole-scale analysis might be 'masking' more subtle differences in perception.

In addition, more extensive use was made of the detailed profiles of the four concepts for the two studies, comparing the two groups of women in each study, as given in Appendix G.

Items in which significant differences were recorded between groups of women in each study, for each of the four concepts, are given in Table 8:11, for Study 1 and Table 8:12 for Study 2 (the 't' test calculations are given in Appendix F:2). To clarify reference in the ensuing discussion of results, the results in the two tables are grouped according to the number of significant, between-group differences which occurred in the four concepts. For example, where significant differences between groups were recorded in all four concepts, these are grouped into the first section of the table, three in the next section, and so on.

Table 8:11

Study 1: Significant item differences between subject groups

<u>N(diffs).</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Tone</u>	<u>Significance Levels</u>				
			<u>IS</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>WG</u>	<u>WA</u>	
4	2	control	**	***	**	*	
	4	independence	*	**	**	***	
	23	conformism	***	*	*	***	
	32	compete with men	***	***	*	***	
	36	male relationship	**	**	**	***	
	38	aggression	*	**	*	*	
	39	liberation	***	***	**	***	
	62	ambition	*	***	*	***	
3	3	dominance		***	***	***	
	14	domesticity	***	***		***	
	15	good wife/housewife/mother	*	***		*	
	25	financial independence	*	***		**	
	27	smart/scruffy	**	*	*		
	29	sex-typed work	*	***		*	
	30	house wife-career	*	**		**	
	42	I like her	***	***		**	
	51	politicism	***	***		**	
	58	like me	**	*		*	
2	8	education		*	***		
	9	(children)	***	***			
	18	life-style	**		**		
	20	rich/poor	*		**		
	28	persuaded/ads	***			**	
	33	tidy/dirty home	*			*	
	34	rely on looks/mind	***	*			
	35	trousers/dress	**			*	
	41	confidence			**	*	
	43	extroversion/introversion		**		***	
	44	success/men	***		**		
	45	strong/weak	*			***	
	59	altruism			***	***	
	60	husband/wife at work	*	**			
	1	5	human/perfect				**
		12	possessions			**	
16		culture	*				
19		need to be attractive	***				
21		others opinion				*	
24		make-up	**				
26		products	**				
37		hard/easy life			*		
50		experienced/innocence				**	
53		femininity/masculinity	*				
55		basic/luxury home			*		
56		male/female dependence				**	
63		sexy/not sexy	*				
65		enjoy child				*	
<u>Totals</u>			33	23	19	29	
<u>Percentage</u>			51	35	29	45	
***	p.<	.001					
**	p.<	.01					
*	p.<	.05					
(sig. diffe. of all items)							

Table 8:12
Study 2: Significant item differences between subject groups

<u>N(diffs).</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Tone</u>	<u>Significance Levels</u>				
			<u>IS</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>WG</u>	<u>WA</u>	
4	2	control	**	*	***	*	
	3	dominance	**	**	***	**	
	4	independence	**	**	***	*	
	32	compete/men	*	***	***	**	
	38	aggression	**	***	**	**	
	39	liberation	***	***	***	**	
	60	husband/wife at work	***	***	*	**	
3	14	domesticity	***	***	*		
	15	good wife/housewife/mother	***	**	**		
	25	financial independence	**	*		**	
	36	male relationship	***	***	*		
	51	politicism	**	**	**		
	56	male/female dependence	**	**	**		
2	10	social life			**	*	
	13	intelligence	**		*		
	21	others opinion	*			*	
	22	trust/suspicion		**	*		
	23	conformism	*	**			
	29	sex-typed work	***	**			
	30	housewife/career	***	***			
	33	tidy/dirty home		*		*	
	34	rely on looks/mind	*	*			
	50	experience/innocent		**		*	
	57	friendliness			*	*	
	62	ambition			**	**	
		1	talkative/quiet		*		
		7	ideal/realistic		***		
		9	n (children)	*			
		17	competence	*			
	35	trousers/dress	*				
	40	emotionality		***			
	42	I like her	*				
	43	extroversion/introversion		*			
	45	strong/weak	*				
	49	problems				*	
	52	young/old				**	
	53	femininity/masculinity			**		
	54	job satisfaction			**		
	58	like me			***		
	59	altruism		**			
	63	sexy/not sexy			*		
<u>Totals</u>			24	25	21	16	
<u>Percentage</u>			37	39	32	25	

(sig. diffs. of all items)

*** p.< .001
 ** p.< .01
 * p.< .05

(i) **Summary of results—Group profiles of concepts in Studies 1 and 2**
(Appendix G)

Although detailed examination of the main trends in individual item differences for the two studies is reserved for the observations on 't' tests below, certain broad trends in the profiles are noted here.

1. Supporting the trends in the data noted earlier, the profiles of the two groups of women for Study 2 showed a less marked disparity than those for Study 1. This factor underlines the greater discrepancy in perceptions of the four concepts between 'feminists' and 'other women', compared to 'high-scoring' and 'other women'.
2. In the two self-concepts ('self' and 'ideal self') both 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women tended to score in a relatively 'anti-traditional' direction in items compared to 'other women', with the discrepancy in this scoring notably larger for the 'feminist' group.
3. In the 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' concepts both, 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women tended to rate these concepts in a more 'traditional' and 'negative' direction than 'other women', with the trend among 'feminists' again the most marked.

(ii) **Summary of results - 't' test results on between-group item means for the four concepts in Studies 1 and 2**

The following broad groups of observations may be made on the concept item 't' test comparisons for the two studies as outlined in Tables 8:11 and 8:12 and Appendix F:2.

1. **Number of differences by concept**

The number of individual item differences which significantly differentiated between the two groups of women in each study, for the concepts of 'self' and

'women in general', were broadly comparable (see 'Totals' in Tables 8:11 and 8:12). The main discrepancy between the two studies, however, lay in the number of differences, compared with 'other women', shown in item assessment by the 'feminist' group, for the remaining two concepts. 'Feminists' differed significantly from 'other women' in nearly twice as many items as did the 'high-scoring' from 'other' women, in the rating of 'women in advertisements'. A similar, but not so large discrepancy was observed for 'ideal self'.

This result suggested a broad difference in opinion among the 'feminist' group in their perceptions of the two concepts of 'ideal self' and 'women in advertisements', but particularly so in the latter concept. In fact, while this concept was the second largest concept for the feminists, in differentiation from 'other women', it yielded the smallest total number of differences in the Study 2 comparison between 'high-scoring' and 'other women'.

In short, the perception of 'women in advertisements' appeared to be a valid and major source of difference between 'feminists' and 'other women', and the least potential source of difference between 'high-scoring' and 'other women'. This observation also supported the direction of the 'D' statistics in Table 8:6 earlier, where it was shown that the largest point of difference between the two groups in Study 1 was in the 'women in advertisements' concept and, now, it appeared that such a difference may have been peculiar to 'feminist'/'other women' comparisons.

2. Consistent item differences

Analysis of the results in Tables 8:11 and 8:12 showed that certain items demonstrated consistent significant differences for both 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women in both studies, compared to 'other women'. These items - Nos. 2,4,32,38, and 39, referring to aspects of 'control', 'independence', 'competing with men', 'aggression', and 'liberation', showed significant differences in both studies across all four concepts, and as such could be construed as independent of the different concepts, and dependent on the sex-role status of the groups of women.

In addition, 3 out of 4 concepts showed significant differences on 4 items - 14,15,25,51 -in both studies ('domesticity', 'good/bad housewife', 'financial independence', and 'politicism') while 2 items, 36 and 3, ('male relationships', and 'dominance') showed as consistent significant differences in 3 or 4 concepts in each study.

While there was perhaps not so good a case for considering these last 6 items as 'independent' of the concepts, they did suggest some relationship with the relative sex-role status of the subjects in the two studies.

What was most interesting about all these items, however, was their comparability with observations in the Kelly study, where it was shown that 'feminist' women tended to attach greater importance, through frequency, to concepts of this type - notably the more abstract, behavioural concepts, closely linked with central arguments in the 'feminist politic. This was even more marked in the case of items referring to 'politics', 'male relativity' and 'liberation' (36,39,51) which only 'feminists' in the Kelly study were seen to use as constructs.

Certainly, the consistency in results between the Kelly and the two questionnaire studies suggested that there were important differences in certain dimensions between the relatively 'non-traditional' and 'other women' and that these differences appeared to act as factors in the perceptions of certain concepts - of which 'women in advertisements' was only one. This observation also added to a specific interest in 'feminist' concern over 'women in advertisements', since it would appear that criticism of such advertisements from aspects of domesticity, male relationships, independence, control, aggression (passivity), and liberation generally is an extension of general feminist concern with these aspects of behaviour and role, which overlay their 'world view' and, importantly, differentiate them significantly from 'other women.' The significantly differentiated view of 'politicism' also adds an extra dimension to this concern suggesting a wider than 'personal' view of the criticisms.

What is notable too, is that it was not only 'feminists' who shared interest in, and differential concern with these items/constructs. The 'high-scoring' women in Study 2 were also found to significantly differ from 'other women' in these respects, a result which suggests that 'feminism' obtains a form of continuum in which the 'political feminists' are the most extreme in their views, an observation which is supported by examination of the profile means in Appendix G, wherein the items noted above showed greater discrepancies between 'feminists' and 'other women', than 'high-scoring' and 'other women.'

In short, items which were consistent, or semi-consistent over the 4 concepts, and in both studies, showed a pattern which supported observations in the 'Kelly' study, that 'feminists' and anti-traditional' women may have consistent perceptual differences of priorities which 'colour' their world-view, not only of themselves, but also affect perceptions of 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements'. These differences, or 'priorities', appeared to centralise around certain factors of behaviour ('independence', 'aggression', 'control'), domestic roles, politicism, liberation and relationships with men.

3. Non-significant differences

Just as certain items consistently distinguished the groups of women in both studies, so did certain items consistently generate non-significant differences in item means across all 4 concepts, in both studies. These items (nos. 6,11,17,31,46,47,48,61,64) related to aspects of reality ('possible/impossible'; 'real/not true to life'), appearance ('thin/fat', 'plain/beautiful') and certain aspects of neutral or 'general' behaviour ('happy/not happy', 'competent/successful' and not, 'respect', 'stability'). The different groups of women did not differ significantly in the general direction of these item ratings in whatever the 'tone' for each concept -whether negatively ('women in general' and 'women in advertisements') or positively ('self' and 'ideal self'). In the case of the 'neutral' and 'stability' items, this result compared interestingly with observations made earlier on the noted closeness for each group of women in their ratings of 'self' and 'ideal self', which in

other studies, in other contexts have referred to the 'psychological health' or 'self-actualisation' of subjects. (Maslow, 1968).

In the wider context of the advertising, sex-role debate, however, such a result also compared with feminist observations on the 'gullibility' of 'ordinary' women. It would appear that 'ordinary', or, in these studies 'other' women, do not differ from either 'feminists' or 'high-scoring' women in their perceptions of any concept, but particularly 'women in advertisements', on factors of relative beauty, reality and happiness. In relation to being 'affected' by such advertising, it would appear from these results, that 'other women' do not differ from 'feminists' or 'high-scoring' women in their ability to distinguish the 'reality' or otherwise of certain concepts. 'Feminists' and 'high-scoring' women do not appear to hold the monopoly on these perceptions.

It is notable, however, that in Study 2, these consistent 'non-significant' differences across all 4 concepts were more common than for Study 1. In Study 1, 19 such items were observed compared to 26, in Study 2. Such a result again suggested a greater comparability between the 'high-scoring' and 'other women', than 'feminists' and 'other women'.

4. Self-concepts

Just as certain items distinguished all concepts for both groups of women, so did certain items distinguish both 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts for both groups of women, in both studies. Certain of these items, namely 2,4,14,15,25,32,36,38 and 51 have already been referred to in point '2' above, but others, in the consistent differences in both 'self' ratings, added to the general direction of those items. These additional items (Nos. 23,29,30,34 and 60), referring to aspects of 'conformism', 'sex-typed work', 'housewife/career woman', 'reliance on looks/mind' and the 'husband/wife at work or home', supported a common differentiation of 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' from 'other women', in certain specific dimensions relating, importantly, to topics of 'feminist' concern, role and behaviour. In short, if these topics differentiated the women in both studies on all concepts, they did so even more in general assessments of 'self' and 'ideal self'.

For both studies, the 15 items noted above were scored by 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women in a more 'positive' and 'anti-traditional' female direction than were scored by 'other women', with the 'ideal self' concept the more 'positive' and 'anti-traditional' of the two, in both studies.

Again, it must be noted that extremity of differentiation was greater for the 'feminist' group on the profile means, but on an individual item mean analysis, the differentiation was common to both 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women.

In addition to the above observations, it is also notable that, although not common to both self-concepts, both 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women differed significantly from 'other women' in their 'ideal self' perceptions in terms of 'liking her' (42), having relatively few children (9), preferring trousers to dresses (35) and as being 'strong' (45). Both groups also differed from 'other women' in their 'self' concepts in being more 'dominant' (3) and 'extrovert' (43) than 'other women'. These results also added to the generally 'anti-traditional' self-imagery of 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' compared to 'other women'.

In short, both 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women differed significantly from 'other women' in their self-concepts in ways which related strongly to aspects of feminist politics, perceiving these self-concepts as significantly more 'positive' and 'anti-traditional'.

5. 'Women in general' concept

In the 'women in general' concept, it is fair to note that there was less agreement in 'overlap' items between the two studies than for the self-concepts. Apart from the consistent item differences (Nos. 2,4,32,38 and 39), referred to in point '2', only in three other items were differences significant for 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women compared to 'other women'. These items (Nos. 3,36 and 62) referring to 'male relativity', 'ambition' and 'dominance', did, however, again relate to the consistent 'feminist' tone of items which differentiated women in the Kelly study, and in the self-concepts noted above.

In this 'women in general' concept, however, all the common item differences between studies were in a negative direction, with both 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women perceiving 'women in general' as more negative and 'traditional' than did 'other women'.

6. 'Women in advertisements' concept

Observations for this concept in an inter-study comparison did not differ largely from observations for the 'women in general' concept.

In addition to the 'consistent' item differences (Nos. 2,4,32,38 and 39), both 'feminists' and high-scoring' women perceived 'women in advertisements' significantly differently from 'other women' in items referring to 'ambition', 'dominance', 'financial independence' and 'competition with men' (Nos. 3,25,33 and 62), differences which again supported the 'anti-traditional' and 'feminist politic' flavour, and which, like 'women in general', were in a more negative and 'anti-traditional' direction compared to 'other women'.

7. Inconsistencies between studies

Up to this point, the analysis of the 't' tests on item means for the 4 concepts has concentrated on the comparability between studies.

At this juncture, however, it is relevant to observe that across the 4 concepts there were evident differences in the ways that 'feminists' significantly differed from 'other women', compared to how 'high-scoring' women differed from 'other women.' There are various ways in which such discrepancies may be explained. In the first place, such discrepancies could have arisen through random differences in the 'other women' samples, differences which may have produced equally randomised perceptual differences in comparisons with 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women. A second interpretation could lie in the differences between the 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women groups, in that each group may have differed idiosyncratically from 'other women'. Since, however, the broad analysis of the 'Attitude to Women' scale score distribution showed no significant differences between the women in the two studies, and, more importantly, since in so many ways the results on both groups of

'other women' has shown such remarkable comparability on other analyses (see Sections 8.2 and 8.3) then the latter interpretation appears to have greater strength. Such an interpretation is also supported by data discussed in the previous sections which has shown most differences to occur in the 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women comparisons. (This interpretation is also supported by analysis of the advertiser/women data in later sections.)

Thus, what were the inconsistencies between the studies, and in what ways did 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women differ idiosyncratically from 'other women', in comparisons between the two studies?

In the first place, such a comparison was difficult since constructions from such inconsistencies imply that there was a clear pattern in differentiation between the studies. Throughout the 4 concepts some small patterns were observed, and these will be referred to below, but overall, there was no clear direction to this data. What remains important, however, was that such differences did exist, and an implication from such differences is that although 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women might have shown comparabilities in the ways they differed from 'other women', they also showed differences which were not comparable. In short, 'feminists' differed from 'other women' in ways that 'high-scoring' women did not, and vice versa. Such an observation, alone, pointed up the fact that 'feminists' were different from 'other women', in a particularised and 'minority' way, an observation that also gave support to a general suggestion in this respect throughout all the data.

What patterns in these inconsistencies remained, however, are noted below:-

- (a) the idiosyncracies of 'feminists' and 'other women' supported the general direction of data noted in point '1', in that the number of 'idiosyncratic' differences for the two study groups of women were roughly equal for 'self' and 'women in general' concepts (12,13: Study 1, and 6,8: Study 2), and notably disparate for 'ideal self' and 'women in advertisement' concepts. 14 'feminist' idiosyncratic differences were noted in the 'ideal self' concept,

compared to 'other women', and 4 for 'high-scoring' women. In the 'women in advertisements' concept, 17 feminist 'idiosyncratic' differences were observed, compared to 5 for 'high-scoring' women.

Such an observation again suggested a greater difference in the 'feminist' group for these two concepts, which appeared to exist independently of both 'high-scoring' and 'other women'.

(b) the idiosyncracies in the 'feminist' concept of 'ideal self', compared to the rating for 'other women', appeared to suggest a somewhat anti-social or unmaterialistic life style, a factor also noted in the Kelly study. For example, the 'feminist', 'ideal self', significantly more than that for 'other women', was, in terms of appearance, likely to wear 'less make up' (24), to have 'less need to be attractive' (19), to be less 'smart and fashionable', (27) and, in terms of life-style, to be less 'rich' (20), to have a less 'tidy home' (33) and to relate more to 'food, cleaning and useful products'(26). Perhaps in counter-balance to this lower concern with the 'externals' of life, they also saw their 'ideal selves' as significantly more 'cultured' (16) than did 'other women', as having a more 'exciting, changing life style', (18), and as more 'sexy' (63). All other idiosyncratic differences in the 'feminist' 'ideal self' were strongly related to aspects of feminist concern; their 'ideal self', for example, was less likely than 'other women's,' 'ideal self' to 'need to be a success with men' (44), and was less 'feminine' (53). Interestingly, in the light of the advertising, sex-role debate, they also saw themselves as significantly less likely to be 'persuaded by adverts' (28) than did 'other women'.

(c) the idiosyncratic 'feminist' responses for the 'women in advertisements' concept showed no trend stronger than one which supported a relatively traditional and negative view. All women in all samples, saw this concept in a relatively negative manner, but 'feminists' always in the most extreme way. To this may be added a significantly stronger perception of 'women in advertisements', compared to 'other women', as 'living for family, home and

husband' (14), a 'good wife and mother' (15), as being more likely to be a 'housewife' than 'a career woman' (30), and as 'enjoying children' (65). 'Feminists' also perceived 'women in advertisements' as significantly more 'conformist'(23), 'trusting' (35), 'unconfident' (41), 'introvert' (43), 'weak' (45), 'altruistic' (59), likely to be in 'sex-typed work' (29), unpolitical (51), 'dependent on a male' (56), and 'reduced by men' (36) than did 'other women'. None of these significant differences were observed in the Study 2 comparisons, where all women saw 'women in advertisements', as relatively negative and traditional, did not differ significantly in this respect, but did not differ between the groups as did the 'feminist' sample from the 'other women'. This extremity in the 'feminist', negative view of 'women in advertisement' was especially important as a contribution to the advertising, sex-role debate, but of interest also were the significant differences seen in items 42 and 58 for the 'feminist' group, not observed in the Study 2 results, for 'women in advertisements' to be significantly less 'like me' and 'liked', compared to 'other women's' assessments .

- (d) if there was a clear pattern in the 'feminist' and 'other women', 'idiosyncratic' differences for 'ideal self' and 'women in advertisements', this was not observed in the 'high-scoring' women, 'idiosyncratic' differences. Certainly, however, there was not the same trend to see such a large number and type of 'sex-role based' differences for 'women in advertisements'. The differences observed for 'high-scoring' women were mainly concerned with 'neutral' concepts of, for example, 'social life' (10), 'friendliness' (57), 'age' (52), 'problems' (49) and 'others opinions' (21), which did not occur in the 'feminist'/'other women' comparisons. Interestingly, it was these more 'neutral' terms which were shown to be of greater concern to 'other women' than 'feminists' in the Kelly study.

8. Opposite polarity

For all the 4 concepts measured, and for the large majority of items within those concepts, the direction of differences between 'feminists', 'high-scoring' and 'other women', whether significant or non-significant, was uni-polar. That is, the broad direction of item assessment was the same, with a greater extremity of rating within that one pole for 'high-scoring' women, and an even more disparate and greater extremity for 'feminists'.

In short, and this is supported by between-group 'D' statistics and r_s values noted in Section 8:2, the broad perceptions of the 4 concepts were similar. The sex-role status of the female subjects served only to push the rating 'in extremis' one way or the other. This result alone was interesting, suggesting more common ground between women on a perceptual basis than the feminist critical literature would suggest, although in the case of 'high-scoring' and 'other women' comparisons, such a result, in fact, supported the general direction of other literature on the subject, as noted in Chapter 2, Section 2:5. These broad interpretations are discussed later in this Chapter, and in Chapter 9.

Although this uni-polarity was the broad direction of the data, however, it was not the exclusive one. Within the 4 concepts, on certain specific, and often common, items, marked bi-polarity was noted, in several cases supported by significant differences. Such bi-polar differences obviously represented particular cases of strong disagreement between 'feminists' and 'other women'. These instances of bi-polarity or 'opposite polarity' are discussed below:-

(a) 'self' concept

'Opposite polarity' in the assessment of the 'self' concept occurred in 21 items in Study 1 and 10 items in Study 2. Although many of these differences in rating were non-significant in each study, such a result did contribute to the general interpretation of particular 'feminist' difference.

Nine of these 'opposite polarity' item ratings occurred as significant differences in Study 1 and six, in Study 2; six of these differences were common to both studies, (items 14,15,25,38,51 and 60). Of these six common differences, three referred to

aspects of 'domesticity' and role (items 14,15 and 60) and three to aspects of behaviour, noted in earlier contexts to be of specific feminist interest.

Therefore, both 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women were significantly more likely to see their 'self' as 'wanting other things entirely,' to be a relatively poor 'wife, housewife and mother', and to be working, with their 'husband at home'. Other women, by corollary, saw their 'self' as significantly more likely to 'live for family, home and husband', to be a relatively good, 'wife, housewife and mother', and to be 'at home while their husband works'. Of the behavioural aspects, 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women saw their 'self' as significantly more 'aggressive', 'financially independent', and 'politically aware', and 'other women' saw their 'self' significantly more as being 'unaggressive', 'financially dependent', and 'politically aware'.

In short, it appeared that the sex-role status of women did importantly affect their perceptions of the 'self' concept.

The Study 1 group, however, demonstrated three other opposite-pole significant differences which were not observed in Study 2. Two of these were connected with work; for 'feminists' to describe themselves as significantly more likely to be 'manager, doctor types', and to be 'career, working women only', and for 'other women', by corollary, to see themselves significantly more than 'feminists' as 'nurse, secretary types', and to be a 'housewife only'. Such item results added to the general direction of both studies' data, but extended and underlined these aspects of role for 'feminists'.

In the third case, the 'feminist' women were significantly more likely to see themselves as 'untidy, scruffy and unfashionable', and 'other women', as 'smart and fashionable'.

In short, while relatively 'untraditional' women differed significantly, and by opposite concepts, from 'other women' in terms of role and certain items of behaviour, the 'feminist' group added to this general difference in terms of work, and in aspects of appearance concern. In these respects the 'self' concepts of women, defined by sex-role status, showed important differences, which had

obvious implications for interpretation of all advertising content on a 'sex-role' basis.

To add to this conclusion, it is also notable that, although non-significant, the remaining opposite-pole items which distinguished 'feminists' from 'other women' also supported the broad trend of the data on 'self', in that apparent 'feminist' unconcern with appearance was shown by opposite polarity on items referring to a relative 'need to be attractive' (19), perception of 'self' as 'plain' or 'beautiful' (47), and in the case of the home, its 'tidyness' (33), and its 'basic/luxury' requirements (55). These trend supports were not seen in Study 2, although there was opposite polarity on the 'smart-scruffy' dimension, adding to the suggestion that a relatively 'untraditional' sex-role status also appears to be concomitant with a relative lack of concern with appearance.

(b) 'ideal self' concept

The extent of opposite polarity witnessed in the 'self' concepts of women in Studies 1 and 2 was not observed to the same extent in the concept of 'ideal self'. Only nine such differences (both significant and non-significant) were observed in Study 1 results, and six in Study 2, although this discrepancy again supported some contention of particular 'feminist' difference. The subject agreement in general direction of scoring of 'ideal self' between the two studies, was, however, of inherent interest, suggesting that all subjects had a similar assessment of this concept, the 'high-scoring' and particularly 'feminist' women, again differing only in the extremity of the concept.

As with the 'self' concept, however, certain items were opposite-pole assessments for both studies, also achieving significant differences from 'other women'. These items (Nos. 9,14,38,60) were notable, in that three were items which were 'common' differences in the 'self' concept (14,38,60) and related to aspects of 'domesticity' and 'aggression', providing further support to the suggestion that sex-role status importantly differentiated women's self-perceptions in certain specialised ways, particularly with respect to role and domesticity. This observ-

ation was further supported by notation of item 9, which had opposite polarity for both studies, and dealt with the 'number of children' the subjects would 'have'.

In summary of these items, both 'high-scoring' and 'feminist' women differed significantly from 'other women' in 'wanting other things entirely', having relatively 'few children', and working with their 'husband at home'. 'Other women' differed significantly from these two groups of women respectively in wanting to 'live for family, home and husband', having relatively 'more children' and being 'at home while their husbands worked'. The 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women also agreed in relative perceptions of 'aggression' in their 'ideal selves', with both groups of 'other women' rating their 'ideal selves' as significantly 'unaggressive'.

Again, as with the 'self' concept, 'feminists' added to these observations with further opposite-pole, significant differences compared to 'other women', which were not observed in the 'high-scoring/other women' comparisons.

As with the 'self' concept, the factor of appearance intruded, with 'feminists' 'needing' less, and 'other women' 'needing' more to 'be attractive' (19), while the unmaterialistic 'feminist', 'ideal self' (noted in Point 7:b) was witnessed in their desire for more 'useful' products compared to 'other women's' preference for 'luxury, make-up and women's products' (26).

The 'feminist' concern with 'male relativity' was also observed in their significantly greater desire not to be a 'success with men', and 'other women's desire to be so.

In short, the broad direction of 'ideal self' opposite pole differences supported that of the 'self' concepts, in suggesting that a relatively 'anti-traditional' sex-role orientation affected the subjects' perceptions of role/domesticity and certain behaviours of 'feminist' interest. This was particularised and supported in the 'feminist' sample with the factors of appearance, life-style and male relationships. Since all the broad direction of 'ideal self' was essentially uni-polar, with all subjects agreeing on the general pattern of rating and only differing in the extremity of that rating, then these particular and consistent differences were considered as strong differentials in women's sex-role orientation.

(c) 'women in general' concept

The 'women in general' concept did not differ from the self-concepts, noted above, in having a highly consistent pattern of item rating for all 4 groups of women in the two studies. All women preferred to see this concept in a relatively 'negative' or 'traditional female' manner, with again relative extremity in this perception varying between 'high-scoring' and 'feminist' subjects. It is notable, however, that the 'other women' of both studies were most likely to see this concept in the more neutral or least unfavourable manner, and the 'feminist' group to rate it in the most unfavourable and extreme manner - an observation which has obvious implications in the context of feminist critiques and the perceived 'negative' view of 'women in general' in feminist criticism, noted in Chapter 1, Section 1:4. This factor will be returned to in the discussion at the end of this Chapter, and in Chapter 9.

What was interesting about this 'women in general' concept, however, was that most agreement between the two studies occurred in a uni-polar manner, unlike the self-concepts. There were, for example, no common, opposite, bi-polar assessments for the two studies, and only three significant, opposite pole assessments in Study 1, and two in Study 2. Overall, however, there were 11 significant and non-significant, opposite pole comparisons for the 'feminist' comparisons, and six for

the 'high-scoring' women comparisons, which did support again a higher degree of relative 'feminist' difference.

The tone of these opposite-pole comparisons was also notable, in that few related to the aspects of role, career, and specialised aspects of 'feminist interest' behaviour noted in the self-concepts. Differences in polarity for both significant and non-significant differences occurred in aspects of 'neutral' behaviour and life-style, with the 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women tending to have a more negative and almost 'pitying' view of 'women in general', compared to 'other women', this latter aspect of 'pity' or 'patronage' also having been observed in the 'Kelly' study.

For example, in Study 1, the significant opposite-pole differences which distinguished 'feminists' and 'other women' lay in relative views of 'women in general' as having 'few' and 'many possessions' (12), being 'rich' and 'poor' (20) and being 'scruffy' and 'smart' (27). In Study 2, differences occurred in relative views of 'women in general' as 'isolated', or having a 'good social life' (10).

Analysis of the non-significant differences which also represented opposite polarity, also added to this impression, but the 'feminist' group tended, through item frequency, to 'make more' of this aspect, which related to a relatively negative view of 'women in general' in terms of 'intellect' and general 'experience'. 'Feminists' and 'other women' scored in opposite poles in their rating of 'women in general' as 'unintelligent' and 'intelligent' (13) (a significant difference in Study 2), 'incompetent' and 'competent' (17), a 'discriminating' and 'compulsive' buyer (31), 'not respected' and 'respected' (48), 'innocent' and 'experienced' (50) and in being not at all, and more 'sexy'(63). 'High-scoring' women in Study 2 added to this trend in seeing 'women in general', relative to 'other women', as 'uncultured and ignorant', rather than 'cultured and knowledgeable'(16), as less, rather than more 'confident' (41) and 'introvert, inhibited and passive' rather than 'extrovert, active and spontaneous'.(43)

In summary, the scoring of 'women in general' showed most agreement between all groups of women in both studies in the rating of a relatively negative and

traditional 'sex-role' orientation, with the rating largely uni-polar, and differentiated between groups in the two studies by extremity in this response, the 'feminist' group being the most extreme.

Opposite-pole rating, however, unlike the self-concepts, tended not to disagree in terms of 'role', 'career' and the stronger 'feminist' interest behaviours but showed, instead, most disagreement on items of material life-style, competence, intelligence, experience and the more 'neutral' behaviours. Although there were no common items of significant difference in this respect between studies, both 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women agreed in the general flavour of these opposite pole comparisons, a factor supported by the non-significant differences, but which was most evident in the 'feminist' sample.

(d) 'women in advertisements' concept

As with the 'women in general' concept, all groups of women in both studies agreed largely in the uni-polar assessment of 'women in advertisements', seeing the concept in generally negative, and 'traditional female' role orientations. Again, as with all concepts, the differences in the rating occurred largely in extremity of response, with both groups of 'other women' showing the most 'neutral' or least unfavourable assessment, and 'feminists' the most extreme and 'unfavourable' assessments.

Again, as with the 'women in general' concept, which, in tone, appeared to compare well with that of 'women in advertisements', there were few significant, opposite pole differences between 'feminists', 'high-scoring' and 'other women'. Eight (significant and non-significant) opposite-pole differences were observed in Study 1, and seven, in Study 2, representing the most comparable assessment of the 4 concepts. Five of these differences were significant in Study 1, and five in Study 2, although only two of these differences were common to both studies. In this respect, it would appear that there were not the same trends in rating of 'women in advertisements' as was noted in the other three concepts, in that 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women appeared to differ idiosyncratically from 'other women' in opposite-pole ratings.

Nonetheless, the two common, opposite-pole items for the two studies did relate to aspects of 'feminist' interest, and distinguished 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women from 'other women' in their views of 'women in advertisements' as relatively less likely to 'compete with men on achievement' rather than more so (32), and in being 'less ambitious and determined' rather than more so (62). This factor of 'feminist' interest items also extended to the idiosyncratic opposite pole differences between the studies. These significant differences - for 'feminists' in items 4,43 and 50, and for 'high-scoring women' in items 3,25 and 39 - related to a relatively low view of 'women in advertisements' as 'dependent and unfree', 'financially dependent', 'innocent', 'introverted', 'unliberated', and 'submissive', compared to 'other women's' perceptions in the two studies combined, of 'women in advertisements' as relatively 'independent' and 'financially independent', 'experienced', 'extrovert', 'liberated' and 'dominant'.

It is interesting that the relatively 'non-traditional' women in the two studies differed in their rating of 'women in advertisements', compared to 'other women', in some special ways, but that the overall trend in this data suggested a confirmation of a view of 'women in advertisements' as overtly 'traditional' and more negative among the less 'traditional' women.

Section 8:4 Interim Summary

The visual analysis of profiles in Appendix G, and the detailed analysis of 't' tests on item-means for each concepts in Studies 1 and 2, yielded the following main observations:-

- (i) Compared to each 'other women' group respectively, both 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women perceived 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts in a more positive and 'anti-traditional' manner, but perceived 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' in a more negative and 'traditional' manner. 'Feminists', however, scored consistently most extremely compared to all other groups of women.

- (ii) The broad assessments of these concepts as being essentially uni-directional but differentiated according to degree of extremity (see Sections 8:3 and 8:4 and the Kelly study) were supported by detailed item analysis of the concepts, which demonstrated that significant differences between 'other women', and 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women respectively, mainly represented differences in extremity of uni-polar rating. This detailed analysis further confirmed earlier observations that the general pattern of perceptions of all groups of women were common, and that the rated tone of concept perceptions was generally less dependent on sex-role orientation than the extremity of that rating.

The exception to this marked trend was seen however, in certain cases of 'opposite polarity', which related to aspects of role, domesticity and certain 'sex-role' related behaviours, and while certain items were common differences in both studies, the results of Study 1 tended to confirm that this factor of opposite polarity was most marked in the 'feminist' group, where certain idiosyncratic cases of opposite polarity strongly confirmed and particularised this trend.

In the cases of the 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' concepts, the fact of opposite polarity was also noted, but in these concepts tended to occur in more 'neutral', behaviours and concepts. Both 'high-scoring' and 'feminist' women, but particularly the latter group, demonstrated opposite polarity in a negative manner in several items, compared to an opposite 'positive' rating by 'other women'. This factor was most clearly and strongly witnessed in the rating of 'women in general', wherein 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women, but again particularly the 'feminists', demonstrated an inferentially 'pitying' or socially negative view of the concept. It was noted that all observations on opposite polarity had evident relevance to feminist critiques, and to the advertising, sex-role debate generally.

- (iii) Certain items consistently demonstrated significant differences between the two groups of women, in both studies, across all 4 concepts. These items, referring to aspects of aggression, male competition and relationships, liberation, control and independence, compared markedly with the results of the Kelly study, and with aspects of 'feminist' advertisement criticisms. It was suggested that the consistency of differential emphasis on such topics, across all concepts, indicated a broadly different world-view among non-traditional women, 'feminists' in particular, so that consideration of the 'women in advertisements' concept must be assumed to be intimately related, or subordinate to perceptions of other important concepts, namely those of 'self', 'ideal self' and 'women in general'.
- (iv) Despite all differences in perceptions, subjects in both studies tended to agree on certain item assessments, over all 4 concepts tested. Such consistent, non-significant differences related markedly to factors of certain 'neutral' behaviour, stability, happiness and reality. It was suggested, first, that such observations, combined with those on 'ideal self' and 'self' congruence noted in Sections 8:3 and 8:4, questioned both the validity of the feminist view of 'other women' as notably less secure or 'nappy' as they, and the correctness of 'feminist' critics in believing 'ordinary' women to be either gullible about, or incapable of distinguishing the unreality of advertising imagery.
- (v) There were certain inconsistencies between the studies which could be construed as the result of certain random differences in the 'other women' sample, or of basic differences between 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women. The latter interpretation was felt to be more justified, although it is accepted that final validation of this interpretation must rest on replication of these results external to this thesis. In effect, however, although such inconsistencies existed, they were not so marked as the similarities and consistent patterns between the studies, and also confirmed the general trend

of other analyses made on the data, in particular the noted disparity between subject groups for the 'ideal self' and 'women in advertisement' concepts, consistent between the two studies, and the idiosyncratic 'feminist' position.

Overall, however, perhaps the most striking observation which can be made of the results in Section 8:4 is to confirm the idiosyncracies of the 'feminist' position, supporting the trend of results in Sections 8:2 and 8:3, as well as those in the 'Kelly' study in the previous chapter. The results also not only had clear significance for the advertising, sex-role debate, and interpretation of advertisement imagery, but also appeared to confirm other trends in the literature. The results on the 'high-scoring' women, with particular respect to their level of differentiation from 'other women' and 'feminists', appeared to replicate but also extend the results of other studies in the genre, noted in Chapter 2, Section 2:5. In particular, the results did tend to give some confirmation of a potential continuum of 'feminism', in which 'high-scoring' women figure more centrally compared to 'feminists', but do not differ so strikingly from 'other women' as do 'feminists.' Such observations on 'high-scoring' women also tend to suggest that future studies on sex-role orientation of women, and their perceptions of advertising imagery, should not only make some distinction between the level of sex-role commitment, but also examine the potential differences in more depth, since while the 'high-scoring' women did not differ from 'other women' as much as 'feminists' did, they did tend to share some important characteristics with 'feminists', which other studies have not picked up. This final point is of particular relevance in media exposure data, which will be discussed in the next section.

Section 8:5 Media exposure data

Subjects in both Studies 1 and 2 responded to questions about their exposure to and reading time of television and magazines respectively, and their readership of women's magazines. This factor of women's magazines readership was extended in Study 2 to a wider question on 'magazines' read, owing to observations made on the results of Study 1. (see Chapter 6, Section 6:2).

Table 8:14

Study 2: Media exposure data

	<u>High Scoring Women(HS)</u>		<u>Other Women</u>		<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>	<u>Direction</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>				
1. <u>Television exposure</u>								
0-7 hours/week	29	45	62	31	3.827	.05	HS	
8-14 hours/week	17	26	60	30	.407	NS	OW	
15-21 hours/week	19	29	76	38	1.777	NS	OW	
N =	<u>65</u>		N =	<u>198*</u>				
2. <u>Magazine exposure</u>								
0 hours per week	14	22	52	26	.494	NS	OW	
up to 1½ hours/week	33	50	83	42	1.793	NS	HS	
2-7 hours/week	18	28	66	33	.601	NS	OW	
N =	<u>65</u>		N =	<u>201</u>				
3. <u>Magazine mention</u>								
Mass market (women's)	29	22	111	29	2.795	.10	OW	
Up-market (women's)	5	4	32	8	3.234	.10	OW	
Young (women's)	53	39	33	35	.929	NS	HS	
Men's	2	2	5	7	.137	NS	HS	
Trade and general	38	28	78	20	3.534	.05	HS	
Specialised (women's)	8	6	25	7	.413	NS	OW	
All women's	95	70	301	78	3.549	.05	OW	
Men's Trade & Gen.	40	30	83	22	3.549	.05	HS	
N =	<u>135</u>		N =	<u>384</u>				
4. <u>Readership mention</u>								
Mass market (women's)	0	47	72	124	62	2.411	NS	HS
	1	9	14	46	23	2.447	NS	OW
	2+	9	14	31	15	.375	NS	OW
Up-market (Women's)	0	61	94	177	88	1.746	NS	HS
	1	3	5	17	9	1.043	NS	OW
	2+	1	2	7	4	.636	NS	OW
Young (Women's)	0	28	43	114	57	3.672	.05	OW
	1	26	40	54	27	4.029	.05	HS
	2+	11	17	33	16	.009	NS	HS
Men's	0	63	97	196	98	.007	NS	OW
	1	2	3	5	2	.007	NS	HS
	2+	0	0	0	0	x	x	x
Trade	0	54	83	187	93	5.720	.05	OW
	1	9	14	11	6	4.953	.05	HS
	2+	2	3	3	2	.669	NS	HS
General	0	48	74	152	76	.084	NS	OW
	1	10	15	38	19	.412	NS	OW
	2+	7	11	11	6	2.184	NS	HS
Trade and General	0	37	57	138	69	3.005	.10	OW
	1	19	29	49	24	.608	NS	HS
	2+	9	14	14	9	2.944	.10	HS
Men's Trade and General	0	35	54	133	66	3.206	.10	OW
	1	21	32	54	27	.719	NS	HS
	2+	9	14	14	7	2.944	.10	HS

*: 3 non responses for television data from 'other women'
N.B. All percentages rounded.

These results were interesting, in that on the basis of commentaries on women's magazines (and the content analysis of advertisements in Part II of this thesis), it was the 'young' women's magazines which were assumed to have the most 'anti-traditional' imagery, yet the 'feminists' were significantly less likely to read these journals than the relatively traditional 'other women'. This result may be interpreted on the basis of the relativity of 'traditional' sex-roles of subjects in this sample, but is most interesting when observed in the light of the fact that the 'feminist' group was less likely to mention all types of women's magazines than 'other women', of which the significantly lower frequency of mention of 'young women's' titles was part of the trend.

Nonetheless, it cannot be avoided that 'feminists' did not mention the 'traditional', 'mass market' and 'up-market' magazines significantly less than 'other women'.

To this observation may be added the fact that in cases of 'non-mention', feminists were not significantly different from 'other women' in not mentioning, 'mass market', 'up-market', and 'young' women's magazines, and several 'feminists' noted at least 1 and sometimes 2 of the magazines in each of the 3 main categories. In short, although there was some evidence that 'feminists' read all women's magazines less than 'other women', they did not avoid them completely, and apparently 'read, bought and enjoyed' several of them, even those considered to be relatively 'traditional' in content and appeal.

Two other observations must, however, be made. The category of 'specialised' women's magazines which encapsulated those journals of specific 'feminine interest' (sewing, knitting, embroidery, slimming etc.) were apparently strongly avoided by 'feminists', none of whom mentioned any magazine in this category. Second, and perhaps a corollary of this point, 'other women', avoided all mention of 'feminist/political' magazines, which 'feminists,' by contrast, mentioned in 7 of the 13 subject cases, 3 of the subjects reading 2 or more of these journals, and 4 mentioning at least one. This 'feminist/political' magazine group - typified and most represented by 'Spare Rib' - formed the most frequent type of women's magazine mention for the 'feminist' group.

Study 2

The results on frequency and type of mention of women's magazines followed a clearer trend in the results of Study 2 based on a sample of more 'ordinary' and 'non-feminist' women.

On the basis of commentaries, and the evidence on advertisements in Part II of this thesis, it would appear that 'mass market' and 'up-market' magazines bear most relationship to a traditional female role image. It was, therefore, interesting to see significant differences in frequency of mention of these magazines groups, with the 'other women' groups significantly more likely than the 'high-scoring' women to mention magazines in the 'mass market' and 'up-market' women's magazine categories.

By corollary, although there were no significant differences between the two groups of women for total mention of 'young magazines', it was interesting to observe that, in terms of readership mention, 'other women' were significantly more likely not to mention the 'young' journals as those they 'read, bought and enjoyed' and the 'high-scoring' women significantly more likely to mention at least one. Nonetheless, it is observable - and this result compared with the 'feminist' data in Study 1 - that there were no significant differences between the groups of women in not mentioning the 'mass market' and 'up-market' women's magazines, and it was clear from the data that the 'high-scoring' women did not avoid magazines in these groups, their lower readership compared to 'other women', notwithstanding. In fact, the 'high-scoring' women appeared to be the most pragmatic in their approach to magazine choice. This group, for instance, was 4 times more likely to read the 'mass market' magazines than were 'other women' to read the 'young' women's magazines (23%:8%), although this fact may be interpreted as evidence for the generic appeal of the 'mass market' magazines.

Two other observations may be made on women's magazine readership in this Study. First, no woman in either sample mentioned the 'feminist/political' magazines observed in Study 1. Such a result may be offered as further support for

the highly particularised interest of these journals among the more 'political' feminists, who were actively avoided as subjects in Study 2.

Second, other magazines - not 'women's' - were mentioned by subjects in this study. Observations on this data are given below, but such notation in the data did allow for a comparison of mention of women's and non-women's magazines.

In this respect, calculations of frequency of mention of magazines in these two groups, showed that the 'other women' sample, were significantly more likely to mention all 'women's' magazines than the 'high-scoring' women. This result compares well with observations on the 'feminist' sample in Study 1; that 'feminists' appeared to avoid women's magazines more than did 'other women'. Although such a marked trend was not witnessed in Study 2, it did appear that there was a comparable tendency in this respect for both 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women.

4. Other magazines

In Study 1 subjects were only asked for their readership data on women's magazines, and subjects in that study spontaneously observed that such data was restrictive (and resented). To correct this short-coming in the second questionnaire study, women were asked merely what 'magazines' they read.

This broader question gave rise to a wider set of magazine mentions, but it was notable that women's magazine still provided the majority of all magazine mentions. 168 women mentioned women's magazines only, representing 63% of the sample, and suggested that whatever the other market journals available, women's magazines are still an important source of media choice for all women.

The mention of non-women's magazines, however, provided some interesting insights into the patterns of sex-role orientation among women. It has been observed that, 'high-scoring' women tended to mention all women's magazines significantly less than 'other women'. From the data it would appear that this vacuum was filled for 'high-scoring' women by 'general' and 'trade' magazines. For each of these categories higher mentions were made by 'high-scoring' than 'other women', and 'high-scoring' women were significantly more likely to mention 'trade and general' (combined) magazines than 'other women'. By contrast 'other women' were significantly more likely not to mention 'trade', and 'trade and general' (combined) categories than the 'high-scoring' women.

Nonetheless, as with women's magazine mention this was not the final analysis. Although differences were observed significantly between the two groups of women for mention of these magazine types, this is not to say that 'other women' avoided them. There were, for example, no significant differences between the two groups of women in not mentioning 'general' magazines, reading 1, or reading 2 or more, or in reading 'mens' magazines, which 'other women', in fact, read proportionately more.

If there was a group of non-women's magazines that the 'high-scoring' women dominated then this was the 'trade' magazine category in which 'other women' were significantly more likely not to mention them, and 'high-scoring' women to mention at least one. This was interesting, since it was these 'trade' magazines, incorporating technical, work and 'male' orientated subjects, which were perhaps furthest removed from the conventional image and content of women's magazines.

Summary

The following observations may be made on the media exposure data in Studies 1 and 2:-

1. Both 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women were more likely to watch no, or little television, than 'other women'. Feminists and high-scoring women were, from data trends, likely to watch less and 'other women' more, television.
2. There were no significant differences between subjects in either study for magazine exposure, whether just 'women's' or all magazines. On a trend analysis all groups of women except 'feminists' tended to read magazines most often for 1½ hours a week; 'feminists' were more likely to read magazines for 0 hours, or 2-7 hours a week.
3. In terms of women's magazine readership, 'feminists' appeared to avoid all women's magazines, that is, mentioned them less often, than 'other women'. This trend was also seen among 'high-scoring' women.

4. 'Feminists' were most likely to read the 'feminist/political' women's magazines and avoided mention of the 'specialised', women's magazines.
5. 'High-scoring' women were significantly more likely to read at least one 'young' women's magazine and 'other women', significantly more likely to read all 'mass market' and 'up-market' women's magazines and to avoid 'young' women's magazines. 'High-scoring' women were also significantly more likely to read and mention non-women's magazines including, in particular, the 'trade' magazine. 'Other women' were significantly more likely to read all women's magazines than 'high-scoring' women.
6. Both 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women did not avoid reading women's magazines, and particularly did not avoid the relatively 'traditional' 'mass market' and 'up-market' women's magazines. Despite the differences in the data noted in previous summary points, it was observed that all women in each group, in each study, appeared to have a wide range of magazine choice, and did not avoid those of contrary sex-role orientation. Between the studies, 'high-scoring' women appeared to be the most pragmatic in magazine choice.
7. Data on non-women's magazine readership for 'feminists' was not available owing to over-restrictive questions on women's magazines. Indications from 'feminist' subjects, however, may be assumed to support the broad direction for 'high-scoring' women, particularly in the light of the general 'feminist' tendency to read all women's magazines less than 'other women'. This is supported by spontaneous comments from 'feminist' subjects during and after completion of their questionnaires.
8. When a free choice of magazine mention was allowed in Study 2, the results indicated that women's magazines formed an important source of journal readership for a large proportion of the sample.

The inferences to be made from this data in the light of the results in the earlier parts of this Chapter are discussed in the 'conclusions' later, and in Chapter 9.

Section 8:6 'Advertisers' and women

A final, and shorter study in Part III of this thesis involved investigation of 'advertisers' both for their sex-role orientation, as measured by the Spence and Helmreich, 'Attitude to Women' scale, and their perceptions of the three concepts 'women in advertisements', 'women in general' and 'the woman closest to you' (Study 3). These results will be discussed in this Section, both for the 'advertisers' as a group, and in comparison with the results of Studies 1 and 2. Details of Study 3 are given in Chapter 6, Section 6:5.

(i) **'Attitude to women' scores**

Results for the sample of 100 'advertisers' on the 'Attitude to Women' scale are given in Table 8:15, along with the results from female subjects in Studies 1 and 2. The percentage frequencies for the three studies are shown in Diagram 8:1

Table 8:15

**'Attitude to Women' scale scores for
'advertisers', and women in Studies 1 and 2**

<u>Coded</u> AWS Score	<u>Study 1</u> (Women)			<u>Study 2</u> (Women)			<u>Study 3</u> (Businessmen)		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>C%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>C%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>C%</u>
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	4
1	0	0	0	6	2	2	5	5	9
2	1	2	2	5	2	4	15	15	24
3	6	11	13	18	7	11	28	28	52
4	13	24	36	45	17	28	20	20	72
5	9	16	53	69	26	54	17	17	89
6	13	24	76	58	22	76	9	9	98
7	13	24	100	65	24	100	2	2	100
Totals	<u>55</u>			<u>266</u>			<u>100</u>		

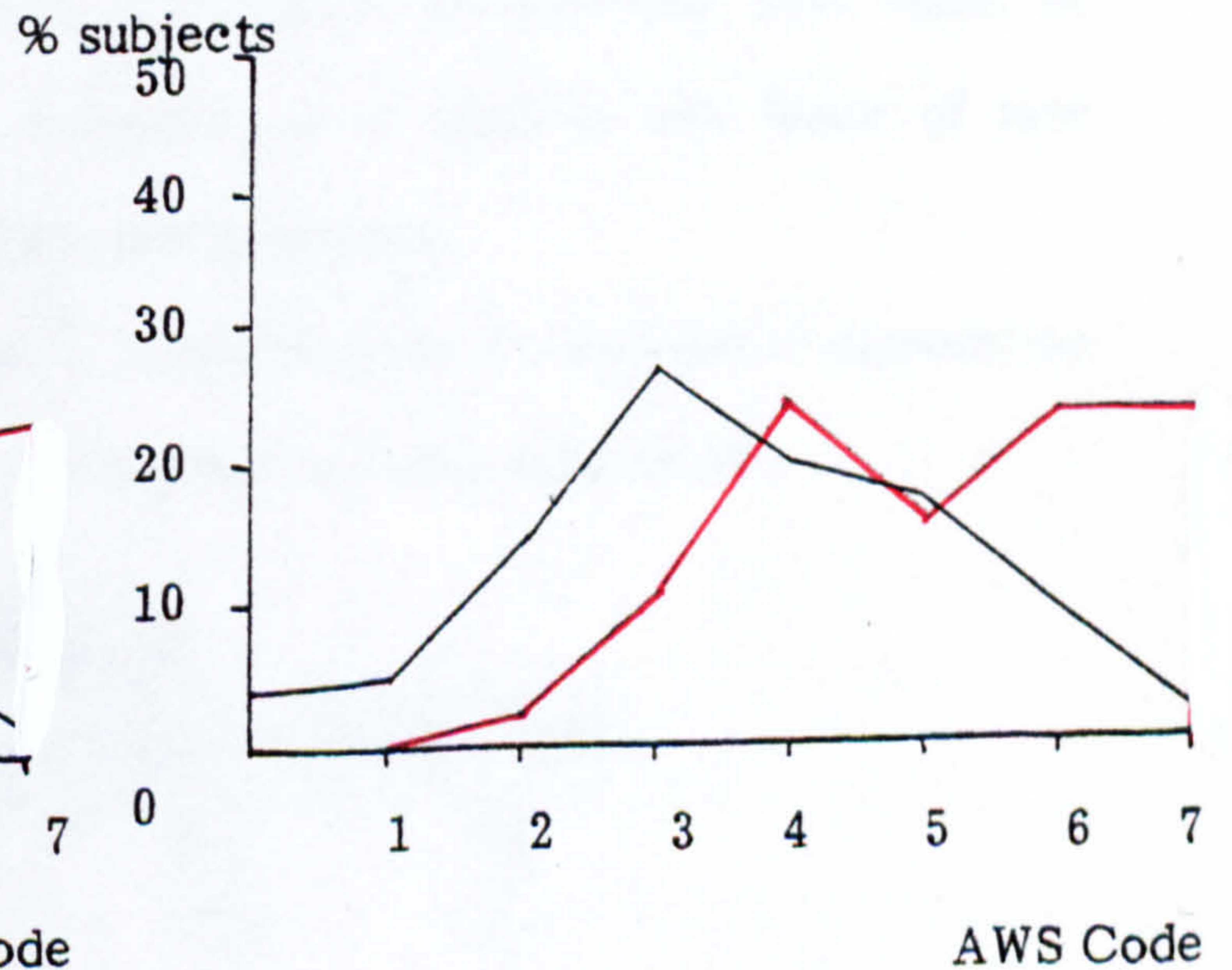
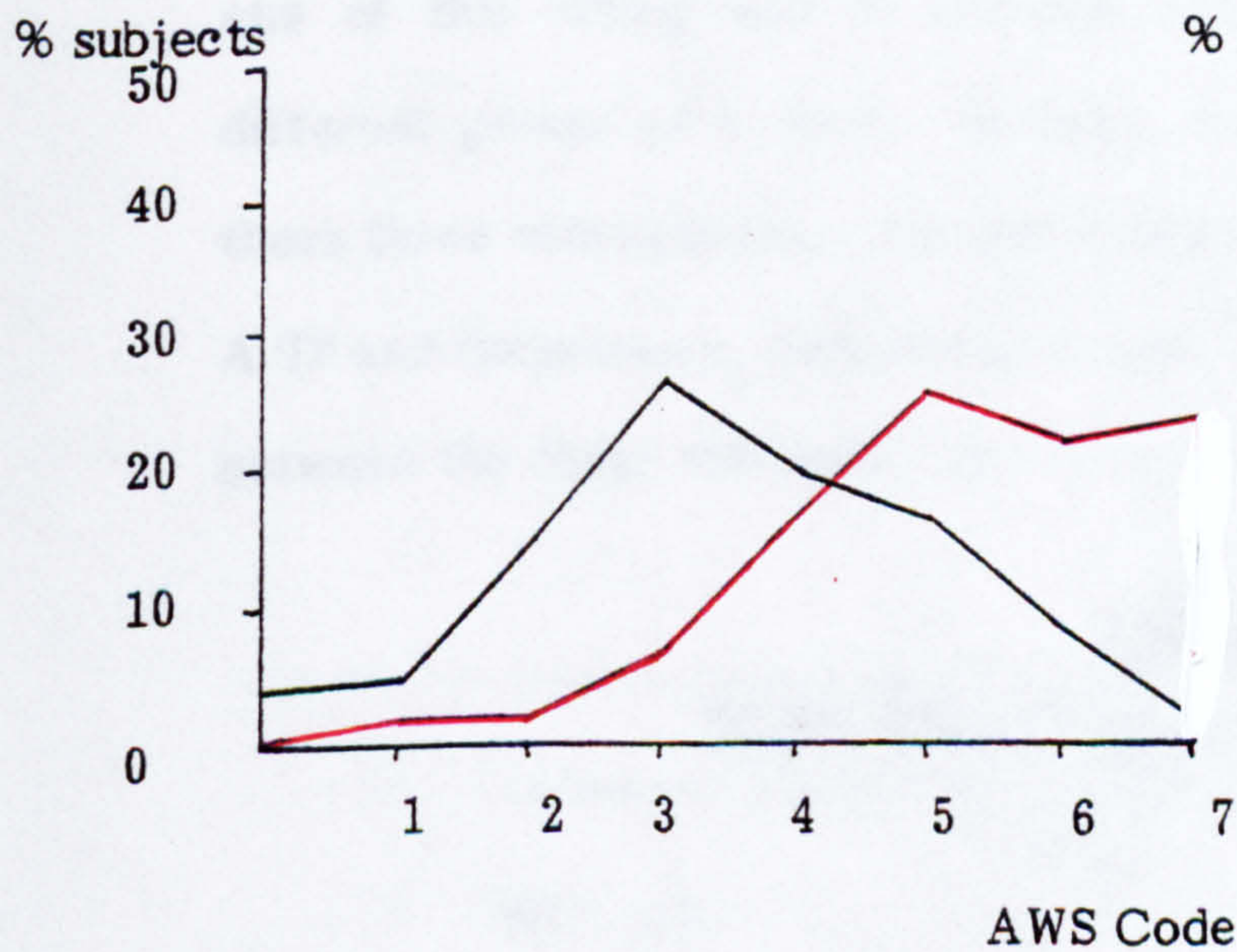
N.B. All percentages rounded

Diagram 8:1

Profiles of 'Attitude to Women' scale scores for 'advertisers'
and women in Studies 1 and 2

Advertisers/Study 2

Advertisers/Study 1



Key: Advertisers —
 Women —

It is observed in Table 8:15 and Diagram 8:1 above that there was a definite 'skew' in the 'advertisers' distribution of 'Attitude to Women' scale (AWS) scores towards the more 'traditional' end of the scale.

The mean AWS score of the 'advertiser' group was found to be 3.52 compared to values of 5.27 in Study 1 and 5.26 in Study 2. A 't' test comparison of the 'advertisers' AWS mean score with those of both groups of women subjects showed that the advertisers' sex-role orientation was significantly more 'traditional' i.e. 'lower', than the women in Study 1 ($t = 2.23$ $p < .01$, $F = 1.51$ NS) and the women in Study 2 ($t = 2.89$ $p < .01$, $F = 1.15$ NS).

Such a result would certainly appear to give some confirmation of the feminist view of 'advertisers' as distinctively different from women in their attitudes on sex-roles.

(ii) 'Advertisers' and concept scoring

All the 'advertisers' in Study 3 were required to rate the three concepts, 'women in advertisements', 'women in general' and 'the woman closest to you'. The central aim of this rating was to compare the 'advertisers' perceptions with those of different groups of women. Initially, however, some analysis was made of how these three concepts rated for the businessmen as a group.

A 'D' and Spearman r_s matrix was drawn up to investigate the perceived association between the three concepts. The results are given in Table 8:16 below.

Table 8:16

<u>'D' and Spearman, r_s matrix for 'advertisers'</u>			
		<u>WC</u>	<u>WA</u>
WC	'D'		5.19
	r_s	.35	.57
	Signif.	.01	.001
WA	'D'		5.03
	r_s		.56
	Signif.		.001
WG			

Examination of Table 8:16 reveals that the distances ('D' values) between the three concepts were all similar, and all comparisons showed a positive and significant correlation, indicating that the 'advertisers' perceptions of the three concepts were closely related. Although the highest 'D' value and relatively lowest correlation coefficient were observed between the 'woman closest to you' and 'women in advertisements' concepts, it was still chastening to observe how closely advertisers perceived these two 'women', particularly considering the relative closeness and high correlation of both concepts with the female stereotype - 'women in general'. Overall, the results did suggest a strong perceptual norm governing these 'advertisers' concepts, from which even the 'woman closest' to them was not excluded.

Nonetheless, it would be misleading to take too judgemental a stance on these results. Although this will be examined in more detail below, two points should be made:-

1. Although the 'D' values in Table 8:16 were generally lower and the correlation levels generally higher, the apparent perceived closeness of 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' among 'advertisers' did not differ markedly from the same relationship witnessed among the 'other women', and even 'high-scoring' women, of Studies 1 and 2.
2. Although the three 'advertisers' concepts were relatively close, examination of the three profiles together, set out in Appendix G:16, does indicate, through the item-means, that there was a general trend for the 'women closest to you' concept to score in a relatively 'anti-traditional' direction on the items, compared to the two stereotyped concepts, as well as in a more positive direction.

In summary, however, the 'advertisers', as a group, appeared to perceive a relative closeness of the three concepts measured. This is illustrated in the profile set out in Appendix G:16. Also, it is observable in the profile, that the advertisers also

tended to a very central position in their ratings. With the samples of women, even when there was agreement in concept assessment, this tended to occur, in many cases, in relatively extreme positions on the semantic differential poles. There are various possible interpretations of this relatively 'neutral' response of the advertisers, one of which could quite simply be a relatively 'neutral' attitude to the concepts measured and the issues they raised, compared to greater interest and stronger feelings among the women in the previous studies. For the 'advertiser' group, no item assessment moved beyond the point '5' rating and only the enthusiastic 'I like her' response to the 'women closest to you' moved beyond the point '2' rating. In fact, most item-means were ranged between '3' and '4', the central positions on the scale. Such inferred 'lack of enthusiasm' may perhaps explain some of the evident surprise that advertiser respondents demonstrate in the face of feminist criticism in the advertising, sex-role debate, not to say the somewhat dismissive tone of their defenses to such criticism (see Chapter 1, Section 1:7).

(iii) 'Advertisers' and women; concept comparisons

One of the major aims of investigating 'advertisers' perceptions was to give, for the first time in the literature on the advertising, sex-role debate, some empirical backing to the question of whether the advertisers' perceptions of certain concepts involved in the advertising sex-role debate differed from those of women - 'feminists', 'high-scoring' and 'other women'. The main forms of analysis were 'D' statistic comparisons between concepts, combined with Spearman r_s values to give some measure of association, as detailed in Chapter 6, Section 6:2.

In the first instance comparisons were made of the 'advertisers' and women's perceptions of the 'women in advertisements' and 'women in general' concepts.

The 'D' and r_s values for these calculations are set out in Table 8:17 below.

Table 8:17

'Advertiser'/women comparisons:

'D' and r_s statistics

<u>Women In General</u>		<u>'D'</u>	<u>r_s</u>	<u>Sig.</u>
Advertisers' concept compared to:	'Feminists' (S1)	6.45	.75	.001
	'Other women' (S1)	3.10	.78	.001
	'High-scoring' (S2)	3.99	.82	.001
	'Other women' (S2)	2.31	.86	.001
<u>Women In Advertisements</u>				
Advertiser's concept compared to:	'Feminists' (S1)	10.17	.74	.001
	'Other women' (S1)	3.45	.93	.001
	'High-scoring' (S2)	4.22	.92	.001
	'Other women' (S2)	2.64	.95	.001

S1: Study 1, S2: Study 2.

The most striking result of these comparisons was the general consistency of high and significant between-group correlations for the two concepts. It was observed in Section 8:8 earlier, that women agreed in their perceptions of the two concepts, but to this must be now added the perceptions of 'advertisers'. In short, perceptions of 'women in advertisements' and 'women in general', in terms of the general rating of the concepts, would appear to be not only independent of sex-roles, but also of sex. The stereotypes appear to be pervasive and consistent.

Notably, however, given the strong correlations in general direction of concept perceptions, it was the 'feminist' group who showed most difference in the 'D' values, indicating, again, a greater extremity of response within the generalised pattern. The greatest difference was seen, interestingly, between 'advertisers' and 'feminist' perceptions of the 'women in advertisements' concept.

Balancing this 'feminist'/'advertiser' discrepancy, however, was the markedly low 'D' statistics and consistently higher correlations between all other groups of women and 'advertisers' in their perceptions of the two concepts. This trend was most marked among the 'other women' samples of the two studies. Among the non-

'feminist' groups of women, the 'high-scoring' women of Study 2 showed a relatively larger difference, and slightly lower correlations, that is, tending in the direction of the 'feminist' response, but the discrepancy between them and 'feminists' was far higher than between them and 'other women'.

An interesting observation to emerge from these results, however, lay in inspection of the item mean discrepancies. These means are set out in Appendices F:1, and the representative profiles in Appendices G:3, G:4, G:8, G:9 and G:16. In comparisons with 'high-scoring' women, but markedly in comparisons with the 'feminist' group, the interesting pattern in item scoring was for the female subjects to have a negative and 'traditional' view of the two concepts compared with the 'advertisers', who tended to score more neutrally, more positively and more 'anti-traditionally'.

This pattern was most clearly seen in comparisons of the 'advertiser' and the 'feminist' results. For example, in ratings of 'women in advertisements', the greatest deviation in item-mean scores between the two groups occurred in 'feminist' ratings of 'women in advertisements', as strongly 'submissive', 'dependent', 'unintelligent', 'financially dependent', not 'competing with men', 'frail', 'unliberated', 'unambitious', while 'advertisers' rated this concept as relatively 'dominant', 'intelligent', 'financially independent', 'strong', 'liberated' and 'ambitious. In ratings within the same pole, 'feminists' tended to deviate sharply into the more negative or 'traditional' assessment, seeing 'women in advertisements', for example, as more 'persuaded by adverts', 'reliant on looks' and 'politically unaware'. Within this relativity on poles, there was also a marked 'feminist' tendency to see 'women in advertisements' as more 'domestic', that is, more so than 'advertisers', to 'live for family, home and husband', to be an 'excellent wife, housewife and mother', to be a 'housewife only', to 'enjoy children', and to have a 'tidy, clean home'. In short, it was the 'feminist' group, and to a much smaller extent, the 'high-scoring women' group, who perceived 'women in advertisements' negatively, anti-traditionally and more domestically orientated than did 'advertisers'. Inspection of item means and profiles for the 'women in general' concept yielded the same observations.

'Other women' in both Studies 1 and 2, however, who, it was observed earlier, also had a positive and relatively anti-traditional view of women, thus shared the 'advertisers' view in respect of 'women in advertisements', and 'women in general'. In summary, 'advertiser'/women comparisons of 'women in advertisements' and 'women in general' indicated that although there was strong agreement between all groups of women and advertisers in the general direction of profiles, the largest disagreement in perceptual rating of these concepts occurred between 'feminists' and 'advertisers'. Within this disagreement, it was 'feminists' who then had the more negative and anti-traditional view of these two concepts, particularly of 'women in advertisements'. Both groups of 'other women', shared a relatively positive view of the concepts, and, in this respect, and in overall scale comparisons, showed a more marked agreement with the 'advertisers'. With 'high-scoring' women, there was a tendency to orientate towards the 'feminist' view but this group still showed higher agreement with the 'advertisers' perceptions than did 'feminists'. In short, not only did these results support the 'advertisers' view of 'feminists' as 'extraordinary' women, but demonstrated that the apparent differences in 'advertisers' and 'feminists' perceptions of 'women in advertisements', and 'women in general' are empirically based. More to the point, the 'advertisers' contention that their perceptions and attitudes towards 'women in advertisements' is closer to that of the 'ordinary women', is given some first support by this evidence. 'Feminists' were apparently not only perceptually distanced from 'other women', as was noted in previous sections, but also from the 'advertisers' they criticise.

(iv) 'Advertisers' and women: 'self' and 'stereotype' concepts

It has been suggested that, certainly in the case of 'stereotype' perceptions, 'advertisers' did show most agreement with the perceptions of 'other women', and least with 'feminists'. This, however, could not be the final word on the analysis. In the first place, 'feminists' have suggested that the 'advertisers' perceptions of

'women in general', have spilled over into the advertising images of women, images which, the feminist critics contend, do not reflect the 'real', self-images of women. To examine this contention, therefore, investigation was made of the extent to which the 'advertisers', 'women in general' concept equated with that of the two self-concepts of women. Taking this further into the direct examination of 'women in advertisements', investigation was also made of the extent to which women's two self-concepts equated with 'advertisers' notions of 'women in advertisements'. The 'D' statistics and r_s values for these comparisons are given in Table 8:18.

Table 8:18

Comparisons of 'advertisers', 'women in advertisements' and 'women in general' concepts with 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts of women (Studies 1 and 2)

		<u>'D'</u>	<u>r_s</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
<u>Women In General</u> (Advertisers) v. 'self' (Women)	Feminists (S1)	12.13	-.29	.01
	Other women (S1)	6.04	.29	.001
	High-scoring (S2)	7.81	-.06	NS
	Other Women (S2)	5.85	.36	.005
<u>Women In Advertisements</u> (Advertisers) v. 'self' (Women)	Feminists (S1)	11.98	-.25	.05
	Other Women (S1)	7.40	.18	(.078)
	High-scoring (S2)	8.54	.03	NS
	Other women (S2)	7.05	.24	.025
<u>Women In General</u> (Advertisers) v. 'ideal self' (women)	Feminists (S1)	15.37	-.28	.01
	Other Women (S1)	10.82	-.02	NS
	High-scoring (S2)	12.48	-.24	.058
	Other Women (S2)	10.28	-.02	NS
<u>Women In Advertisements</u> (Advertisers) v. 'ideal self' (women)	Feminists (S1)	14.61	-.11	NS
	Other Women (S1)	9.47	.26	.025
	High-scoring (S2)	11.19	.07	NS
	Other Women (S2)	9.16	.26	.05

S1: Study 1, S2: Study 2

1. Women's 'self' concepts and 'advertisers' concepts of 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements'

The results showed a negative and significant correlation between the 'feminist' 'self' perceptions and the 'advertisers', 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' concepts, indicating a notable disparity between the 'advertisers' views of women and how 'feminists' saw themselves. To a notable extent this result further confirmed the communication problem between the two proponents in the advertising, sex-role debate.

'Advertisers' perceptions of women - whether 'in general' or 'in advertisements', did, however, show positive and significant correlations with how both groups of 'other women' saw themselves, and thus, further confirmed the advertisers' contention that their perceptions of women equate with those of women themselves. Between these two sets of results, however, stood those of the 'high-scoring' women, who again fell between the two camps, yielding, for example, a negative but non-significant correlation between their 'self' concept and the 'advertisers' concept of 'women in general'.

The sizes of the 'D' statistics also gave support to these observations, so that the largest values were always seen in 'feminist'/'advertiser' comparisons and the lowest in 'advertiser'/'other women' comparisons, with the 'high-scoring' women falling between the two.

2. Women's 'ideal self' concepts and 'advertisers' concepts of 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements'

Although a strong pattern ran through the data on 'self' concept comparisons, confirming other trends noted earlier for 'feminists' to be most distanced and 'other women' to be closest to 'advertisers' perceptions, the 'D' and r_s values for 'ideal self' comparisons were not so clear, and indicated the main signs of disagreement

between advertisers and 'ordinary' women, and questioned any advertisers' claims to represent 'ideal' as opposed to 'real' selves of women.

The 'advertisers' stereotype of women - 'women in general' - showed no relationship with the 'ideal self' concepts of 'other women' and the disparity was witnessed in the greater 'D' statistics and the trend to negative correlation in the r_s values. Both 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women confirmed and consolidated this 'disagreement' in showing negative and significant correlations, and the lowest 'D' values. In this one respect, all groups of women appeared to 'disagree' with 'advertisers' perceptions.

This trend was not seen so strongly, however, in the comparison of the 'women in advertisements' ('advertisers') concept with the 'ideal self' concepts of women. In this respect, however, the 'advertisers' would appear again to be correct in claiming special knowledge of 'ordinary' women, since the results from both studies showed a positive and significant correlation between 'other women's', 'ideal self' and 'advertisers' perceptions of 'women in advertisements'. The disagreement with 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women was retained, with both groups scoring low and non-significantly in these comparisons. The 'D' statistics again supported this pattern in the data.

In summary, the 'advertisers' concept of 'women in general' showed positive and significant correlations with the 'self', but not the 'ideal self' concepts of 'other women'. In comparison with the 'advertisers' concept of 'women in general', 'feminists' again showed most disparity, so that their 'self' concepts, and 'ideal self' concepts correlated negatively and significantly, that is, showed an inverse relationship to 'advertisers' concepts. 'High-scoring' women again fell somewhere in between the two groups of women, but tended to orientate to the 'feminist' disparity.

In comparison with the 'advertisers' concept of 'women in advertisements', there was a low but positive and significant correlation with the 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts of both groups of 'other women', giving some support to 'advertisers' claims to understand and reflect the views of these women. 'Feminist' and 'high-

scoring' women differed from the 'advertisers' concept of 'women in advertisements' in both their 'self' and 'ideal self' ratings with, again, the 'feminists' showing the strongest, negative trend.

In short, advertisers' claims to reflect 'other womens' perceptions apparently only extended to their understanding of the 'women in advertisements' concept, and they should, therefore, take care in claims to represent 'ideal selves' of women through their own 'women in general' concepts. 'Feminists' again showed maximum disagreement, and 'high-scoring' women followed this trend.

Finally, and in the light of evidence that this third concept appeared to be the most 'positive' of all the 'advertisers' concepts, comparison was made of the 'advertisers' perceptions of 'the woman closest to you' and the two 'self' concepts of the women subjects. The results are set out in Table 8:19 below:-

Table 8:19
Comparisons of 'advertisers'
'women closest to you' concept with
'self' and 'ideal self' concepts of women (Studies 1 and 2)

		<u>'D'</u>	<u>r_s</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
<u>'Self'</u>	Feminists (S1)	8.69	.40	.001
	Other Women (S1)	4.07	.77	.001
	High-scoring (S2)	5.50	.54	.001
	Other Women (S2)	3.56	.80	.001
<u>'Ideal Self'</u>	Feminists (S1)	11.28	.47	.001
	Other Women (S1)	7.10	.66	.001
	High-scoring (S2)	8.56	.52	.001
	Other Women (S2)	6.55	.68	.001

Results on the 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts of all groups of women showed a high and significant correlation with the 'advertisers' concept of the 'woman closest to you'.

In addition, the 'D' values were far lower, and the correlations higher than in any other of these comparisons.

Notably, although the 'D' values were higher and correlations lower, even the results on 'feminist' and 'high-scoring' women groups suggested agreement with this concept.

If there is one overriding interpretation of these results, it is that advertisers may claim knowledge of women and dissociate from 'feminists' in terms of their 'stereotypes' of women - both 'in general' and 'in advertisements' but they would, apparently, create closest agreement with all women if their perceptions of the woman 'closest to them' were allowed to percolate through to their advertising strategies.

Part III - Summary

From the data discussed throughout the four studies in Part III of this thesis certain observations can be made about the three groups of women studied, and the implications such results may have for the inferences to be drawn from the content analysis of women's magazines which formed Part II of this thesis, inferences which can also be drawn about much of the broader advertising, sex-role debate.

1. 'Feminists'

Perhaps the most important result to emerge from this series of studies was the manner in which 'feminists' did emerge as a distinct and differentiated minority group. It was shown in the Kelly study, that 'feminists' appeared to be distinctively articulate - particularly in those triads reflecting 'socialised' responses - and, in terms of construct tone, to be 'idiosyncratic' in their views of elements presented, being apparently more concerned with abstract 'behavioural' concepts which related strongly to items of 'feminist' politics and the 'masculine' ethos. It was also observed that certain items only appeared to be of concern to 'feminists', notably those relating to 'liberation', 'male relativity', 'politicism' and references to 'sex objects'.

To a large extent, this 'idiosyncratic' tendency of the 'feminist' group was reflected in the semantic differential results of Study 1, where several items, similar to those noted above, significantly differentiated 'feminist' perceptions across all the concepts rated, and suggested that these were dependent on the status of the 'feminist' group and independent of the concepts. In addition, in all comparisons, both of concepts individually, and in between-concept comparisons, the 'feminist' group emerged as consistently more 'extreme'. In the main concept comparisons, this extremity of view emerged in the form of extreme scale ratings, and, in inter-

concept comparisons, in the form of the largest 'D' statistics, and in negative and significant correlations between concepts, this last result being most notable in the comparison of the two self-concepts with the 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' concepts. In comparison with the 'advertiser' sample, this rating extremity held, with the 'feminist' group showing most disagreement with 'advertiser' perceptions both in straight concept, and selected inter-concept comparisons.

Overall, in the general tone of concepts, the 'feminist' group did not differ from the general tendencies of all women, but the idiosyncratic and extreme nature of their ratings contributed to a particularly negative view of 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' which was also overtly traditionally female, and in the two self-concepts to a particularly positive and non-traditional view. This extremity, it was observed, appeared to be the main factor in the negative and apposite ratings of the self-concepts compared to the 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' concepts, and the deviation of 'feminist', self-concepts, from the 'advertisers' views of 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements'.

The main conclusion which can be drawn from these results is to indicate that feminists do appear to have a particularly individualistic stance in the advertising sex-role debate, a stance which apparently springs from their idiosyncratic perceptions of the concepts which intrude in that debate. It may be construed that the feminist attitude to advertising imagery does spring from these self and 'stereotype' perceptions, and does importantly contribute to their hostility. Such results also appear to indicate a real break in communication between feminists and advertisers, in that the two groups are apparently working with different perceptions and data bases in their arguments. Given the observations on the studies in Part III of this thesis, the debate or battle between feminists and advertisers would seem to have little chance of resolution, the disagreement being apparently a function of subjective rather than objective criteria.

The second important conclusion which can be drawn from the data is that there is evident disagreement between 'feminists' and 'other women'. Certainly, there would appear to be little evidence that 'feminists' are representative of these 'other women', since important differences obviously exist in the priorities, attitudes, perceptions and expectations of the two groups of women. Things which appeared to matter to 'feminists' did not do so for 'other women' and vice versa. This factor was strongly illustrated in the opposite pole comparisons noted in Section 8:4, where it was shown, particularly in the self-concept ratings, that the 'feminists' had significantly different perceptions compared to 'other women' in terms of role, domesticity, work and certain behaviours. In other words, the 'feminist' group, in their perceptions of 'self' and 'ideal self', differed significantly from 'other women', and it may be these differences which figure strongly in the criticism directed at advertising media. Feminists, it may be suggested, criticise advertising media for inaccurate portrayal of factors which are especially and differently important to them, but which have a different or opposite priority for 'other women.'

Given, however, these important observations on the distinctive 'feminist' minority, and the manner in which they evidently differed both from 'other women' and 'advertisers' in perceptions of the concepts which are fundamental to the advertising sex-role debate, it must also be observed that there was 'another side' to the data.

What also emerged through the results of studies in Part III of this thesis, was that, in some important ways, 'feminists' and 'other women' did agree and may, in fact, have had more common ground than the analysis above, and the published feminist critiques would indicate. In the first place, the general ratings of concepts did not differ in general direction between 'feminists' and 'other women'. For the most part, it was the extremity of the 'feminist' response which differentiated that group. The 'opposite pole' items were obviously vital to an understanding of the 'feminist' position, and particularly to the emphases in feminist critiques of

advertising, but these 'opposite pole' comparisons were in the minority. In ratings of other items there were many non-significant differences between 'feminists' and 'other women', and the generally negative or positive, and (anti-) traditional tones of the four concepts were consistent between the groups. It is, indeed, ironic, that the 'feminists' had the most 'negative' views of 'women in general', when an 'enlightened' response from the 'feminist' group would have been expected, but, in this respect, 'feminist' perceptions did not broadly differ from the majority of women subjects in the two studies.

In addition, it was observed in the Kelly study that, in forced comparisons, the 'feminist' group were prepared to identify themselves with concepts in a manner which did not differ largely from 'other women', while in the media data comparisons the 'feminists' did not differ significantly in main media exposure patterns from 'other women'.

These observations on the similarity between 'feminists' and 'other women' are pertinent in three major ways. In the first place, such results do beg the question of the extent to which the feminist response to advertising is a strongly socialised one originating from the feminist status; that the particular on-line response to advertising from feminist critics may be intimately related to the feminist ethos but not, apparently, to honest, subjective judgement. This point was observed in Chapter 7, particularly in the light of deviations in 'feminist' responses between different triads. In the second place, this similarity gives greater emphasis to the content of feminist media criticism. The emphasis in that criticism obviously appears to spring from factors which are related to the feminist self-concepts and priorities, but rarely do those criticisms touch on the areas of common interest between the groups of women. Thirdly, the evidence on similarities in media exposure data for 'feminists' and 'other women', when seen in tandem with the different perceptions of advertisement concepts, does give some support to the theory of selective attention, recall and perception, inherent in the work on mass media 'information' theory and that on advertising 'effect'. This is particularly

notable in the case of differential perceptions of the concept of 'women in women's magazine advertisements', given the broadly non-significant differences between 'feminists' and 'other women' in their general exposure to different types of women's magazines. Overall, it would appear that the two groups of women take perceptions from advertisements which are coloured by sex-role orientation taken to them. The implications of this observation are discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.

2. 'Other women'

Perhaps the most important implication to emerge from the data on 'other women' was a re-establishment of their autonomy in the face of feminist criticism, and to indicate, for the first time in the literature, what their perceptual priorities were in factors relating to the advertising, sex-role debate. Another important result to emerge from these studies was the evidence that the self-concepts of 'other women' were not as deviant from the 'women in advertisements' concept as 'feminists' would assert, and to suggest that these 'other women' were a group with different priorities and concepts from 'feminists'.

Having noted this, however, it is pertinent to observe that 'other women', in fact, appeared to share many stances with the 'feminist' group in concept ratings, and, most notably, not to demonstrate as high, or in certain cases, even a significant correlation between self-concepts and that of 'women in advertisements'.

It should be of interest to both feminists and advertisers that, despite the warring assertions about this factor, 'other women' were not strongly observed to have self-concepts which related either to the female stereotype or to the image of 'women in advertisements'. Whatever the feminist perceptions of 'other women', they may not be so gullible or affected by advertising as the feminists would appear to think. In fact, the profile comparisons of the two advertisement concepts with the two self concepts indicated that discrepancies did exist. Similar results were observed in the Kelly study, where the 'other women' group, although differing in

aspects of articulacy, and construct type, broadly agreed with the 'feminist' group in general flavour of the constructs, seeing 'women in advertisements' relatively negatively in comparisons with 'self' and 'ideal self', in the same manner as the 'feminists'.

What did emerge strongly with the 'other women' groups, however, both in the 'Kelly' and the questionnaire studies, was the relatively milder views they held. This was particularly shown in the concepts of 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' wherein the 'other women' group were shown to have the consistently least negative and most neutral conceptual ratings. In the Kelly triads, the 'other women' were less prepared to give the vituperative and negative constructs that the 'feminists' gave and, in fact, appeared to have almost a sympathy for the 'women in general' element that 'feminists' did not. To some extent, these results may be interpreted from the aspect of neutrality, an interpretation which is seen in the scale profile deviations to the central rating and the lower number of constructs in the Kelly study, and might suggest that the factors which intrude in the advertising sex-role debate are simply not so interesting or important to 'other women'. In short, such an interpretation again contributes to a view of the advertising sex-role debate as a topic of central feminist concern, about which 'other women' - and advertisers, who show a similar neutral trend - may be markedly less concerned.

These observations, and others, are discussed more fully in Chapter 9.

3. 'High-scoring women'

In the centre of the observations on study results in Part III of this thesis lay the 'high-scoring' women of Study 2. To an important extent many of the observations in Point '1' above (on 'feminists'), can also be seen to apply to the 'high-scoring' women but, as a group, they appeared to lie in the centre of the advertising sex-role debate, sharing some 'feminist' views, but not differing from 'other women' in the same extreme way as the 'feminists' did. The observations on the 'high-scoring' women, however, must be compared with the other studies in this genre, noted in

Chapter 2, Section 2:5, where it was shown that comparably 'ordinary' but 'non-traditional' women did not differ importantly from 'other women' in their views on factors relevant to the advertising, sex-role debate. The results of Study 2 to some extent replicated and supported the broad results of those studies, but added to them, in showing that while 'other women' may demonstrate some perceptual similarity between self and 'advertising' concepts, 'high-scoring' women do not. In fact, this group of women were original and peculiar, lying between the strong, and apparently committed 'feminist' views, concepts and perceptions which impelled a differentiation between self and 'women in advertisements', and the relative closeness of the 'other women' sample, who also displayed a relative neutrality in comparisons with the strong 'feminist' views. The 'high-scoring' women, in fact, tended to show a relative absence of relationship between self and 'women in advertisements', and 'women in general' concepts, and, as not a small group - they represented 24% of the sample - should give some concern to the advertisers, with whom they did not notably agree in concept perceptions but who, as a group, cannot be merely dismissed as 'unrepresentative women's libbers'.

4. Advertisers

The most important result to emerge from the 'advertisers' perceptions was their apparent concomitance with those of 'other women'. To a large extent it would appear either that advertisers do have a special knowledge of, and understand this 'majority' of women, or that they operate with perceptions which are not different from the majority; the 'other women' being part of this 'majority' view. Other important observations on the 'advertiser' group, however, concerned their different 'sex-role' orientation compared to the women in Studies 1 and 2, and their apparently 'neutral' and consistent perceptions of women, whether 'in general', 'in advertisements' or 'closest to you'. This latter neutrality, however, did not demonstrate a notably negative view of the concepts, and provided a contrast with their relatively 'traditional' views of women. Such observations would appear to indicate that, for the advertisers in this sample, the advertising, sex-role debate

may be of little relevance or interest. If this suggestion is combined with the observations on their comparative stance with the 'feminist' group, then some understanding may be directed to the tone of advertisers' responses to feminist critics. Their apparent view of such critics as 'extraordinary', and the dismissive tone with which 'feminists' are referred to, would suggest that, for advertisers, the whole advertising, sex-role debate is luxurious, a largely feminist inspired phenomenon.

The observations on 'other women' and 'high-scoring' women, however, should give some concern to advertisers. In the first place, although 'advertisers' concepts of 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' did appear to tally with the self-concepts of 'other women', supporting the advertisers' assertions of 'empathy' with these women, it is of interest that women's 'self' and 'women in advertisements' concept did not then go on to tally in the way that advertisers, from the data on advertising effectiveness, would wish to hope. Furthermore, for all groups there was deviation between the 'advertisers' concepts of 'women in general' and the women's 'ideal self' concepts, and even the advertisers' concept of 'women in advertisements', while providing a significant but low correlation, did not give massive support for a relationship with 'other women's' 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts. In short, the advertiser cannot afford to be smug about his apparent empathy. The advertiser, too, should be aware of the particular idiosyncrasy of the 'high-scoring' women group. These women were not the 'feminist minority' which the advertisers may choose to dismiss, but 'ordinary' women, who held relatively non-traditional views, and appeared to find little in common between their 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts and that of 'women in advertisements'. Such women formed a respectable proportion of the sample, and cannot by size of numbers or 'feminist' status be dismissed.

In summary, the data in Part III has provided some important, objective evidence on the perceptions and stances of the three, main parties to the advertising, sex-

role debate. How this evidence may be used to make inferences from the results of the content analysis of women's magazine advertisements (Chapter 5), is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

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This thesis took as its central component an investigation of the sex-role stereotyping in women's magazine advertisements. The lack of empirical research into all advertising sex-role stereotypes, and the general inadequacy of what research does exist, would indicate a necessity for such research to continue and to be developed in all media. Women's magazines were chosen, however, not only because of their evident importance to women readers and advertisers, but also because of the particular lack of adequate data in that medium.

Through the derivation and use of an original coding schedule, data were provided on the content of advertising in women's magazines, which showed that some good evidence existed for the presence of sex-role stereotypes. Nonetheless, different analyses of the data also indicated a potentially more complex position than other studies have evoked, a complexity in part stimulated by the desire to investigate the content of such imagery from interpretative angles other than a purely feminist one.

It was pointed out in the conclusion of the content analysis, however, that inferences from such data should be made with care. Those conclusions, and also literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3, established that inferences from media content obtain maximum validity in the context of independent research. Such independent data was especially important when quantifying the function of media and its impact upon the people exposed to it. While some independent research existed which appertained indirectly to the subject of women and advertising, sex-role imagery it was noted that more direct evidence was needed not only to illuminate the perceptions of all parties to the advertising, sex-role debate, but also to investigate some apparent contradictions and unanswered questions in the

existing data. To this end, Part III of this thesis outlined and described studies which investigated particular concepts inherent in the advertising, sex-role debate, including some observations on the specific concept of 'women in women's magazine advertisements'. The data from these studies provided contributory evidence on the stances of 'feminists', 'advertisers' and two groups of 'other women', evidence which, while implied and assumed in other sources, has never been directly investigated.

The fundamental structure of Chapter 9 is based on discussion of the inferences to be made from the content analysis of women's magazine advertisements (Chapter 5) from the perspective of 'other women', 'feminists', and advertisers, including some inferences from the view of the 'high-scoring' woman.

These discussions will form the central and primary part of the Chapter, after which some discussion will be made on the relevance of investigating advertising sex-role stereotypes in the context of women's social position now, and in the future. Suggestions are also made on possible directions in future research.

Section 9:1

Women's magazine advertisements: inferences from the 'other women' perspective

The first inferences which may be made from the content analysis data must be from the vantage point of the 'other women' sample, the group of non-'feminist' and relatively more traditional women to whom it is presumed the bulk of women's magazine advertising is directed.

This group is discussed first, for several reasons. First, although there is no doubt that it is the 'feminist' and 'advertiser' groups who have instigated and conducted the advertising, sex-role debate, it is these 'other' or more 'ordinary' women who must be assumed to lie at the centre of that debate. Second, it is these women who have rarely, if ever, been either investigated or attended to in the literature. Third, given the importance of these women not only to the general debate, but also to that concerning women's magazines in particular, it is perhaps more fitting

that the 'feminist' and 'advertiser' views should proceed from, and be seen in the context of these inferences rather than vice versa, a priority which is original in the literature, but more logical if not more democratic in practice.

The central basis from which inferences will be made is some consideration of how, to what extent and from what bases, some implication of 'self' reflection occurs in the women's magazine advertisement imagery. Such a consideration is central to the contentions of 'inaccurate stereotypes' or 'accurate reflection' which underpin the advertising, sex-role debate, and is central to any implications of effect, and imagery reception. To reiterate McDonald, 1973, in any consideration of media impact 'the individual who is being exposed must be the main source of variation in observed effectiveness' (p.6).

The issue of potential reflection of the advertising imagery may be viewed by construction both from objective evidence in the literature, and by the data reported in Part III of this thesis. The latter data source also enables a discussion of the 'self' or reflective images in women's magazine advertisements for 'other women' in the context of feminist perceptions and advertiser beliefs.

1. Comparisons with 'reality'

It was observed in the introduction to Part III that having 'proven' the existence of advertising, sex-role stereotypes in their studies, no investigator had made comparisons with the real state of affairs. It is, however, a persistent claim by advertisers that their imagery is aimed at attracting and reflecting the self-images of consumers exposed to it.

This first discussion will examine how self-perceptions of 'other women' might equate with the advertising imagery in women's magazines, from a theoretical basis, on objective evidence from various sources.

The fundamental issue is, to what extent do the stereotypes, observed in the women's magazine content analysis in Chapter 5, support objective evidence on how women describe themselves, and what is known of their 'real' behaviour? In

short, are such images stereotypes in the sense of inaccurate representations of women, as 'feminists' assert, or is there a fundamental kernel of truth in the images, as the advertisers assert; are they valid reflections of 'ordinary' women?

There is a body of literature which has investigated some of the broader aspects of actual female behaviour and perceptions, and this will be referred to under the appropriate stereotype discussions. In addition to this literature, data from Masculinity-Femininity (MF) tests will be used, since this literature is accepted as valid representation of norms in femininity (and masculinity) (Greenberg and Zeldow, 1976). The responses on these tests are assumed, through large-scale testing, to be typical of responses of the average male or female.

It is not, however, proposed to review and categorise here all the items in the common 'MF' tests. Several hundred items over the tests would need consideration, and apart from the obvious impracticality of such a task, there is also the problem of the datedness of many of the items (Lunneborg and Lunneborg, 1972).

What is useful to this discussion, however, are some recent factor analyses of these tests which have extracted certain items which are best, and recent discriminators of the sexes. In particular, the studies of Lunneborg and Lunneborg, 1972 (based on work by Engel, 1966), Waters, Waters and Pincus, 1977 and Richter, 1974 will be considered. The first study involved a factor analysis of 136 items gleaned from the 'Guildford-Martin GAMIN' scale, the 'California Personality Inventory' MF test, the earlier 'Gough MF' test and the 'MMPI' MF scale, from which tests five factors and 42 discriminating items were extracted. The second study involved a factor analysis of the 'Bem Sex-Role Inventory', which isolated one 'female' and two 'male' factors; and the third was a factor analysis of the 40 items on the 'Giessen MF' test which extracted 11 discriminating items of 'female' response.

In addition to these sources, other appropriate studies on female sex-roles will be referred to.

Alongside the results of these studies, the data on 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts reported in the studies in Part III of this thesis will be noted. Discrimination

between the 'ideal' and 'real' self results, where appropriate to this discussion, will be made later.

(i) The 'decorative' role and concern for appearance

The stereotype of the 'decorative' woman, concern for appearance, and related stereotypes such as the association of female characters with 'personal (cosmetic)' products was one of the strongest cluster of stereotypes noted in the women's magazine advertisement content analysis in Chapter 5. The 'decorative' role was also the most persistent and common female stereotype in the advertisements examined. To what extent did these 'stereotypes' equate with female self-perceptions, and reality?

That appearance concern may be a distinctively female attribute is suggested in several sources, the most persistent being the work on body somatypes. Dwyer and Mayer, 1970, for example, in an analysis of several national opinion polls revealed that appearance and weight concern was much more common among adult women than men, a result supported for teenage girls by Adams, 1971, Huenemann et al, 1966, Dwyer, Feldman and Mayer, 1970 and others. In the study by Dwyer, Feldman and Mayer, 1970 16% of girls and 19% of boys had symptoms classified as obese, but over 80% of the girls but less than 20% of the boys wanted to weigh less than they did. Through the results of these studies, and in particular that by Dwyer and Mayer, 1968, there was a strong indication that not only were females more concerned with the concept of 'ideal body shape', notably the slim or thin, slender physique, but were more self-critical and aware of their own appearance in relation to it.

In the data from the MF tests, there were few items which directly dealt with the factor of appearance, but it is noted in the study by Richter, 1974 that among the 11 items which were good discriminators of 'female' response was agreement with the statement that 'I think I attach greater importance to looking nice', while indirect support for female appearance concern may be found in the discriminating item in the Lunneborg and Lunneborg, 1972 study, where negative response to the

item 'I have never had any breaking out on my skin that has worried me', was noted as 'female'.

These observations from the data deal largely with the issue of general female self-perceptions, but to these may be added certain observations on recent female behaviour. In the context of 'female' appearance concern and the association of female advertisement characters with 'personal (cosmetic)' products, it is interesting to observe the results of an IPC Toiletries and Cosmetics Survey, (IPC, 1971) which demonstrated that cosmetic ownership and purchase were still notable female interests. In that survey it was reported that there was a high level of cosmetic ownership among women of all types and ages. Most women interviewed owned at least three types of lipstick, nail varnish and face creams, while 11% of the sample owned six or more lipsticks and nail varnishes, and 14%, six or more eye-shadows. The survey concluded that there was still a marked interest for women in 'a continuing concern for appearance; and a strong desire to appear young'. This latter factor related to the predominant purchase rates of moisturisers, face and anti-wrinkle creams, but it also provides an interesting comparison with the 'youth' stereotype in the women's magazine advertisements.

In this context, it is also interesting to observe that female enrolment in charm modelling and other 'appearance improvement' academies has been showing a recent boom. There was, apparently, a 20% increase between 1977 and 1978 for enrolment in these courses which cost £145 for a 12 week session, an observation which also testifies to an additional financial interest in female appearance concern (Thomas, 1977). In the context of female behaviour, it is also notable that Berlei, in a survey of 4,000 women over two years, found that interest in such 'body-moulding' clothing as brassieres, corsets and 'firm control' underwear had shown an increase between 1976 and 1978, and that, despite a slump in purchase rates in 1975, sales of these garments were now increasing (Lustig, 1978). Observations in the Berlei survey that women-in-general are becoming more tube-shaped, and slimmer would also add some indication that the stereotype of the

'slim' female in the women's magazine advertisements might be less of a stereotype than some reflection of real trends in female body shape .

In short, some evidence on female self-perception and behaviour would indicate that images of a 'decorative' female, and 'concern for appearance', as well as indirect images of personal cosmetic usage, youth, and slimness might provide some reflection of female interest, concern and self-imagery.

Other observations in the literature also provide some support for this contention, particularly among those studies which have compared the 'ordinary' with the more 'feminist' and 'non-traditional' women. If women's magazine advertising is designed to attract and reflect more of the former than the latter group, then such results are of relevance to this discussion. In this respect, the observation by Rosen and Aneschensel, 1976 that one important discriminator of these 'ordinary' women was a 'greater concern for appearance' is not only interesting in its own right as a contribution to understanding of appearance priorities for women in reality, but also because it supports observations noted in the results of studies in Part III of this thesis.

The results of these studies are given in detail in Chapter 8, but in relation to comparisons of 'self' concepts of 'feminists' and 'other women', and 'high scoring' with 'other women', it is notable that the 'other women' samples rated themselves as significantly more 'reliant on looks', wore 'more make-up', were more likely to 'wear dresses', were 'smarter', and had a greater 'need to be attractive' than 'feminists' and, in some cases, 'high-scoring' women. In the context of the 'personal cosmetic' stereotype in women's magazine it is also notable that these 'other women' were more likely to 'relate to luxury', make-up, women's products'. In the Kelly study in Chapter 7 it was also noted, in the context of triads utilising the 'self' concepts, that the 'other women' sample, were significantly more likely than 'feminists' to mention constructs relating to 'appearance' aspects.

In short, evidence from the literature, Masculinity-Femininity tests and the results of self-concept assessments in the studies in Part III of this thesis, contribute some

good evidence that the stereotypes of appearance, the 'decorative' role, use of cosmetic products and other images related to these aspects might not only be good reflections of the reality for 'ordinary' women, but also be valid grounds for discriminating such women from the more anti-traditional minorities.

(ii) The worker role

It was observed in the content analysis of women's magazines that a stereotype of the 'male worker' and, by corollary, the 'non-working' female was present in the advertisements. This stereotype congregated around several factors, including the observations on the 'worker' role, 'working' clothing, environment and 'all work' rated. Stereotypes were also observed in the work types of characters; that females tended to congregate in stereotypes of traditional, 'female' occupations, particularly 'nursing', 'clerical' and 'service' work.

Taking the work types first, the images of female workers in the women's magazine advertisements did, it appears, concur with evidence in the Masculinity-Femininity tests on 'norms' in female self-ratings. Several of the items in these factor analyses point to clear stratification of work images in self-assessments. Lunneborg and Lunneborg, 1972, for example, isolated six work-related items which were good discriminators of female response. These included agreement with the items of 'I would rather be a dress designer than a forest ranger', 'I would like to be a florist', 'I think I would like the work of a clerk in a large department store', 'I would like to be a nurse', and disagreement with the items 'I would rather be a building contractor than a nurse', and 'I think I would like the work of a garage mechanic'.

Not all these items relate to the job types investigated in the content analysis and the conclusions on work stereotypes, but apart from the general suggestion that 'clerical' and 'nursing' work are 'female' responses, there is an indication that certain secondary and 'nurturant/non-mechanical' work roles, are still largely female in orientation. In support of this observation, it is interesting to note the conclusions for the Terman and Miles, 1936 study on 'Masculinity-Femininity' which

concluded that while males 'evidenced a distinct interest in...machinery and tools...in business and commerce', females showed more interest in those occupations which were 'directly ministrative', particularly to the young, the helpless and the distressed' (p.79). In short, the work stereotypes noted in the women's magazines may not have been far removed from the conventional occupational and interest choices of many females, in reality. In this respect, it is also observable that in the comparisons between 'feminists' and 'other women's' self-concepts in Chapter 8, 'other women' were significantly more likely to rate themselves as the 'nurse/secretary' type, a result also confirmed in the literature on self-concepts (Chapter 2, Section 2:5) by Albrecht, Bahr and Chadwick, 1976.

In relation to the fact of working at all, however, evidence from the 'real' employment position, does tend to indicate that the advertisements in the women's magazine study did depart from reality in some ways, but not always, as feminists assert, by penalising the female characters. In the study 84 women and 60 men were shown in the 'working' role, that is, 7% of the total female sample of main characters and 30% of the males were shown actively engaged in work. In 1973, 41% of women and 82% of men (Social Trends 1974; Annual Abstracts of Statistics, 1974), were 'economically active'. On first inspection of this main character data, it is evident that the female 'worker' in women's magazine advertisements was under-represented compared to the male. A more accurate depiction should have shown a 15% female worker role frequency. Nonetheless, using percentage data from the two sources it would appear that both male and female worker characters were under-represented in relation to 'reality', ($X^2 = 2.814$ p.<.10) an apparently common feature of advertising and other media as noted in Chapter 2, Section 2:4.

On a sex-comparative basis, using raw data figures from the content analysis, it emerges, however, that for 'all workers' shown in the advertisements, women were, in fact, flattered in relation to the males. Of all characters noted in a working activity in the advertisement sample, (144), 58% of them were female and 42% were male. In 1972, the actual figures for all persons, of both sexes, employed

were 38% female and 62% male. In short, from the perspective of all workers shown in the women's magazine advertisements, significantly more females were shown as workers, compared to males, than existed in reality ($X^2 = 8.000$ $p < .01$). The advertisements would appear to have provided an enlargement of the female reality.

Finally, returning to the issue of 'work types' in the context of actual employment figures, it is notable that the images of female occupations in the women's magazine advertisements may not only have been a valid reflection of female self-concept preferences, but also of what female workers actually did - particularly in respect of the predominant 'nurse' stereotype - at that time. Social Trends, 1974 (Table 51), shows that the largest group of female workers were, in reality, in the 'health' occupations, which included as a main category, the 'nursing profession'. 'Health' occupations accounted for 42.4% of female employment, and nurses occupied about 80% of this group. Thus, the occupation notation of 32% for the nurses among all female occupations in the advertisement sample, would tend to indicate some close comparison with reality, certainly at the time of the study. In addition, it is also interesting to note that the male advertisement frequency for 'industrial work' - 32% - compared well with the occupation level in 'technical and agricultural' work (which this image included) for males, which was 38% in reality. Returning to the predominant female work stereotypes, however, it is also interesting to note data from the 1971 Census (Economic Activity Tables, Table 24) which showed that 61% of all women were employed in only 10 occupations including, in order of frequency, clerks, sales assistants, typists, maids, cleaners, nurses, primary school teachers and canteen assistants, as the top eight groups, all of which occupations were measured in the women's magazine content analysis as 'female' work categories and were found to be stereotypes of 'clerical/sales' and 'professional (secondary)' work. In short, the types of work shown for females (and to a large extent for males) not only appear to have concurred with results in studies on the female self-concept, and in comparisons of 'other women' and

'feminists', but also in straight comparisons with reality at that time - particularly for the 'nursing' and 'industrial work' stereotypes. Figures for the employment position in 1973, also indicate that the proportion of female to male workers in the advertisements may, in fact, have been overstated, flattering the female characters. It is only in relation to the proportion of all women employed that the advertisements departed from reality, but, in this sense, the males suffered from under-representation as well. Overall, therefore, it is questionable whether the advertisement work images were not so much stereotypes as accurate - if not flattering - depictions of reality for many women.

(iii) The domestic role and work: marriage

The 'houseworker' role, the more menial, domestic type of work for women and the larger type of domestic work for males ('house repair'), were found to be 'stereotypes' in the women's magazine content analysis. It was also observed that to be 'married' and to have some form of clear marital status was a female stereotype, as was some association with a 'homely/cosy' tone of advertisement. To what extent, then, did such stereotypes concur with reality for women (and men)?

In the first place, it would appear that there is good evidence to show that the 'domestic' and 'married' role is still, for the majority of women, a prime and desired one. Egginton, 1977 for example, in her conclusion to research into female roles, noted that there still existed among most women a 'basic feminine need for a stable marriage and secure family life'. Rowe and Rowe, 1973, supporting this contention, wrote that it was still a 'fact that many women are still socialised for marriage and do marry and have a family' (p.1), while Berheide, Berk and Berk, 1976, in a study on housework, stressed that the domestic role was still an essentially female one, that 'housework is an extremely varied and time-consuming activity..... which the wife continues to perform virtually on her own' (p.516).

The interesting factor about the domestic role is the extent to which this role, as a female one, has not changed markedly over time, and still persists as a priority for many women. Oakley, 1974a for example, noted that whether a women worked or not, she still defined her role primarily as a housewife, an observation which was valid even in the context of contemporary female roles. Two studies on changing sex-roles overtime also support this contention. (Mason, Czajka and Arber, 1976, Roper and Labeff, 1977). The latter study also showed, in intergenerational and longitudinal studies, that the domestic role was still a primarily female one, and that despite changes in other attitudes to sex-roles such change had been 'less favourable to domestic... issues' (p.113). Lazer and Smallwood, 1972 concluded from their studies, that despite the Women's Liberation Movement, most women were still concerned with the ability to 'fill the homemaker role in a personally gratifying way that allows for self-respect.. valid identity... rather than denying or abrogating this role' (p.13).

In the respect of evident, contemporary, female domesticity it is also interesting to observe the results of studies which have compared the 'ordinary' women with a more non-traditional sample, since the results of these studies have tended to support a common reality of female desire for family, marriage and children. Birnbaum, 1971, for example, found that these 'ordinary' women were more likely to want to marry early, to stay at home rather than work after marriage and to orientate towards the 'homemaker role' than the minority, non-traditional women. This result is also supported in studies by Rand, 1968 and Rosen and Aneshensel, 1976.

In this context, it is also important to note the results of the self-concept ratings in Part III of this thesis. 'Other women', for example, were significantly more likely than 'feminists' and, in some cases, the 'high-scoring' women to rate themselves as a 'housewife', to be a 'good wife, housewife and mother', and to desire 'more children'. They were also more likely to see themselves within the context of the 'wife at home and husband at work' rather than vice versa.

In short, there is some good evidence to suggest that the 'domestic, female role is less of a 'stereotype' than some indication of the desires and reality of life for many women.

At this point, however, it is useful to note that in many of the feminists' criticisms of advertising, there was some parallel relationship between the fact of domesticity in the female stereotype and the 'non-work' image. Such a parallel observation was also noted in the content analysis results, in that the frequency of the main character 'domestic' roles for women were over three times as common as the 'worker' role. In other words, it is not sufficient to note the fact of the female domestic role but to examine it, in reality, from this comparison with an outside career. To what extent is there evidence that women might prefer the domestic role to a career one, whether they work or not, and to what extent is the domestic role for women predominant in relation to the 'worker' role, as the women's magazine advertising, in its emphasis, suggested?

Again, the evidence from studies and commentaries indicates that the domestic role is still considered of primary importance, even in comparison with an actual working role, and that the women's magazine priority may not have departed far from the real state of affairs.

Wight, 1972 for example, reported a 1971 survey, which showed that most women still saw themselves primarily as 'homebodies', and that the priority was still the domestic role, that housekeeping and child-rearing were more 'rewarding than having a job' (p.127). A more recent survey conducted for a woman's magazine in Britain (Woman's World, June 1977) also tended to support this preference for the domestic role: 67% of the housewives were 'happy as they are', and a career was, for them, a secondary role. Over half the women in the sample also reported that it was more important for a man to have a career than a woman. Although three-quarters of the women interviewed reported that they would be happy to be the breadwinner if necessary, and although many of them did work part-time, it appeared that this was not considered a role essential to their everyday lives.

Again, as with the pure concept of domesticity, the relative importance of the domestic/working role does not appear to have changed much over time. Epstein and Bronzaft, 1975, for example, found that the desire to be a 'married career woman with children' was only slightly higher in 1970 than in 1965, and that there were indications that the desire for a straight career role had, in fact, decreased between the two years and still represented a very small proportion of all women. (7% in 1965; 4% in 1970). Orcull, 1975, comparing 1961 and 1973 data, observed that while there had been a shift in the sex-role attitudes of college women, the results indicated a need to 'assess the persistence and implications of this change as these women leave college and enter occupational and marital careers' (p.388).

If there are indications that the priority of the domestic role compared to the career role, and the inherent femaleness of the domestic role, may have been less of a stereotype, and more an adequate reflection of reality for many women, so does the data on work division in the home suggest that the task divisions between men and women shown in the women's magazine advertisements were not entirely unrepresentative stereotypes.

In respect of the image in those advertisements, that women perform the more menial and housework roles and the husbands the larger and more external jobs, it is interesting to observe the results of surveys by J. Walter Thompson, 1968 and IPC, 1970 which showed that, in British homes, the chief aspects of domestic labour - washing, cleaning, repairing - were still occupations chiefly undertaken by the wife. There was some evidence of an increased proportion of 'washing-up' and 'shopping' among husbands, but, for the most part, domestic tasks were still sex-typed in a traditional manner. Similar evidence is given in other studies. Lopate, 1971, Dyer and Urban, 1958, Levinger, 1964 and Aldons, 1969, report that while there is some indication of more sharing in domestic work, traditional labour interests of 'inside/outside', 'household/house' and 'small/large' tasks for females and males still apply. To a large extent, again in the context of a lack of change over time, it is interesting to observe that such results do not deviate broadly from

those by Blood and Wolfe, 1960, who observed the same distinctions; that women tended to do the cooking, shopping and cleaning, and husbands, house repair and larger domestic tasks. Interestingly, too, the work of Komarovsky, 1967, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1969, and Paloma and Garland, 1971, also demonstrate that sex divisions in housework still appertain to the modern, working woman, an observation supported by Berheide, Berk and Berk, 1976, who concluded from a study of housework that the married, working woman did not deviate in her share or contribution to housework from the full-time housewife, that women 'rarely challenged the household division of labour' (p.516). Stafford, Blackmore and Dibona, 1977, also concluded from a sample of working women that:-

"The evidence clearly indicates that... the women are responsible for and perform a greater share of household labour than their husbands.... the division of labour is still reinforced and traditional" (p.54).

Notably, certain studies also show that even in the more contemporary status of the woman and man as co-habitants, there is still a traditional division of domestic labour (Stafford, Blackmore and Dibona, 1977, Snow, Storman and Zadra, 1974), while it appears that such expectations of labour in the home do not differ even among contemporary single woman (Roberts, 1975).

Finally, if other evidence is needed that the division of labour in the home is still notably sex-typed, it is interesting to observe, in the Lunneborg and Lunneborg 1972 study, that a female discriminating item was agreement with the statement 'I like to cook' while Terman and Miles, 1936 concluded (again in the context of little change over time) that 'females in our groups have evidenced a distinctive interest in domestic affairs' (p.79).

In short, it is also in the division of labour in the home that some evidence of accurate reflection of reality may be found for the advertising images in women's magazines. Such elements of domestic labour were not investigated in the studies in Part III of this thesis, but it is notable that in item analysis of 'self' assessments, 'other women' were significantly more likely to rate their home as 'tidy and clean' than 'feminists', adding further support to a differential, 'ordinary' woman norm.

It is, however, in the case of 'child-care' that a further observation must be added. To give credence to the accuracy and relevance of the women's magazine imagery, it is notable that the activities of 'child-care' and 'touching a child' were not found to be 'stereotypes' for either sex in the advertisements, with men, in fact, being more likely to engage in these activities. In this respect, it is interesting to observe that on the evidence of Araji 1977, Lopate 1971, and an IPC report (1970), that if domestic labour is shared, then this is chiefly in child-care, a finding supported in a recent survey by a woman's magazine (Woman's World, 1977), that showed that whatever other domestic work men did not do, 60% of them were reported as being 'active in bringing up children'.

(iv) Inner and outer-directed touch

Another persistent stereotype in the women's magazine advertisements concerned factors of 'touch' and 'attention direction'. Women were found to display 'touch' and 'attention direction' of a more 'inner' nature and males, 'outer'. Such an idiosyncratic type of behaviour has not, however, dominated the literature on sex-roles or behaviour, and no studies in the Masculinity-Femininity tests, sex-role comparison studies, and, in this thesis, the Kelly and questionnaire studies, have examined this particular stereotype. Nonetheless, it is notable that among the few indirect studies which do exist on this issue, there is, again, some evidence that such a form of sex-typed posturing does have more basis in reality than otherwise.

Hewes, 1957, for example, in a world survey of postural habits found that closed and inner postures and gestures were markedly 'feminine', and outer, wider gestures were more 'masculine'. Mehrabian, 1972 has observed that wider and outer-directed attention and gestures are a clear indication of higher status, while closed, inner and low-space gestures are indicative of low status, with males demonstrating more of the former and females, the latter. Frieze and Ramsey, 1976 also observe that there is a wider range of postures for males than females. Females typically

keep their arms and hands close to the body, and occupy a narrower range of positions, an observation supported by Rekers et al, 1977, in a study on the expressive gestures in boys and girls, who found that five of the eight feminine gestures examined involved some aspects of self-touch. (Arms folded, self-hand clasp etc).,

It also appears that 'self' and 'outer-directed' touch are elements in male and female behaviour as indicators of sex status. Birdwhistell, 1976, for example, has suggested that part of the way a woman signals her femaleness to men is by keeping her arms proximal to her torso, while males signify maleness by placing their arms at an angle to their torso. Gender significance, he suggests, involves the female in bringing her arm and hand close to the body, while the male 'moves the arm some five to ten degrees away from the body' (p.318).

In short, if there were male and female stereotypes of 'touch' and 'attention direction' in the woman's magazine advertisements, to some extent it would appear that the imagery did equate with the reality of sexual posture.

(v) Active/passive sexuality - romance; relationships

In the women's magazine advertisements, it was observed that a 'stereotype' existed in terms of male and female sexuality; that males were seen as more 'active' and females, 'passive'. Females were also significantly more associated with a 'romantic' theme. Evidence on how this stereotype might relate to reality is, however, lacking.

As Weitz, 1977, has pointed out in her review of the nature of male and female sexuality as a component in sex-roles, 'hard facts, isolated from cultural influence, are almost impossible to establish' (p.28). Nonetheless, she concludes from her review that 'there is probably a difference in the psychological consequences of male and female sexuality. Male sexuality is more appetitive and autonomous... than female sexuality' (p.28).

She also observes that 'the issue of the confounding of male sexuality with dominance and female sexuality with passivity and submission' is inherent in the evidence and is 'not easy to resolve' (p.29).

Weitz's conclusions to a large extent echo those from another study by Farrell, Tolone and Walsh, 1977 who found that while females still supported an equal sexual standard attitudinally, in reality, they still preferred a double standard, that males should be sexually/romantically 'active' and females 'passive'. This was a factor which was changing over time, but still represented a significant difference in behaviour.

If a form of introspective concern with romance and sexuality may be construed as being associated with 'passive' sexuality, (and, in fact, this element was a component in code definition) then it is also noted that among the factor analyses of the MF items were results from the Lunneborg and Lunneborg, 1972, study which isolated a discriminative, positive female response to 'I enjoy reading love stories', and a negative female response to the item 'I like adventure stories better than romantic stories'. Concern with love and romance was also indicated by the discriminative female item in the study by Richter, 1974, that 'I think that in comparison with others I am rather insensitive in love'.

Finally, if a passive sexuality in the female sex-role is also indicative of a greater concern for relationships, it is also notable that in studies on differences between 'feminists', and 'other women', the latter group were more concerned with relationships (Burke and Weir, 1976), while again in the context of relationships, it was observed by Birnbaum, 1971, that the non-'feminist' women were more likely to need 'affectionate' and 'intimate' relationships. Supporting this, in the studies in Part III of this thesis, it was also found that, in comparison with 'feminists' and 'high-scoring' women, the 'other women' sample rated their 'self' concepts as significantly more 'idealistic and romantic', as less 'sexy and liking sex' (a neutral deviation for both samples of women, in this respect), and, in the sense that 'passive sexuality' and 'romance' indicates a relatively dependent attitude to males, as significantly more 'needing to be a success with men', and 'dependent on a man'.

Thus, although the evidence to support the contention is not so strong as in other areas, it would appear that advertisers may not have deviated significantly from reality in the female 'sexual', 'romantic' and 'relationship' themes which were found in the women's magazine advertisements.

(vi) Other stereotypes

The sex-role 'stereotypes' discussed above represent the main and stronger stereotypes as defined in main character data in the women's magazine content analysis. Other stereotypes were noted in that study, but these, often the weaker and less evident images, are more difficult to justify in terms of whether they reflected a reality of life for women, or not.

Some small evidence is available which suggests some objective support for the male stereotype of 'leisure and sport' and its relative absence in the female 'stereotype', in that both Terman and Miles, 1936, and King, 1974, both underline the greater 'masculinity' of self-description in terms of 'physically strenuous activities' (King, 1974, p.18) and 'outdoor and physically strenuous occupations' (Terman and Miles 1936, p.79)

In relation to the several conclusions in the content analysis results which pointed to a greater lack of 'relevance' among female characters in the advertisements, as witnessed by data on 'settings', 'body exposure', 'all-code' ratings, sizes of advertisements, as well as the 'eyes cast down', and 'attention not seen' postures, it is pertinent to note that if these items indicated a less important female stereotype, compared to a more positive and 'relevant' masculine one, then such a result does concur with the expressed beliefs of both men and women. Although this is an indirect supposition on the stereotypes related to the relevance of male, rather than female, advertisement characters, it is nonetheless notable that various studies support the notion that the male is more valued than the female, both in general and through assumed traits.

McKee and Sheriffs, 1957, for example, found that college men and women regarded the male more highly than the female, a result supported in work by Komarovsky, 1967 and 1947, and Sheriffs and McKee, 1957. In addition, Broverman et al, 1972, in a review of 7 studies in the genre, concluded that men and masculine characteristics are more highly valued in our society than are women or feminine characteristics, a result supported incidentally in stated preferences for male children (Brown, 1958, Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957) and stated desires to be the opposite sex (Gallup, 1955).

Of the other 'female' stereotypes, the association with an 'exotic/surreal' tone is discussed later in this section in the context of female magazine use, while that of 'using the product' may be related to the 'domestic' role for women, and to the predominance of the woman as consumer (Scott, 1976a).

Finally, it is notable that the 'stereotypes' of female appearance have not yet been discussed. Although there is some evidence, noted earlier, for the female 'stereotypes' of 'female clothing', association with 'youth', and 'slimness' to be reflected in female concerns in reality, it is difficult to find objective evidence for female stereotypes concerned with hair-colour and length, clothing colours, styles and facial expressions. It is also difficult to assume that there is some reflection of reality in the overtly blonde, female stereotype, or its curliness in hair style. Nonetheless, these factors of appearance are discussed in the concept of 'ideals' and 'attractiveness' in later sections, since there is other evidence that such images are less related to sex-role stereotypes than to effective advertising design.

In summary, however, there does appear to be a good case for questioning whether the images found to be significantly 'female' in the women's magazine advertisement content analysis are sex-role stereotypes or more accurate reflections of reality for the 'ordinary' women who were likely to be exposed to them. If the advertisements are examined from the perspective of these 'other women's' self-concepts and behaviour, then the feminist case, that the images are inaccurate and insulting stereotypes of women, acquires less validity from an inferential

basis, than the advertisers' claims that such advertisements are accurate reflections of women in reality.

All these images or stereotypes discussed above, and particularly the more common ones connected with the 'decorative' role, work and domesticity, have been widely held as 'stereotypes' (see Chapter 4) by large numbers of men and women, but particularly by the feminist critics.

Yet, the evidence noted above does tend to suggest that, even if these images are assumed to be components of sex-role stereotypes, they also have more than a little 'kernel of truth'. That many stereotypes do, in fact, hold a kernel of truth has been submitted by Goudy, Bain and Spiker, 1977, but at what point do stereotypes cease and important notions of reality begin? The fundamental arguments against stereotypes in relation to female sex-roles have been based on the fact that they are traditional images of women, yet to what extent, despite recent changes in sex-role perceptions by some women, and certain minorities, are the majority of women still notably traditional? Evidence noted above does tend to indicate that in relation to certain roles most women are notably traditional, and it was observed in the comparisons of 'self' concepts in Chapter 8 that the 'other women' sample departed significantly from the 'feminist' group in items which related strongly to traditional roles - in some cases through opposite polarity. It was also found that 'other women' rated themselves as significantly less 'liberated' than either 'feminists' or 'high-scoring' women.

Certainly, on the basis of such objective evidence, including the results on 'other women's' self-concepts in Part III of this thesis, there is some good evidence for suggesting, inferentially, that the women's magazine advertisements contained imagery which, although containing the bases of sex-role stereotypes, also provided some good reflection of what is known about some common aspects of women's actual behaviour, roles and priorities.

One important issue has, however, not been resolved. Although the inferences drawn from the content analysis data are no doubt valid in the discussion of

women's magazine advertising, some consideration should also be made of how these 'other women' rated such magazine advertising. Importantly, does such imagery relate more to the 'self' or 'ideal self' of such women, and what indications are there that the content of such magazines attract and reflect different 'sex-roles' among a female sample? This data will be discussed below.

2. Women's magazine advertising and 'other women's, 'self' and 'ideal self' perceptions

Analysis of perceptions of 'women in women's magazine advertisements' was made in Chapter 8, Section 8:1, and certain detailed observations on those results will be made in this discussion. It is accepted, however, that since 'other women' evidently made little distinction between the specific concept of 'women in women's magazine advertisements' and the more general one of 'women in advertisements', then certain of the 'magazine' observations will equally apply to the more general concept.

The first issue that may be raised, however, with respect to 'other women's' rated perceptions of the women's magazine advertisement concept, concerns the differential identification with their 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts. It has been shown from data on the more general advertising concept, that 'other women's' 'ideal self' concepts showed a closer relationship than did the 'self' concept, with whole-scale scores of 'other women's' 'self' concept demonstrating a relatively low and non-significant correlation with the advertisement concept, but their 'ideal selves' demonstrating a generally higher and significant correlation. This result was also observed in the Kelly study, on a comparative basis with 'feminists', where, although both groups of women could identify 'self' with 'women in advertisements', the 'other women' group was then prepared to offer more, and more positive constructs in direct comparisons of 'ideal self' and 'women in advertisements'. Some evidence for a greater idealised identification with 'women in advertisements' could, therefore, be construed from the 'other women' data.

If such a conclusion is feasible for the general advertising concepts, then it is even more evident for the specific women's magazine concept. In Study 1, where the 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concepts was measured, the correlation with 'ideal self' was higher, and that with 'self' lower than for the more general concept.

In order to investigate in what particular ways this 'ideal self' identification occurred for 'other women', and also to investigate any relationship of self-concepts, the 'ideal self', 'self' and 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concepts were plotted in profile format. This is set out in Appendix G:10. Observations on this profile are based on the mean item patterns for the three concepts.

In the first place, it is interesting to note that it is in the items concerning 'appearance' that the 'ideal self' concept tallies most with the women's magazine advertisement concept, and deviates most broadly from 'self'. The degree to which the 'ideal self' of 'other women' would like to be 'thin', 'smart', 'beautiful', and 'young'; to 'need to be attractive' and 'to rely on looks', bears more comparison with the magazine concept than the 'self' concept, which is less 'thin', 'smart', and has less 'need to be attractive', is more 'reliant on mind than appearance' and is more likely to 'wear trousers' than dresses. This is perhaps the most marked cluster of items to be seen in the profile comparison, but such an observation is particularly interesting in the context of the evident predominance of the 'decorative' role and concern for appearance found in women's magazine advertisements, not only in Chapter 5 of this thesis but also in the studies by Venkatesan and Losco, 1975, and Millum, 1974.

In the context of the women's magazine advertisement stereotypes, it is also notable that, in the profile comparisons, the women's magazine concept converges with the two self-concepts in items reflecting aspects of domesticity. Again, there is always a slight deviation to the 'ideal self' concept in the profile, but this is not so marked as in the 'appearance' items.

Three items in terms of 'domesticity' tend to cluster between the three profiles. For example, there is a marked similarity between the ratings of 'ideal self', 'self' and 'women in women's magazine advertisements' for the items referring to 'living for family, home and husband', 'an excellent wife, housewife and mother' and the desire for a 'tidy, clean home'. These results compare with those in the women's

magazine content analysis which demonstrated that images of the 'houseworker' role, a 'homely/cosy' tone and 'household labour' (washing, cleaning etc.) were female 'stereotypes'.

Finally, in the context of the women's magazine advertisements and the observations of stereotypes in terms of 'exotic/surreal' tones and 'passive sexuality' (including romantic overtones), it is observable that the profiles also cluster in terms of the item referring to 'idealism and romance'.

It is difficult to make useful comparisons between two data sources which have measured only ostensibly similar concepts, but it is apparent from this evidence that although aspects of the 'decorative' role, concern for appearance, aspects of domesticity and the 'houseworker' role and, to some extent, escapism as witnessed through 'exotic' tones and 'romantic interests', were measured as 'sex-role stereotypes' in women's magazine advertising, the same concepts also occur as clusters in the profile comparisons of 'other women's' 'self', 'ideal self' and 'women' in women's magazine advertisements' concepts. In short, there is some evidence that such stereotypes also provide an identifying force for these 'other women's' self-concepts, as rated by the women themselves. What is most interesting, however, is the apparent relevance of 'appearance' aspects to 'other women's' 'ideal self' images. How these women would 'like to be' and how they perceive advertisements in women's magazines obviously bear some relationship in the particular case of 'appearance', and it may be suggested that the 'appearance' and 'decorative' stereotypes in women's magazine advertising are less evidence of sex-role stereotyping than a canny regard for both the apparently ideal function of these magazines, and the particular ideal function of 'appearance' aspects in women's self-rating. This suggestion, however, is explored in more detail in a later section. What is important, in conclusion, is that not only may the advertising images in women's magazines be seen as relevant to women's self-images from objective sources - as noted in the earlier discussion - but also on certain analyses, be interpreted as relevant to women, using concepts rated by women themselves.

3. Women's magazine types

Another angle from which the advertisements in women's magazines may be discussed is from the types of magazine 'read, liked and enjoyed' by different women. If women do seek some validation of self-concepts and reflection of their 'reality' in women's magazines, which has been inferred from the content analysis results and objective evidence on female self-concepts and behaviour, then it would be expected that a similar tendency to 'reflection' might be observed in magazine choice.

In Chapter 5, Section 5:12 it was shown that the advertisement imagery differed through the three types of magazines. The 'mass market' magazines were found to have imagery which was relatively more 'domestic' but, by corollary, the advertisement images in the 'young' magazines showed significantly less domesticity, and were more likely to show the female characters in working roles, and displaying more 'masculine' characteristics such as 'activity/freedom' appeals, 'fast movement' and 'active sexuality'. The 'up-market' magazines obtained a more mixed imagery, being more like the 'young' magazines in some ways, and the 'mass market' ones in others, although it was noted that the 'domestic' imagery was again more prominent than in the 'young' magazines, along with less concern for 'appearance'.

In the studies on media exposure in Chapter 8, Section 8:5, it was shown - most clearly for the 'ordinary' women in Study 2 - that exposure to women's magazines also indicated some relationship with sex-role orientation; that the relatively more traditional women tended to read and mention more of the 'mass market' and 'up-market' magazines and the less traditional women, the 'young' magazines.

To a large extent, this data did suggest that women might read women's magazines in order to reinforce their particular sex-role orientations but, in this respect, it is also interesting - notably in the light of the different images in these magazines - to examine the relative 'self' concepts of the two types of 'ordinary' women in Study 2.

In relation to the relatively non-traditional or 'high-scoring' women, who were more likely to read the 'young' magazines, it is interesting to observe that their self-concepts deviated from those of 'other women', in ways that are reflected in the idiosyncratic, stereotypes of those magazines. In relation to the relatively absent 'domesticity' of the 'young' magazines, the non-traditional readers were significantly less likely to 'live for family, home and husband', to desire to be 'a good wife, housewife and mother' and to be a 'housewife' than 'other women'. These results held for both 'ideal self' and 'self' concepts. In relation to the stronger 'worker' role shown in the 'young' women's magazine advertisements, it is noted that the anti-traditional readers were significantly more likely to rate themselves as 'career women', to 'work with their husbands at home', and to 'want other things entirely' rather than 'a family, home and husband'. In relation to the greater stereotypes of 'activity/freedom' appeals in these magazines, the non-traditional readers were also significantly more likely than the more traditional women to be, or desire to be, 'in control', 'dominant', 'independent', 'aggressive', 'financially independent' and 'extrovert'. In the context of the greater number of 'masculine' stereotypes shown by women in the 'young' magazine advertisements, the 'masculinity' of the previous attributes in terms of 'sex-role stereotypes' (see Chapter 4) may also be noted.

From the perspective of the 'other women' sample, who were more likely to read the more 'traditional' 'mass market' magazines, many of the findings noted above may be reiterated and reversed. The greater 'domesticity' in the 'mass market' magazines compares with the greater 'domesticity' of the 'other women' in the items noted above, as well as in the noted aspects of behaviour and 'masculine' characteristics. Similar inferences may be made for the 'up-market' magazines. In short, particularly in relation to 'domestic' and 'work' roles, and aspects of behaviour which are more 'masculine', but which in current usage may also be termed 'anti-traditional' for females (see Chapter 2, Section 2:5), the magazines which significantly differentiated the two groups of women, also significantly

differed in certain images. To some extent it may be construed that the magazine advertisements represented less ('mass market') and more ('young') 'liberated' imagery, and in this respect it is notable that in self-assessment of 'liberation' the two groups of women also differed significantly.

Such evidence certainly supports a notion of women choosing women's magazines for reasons of self-reflection and, in this respect, the images in those magazines must again be viewed less as 'inaccurate' stereotypes than adequate reflections of interest and reality for women of different sex-role orientations.

4. 'Other women' and women's magazine advertisements - conclusions

The main thrust of the discussion above has perhaps been most important as a basis for re-establishing the autonomy of 'other women', particularly in respect of the evidently negative light in which feminists see them. Despite the suggestion by feminist critics that 'other women' are the victims of media advertising, including that in women's magazines, there is good evidence to suggest that such women apparently choose what they read, and that the advertising, rather than manipulating their sex-roles and interests, simply reflects them, albeit in traditional terms.

In addition to this evidence, however, there is also in the data some more direct evidence to suggest that such women are not so unaware, and gullible as feminists would like to suggest. In the profile comparisons of the 'other women's', 'ideal self', 'self' and 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concepts (see Appendix G:10), it is seen that the ratings of 'self' and 'ideal self' are diametrically opposed to the advertisement concept in terms of 'liking her', being 'like me', being 'persuaded by adverts', 'humanity/perfection', 'possibility', and being 'real, true to life', with the women's magazine image of women always seen as least liked, least 'like me', most 'perfect', 'impossible', 'unreal' and 'not true to life'; and the 'self' concepts more 'liked', 'human', 'possible', 'real' and, importantly, markedly less likely to be 'persuaded by adverts'. Furthermore, such a rating pattern is seen to

be replicated for both 'other women' samples in comparisons of the two self-concepts with the more general 'women in advertisements' concept. (see Appendices G:11 and G.12).

In short, although feminists would see the 'ordinary' woman as gullible in the face of advertising, she does not see herself so and, in fact, sees herself as well-aware and apparently well-informed of the 'unreality' of the imagery. Although such imagery may be chosen by 'other women' as an identifying vehicle, this factor must also be modified by an apparent facility among these 'other women' to recognise that such images are also artificial.

The images may evidently be of interest to 'other women', particularly in the case of 'ideal self' reflection, but it is a large and questionable, inferential leap to suggest that such images, as 'identifiers' and 'reflectors' are also seen as valid representations of reality. It is also notable, in the light of feminist views of these women, that the real 'self' concepts did not correlate significantly with any of the advertisement concepts. On this basis, it may be suggested that such images are interesting and relevant to 'other women', some of the time, in certain ways, but a healthy distancing concept also apparently operates, which does not cloud a fairly honest, and even negative view of their real 'selves'. If the advertising images in women's magazines and elsewhere were as fully manipulative of 'other women', as 'feminists' wholeheartedly suggest, there should have been a much higher correlation, and fewer differences between the 'self' and 'advertisement' concepts. This was not seen in the data and, in fact, these 'other women' apparently had distinct and independent views of their 'selves' and the 'women in advertisements', both 'in general', and in women's magazines. The distancing concept is also illustrated by the far closer correlation between 'women in general' and the advertisement concepts, indicating that it is some 'other externalised' women who are more like the 'women in advertisements'. This perspective on the 'other women' is perhaps encapsulated in a letter by Speer, 1976, who suggested that, in reference to identification and effect of women's magazine images:-

"like everyone else, I take what I want from the magazines; I read and dismiss what does not interest me"

The roles in women's magazines evidently have a function for 'other women', but these roles may only operate within the interaction of the magazine and the woman reader, at the moment of reading it. It was, after all, observed in the media exposure data that although 'other women' read women's magazines more than the 'high-scoring' women, they still did not avoid other forms of magazines, including 'general' and 'trade' journals. That the 'self' concept, and certain parts of the 'ideal self' concept did not always strongly relate to the 'other women's' concepts of 'women in advertisements', including those in women's magazines, is perhaps testimony to the fact that the sex-roles of women in those magazines and advertisements are relevant to the 'other women's' self-concepts in certain ways, and at certain times, but not in other ways and at other times. The sex-roles in the magazine advertisements may provide a highly restrictive and specific context for aspects of 'other women's' self-concepts and sex-roles.

In this respect, it is interesting to observe that such a perspective on role is accepted in the literature on role theory. Roles, for example, appear to excite expectations dependent on context or, as Cottrell, 1946 observes, 'dealing with human behaviour in terms of roles... requires that any item of behaviour must always be placed in some specified self-other context' (p.617). There is also some consideration of needs involved in role interactions, and in light of the evidence that many of the 'stereotypes' in women's magazine advertisements appear to fulfil a need, or identifying factor in specific ways, then the images of women in women's magazine advertisements may have a circumscribed 'role function'. If such images, or roles, were no longer perceived to fulfil certain needs, then it may be assumed that women would reject, or simply choose not to perceive and notice them, a factor which is implied in the choice of different women's magazines by women of different sex-role orientations. There is apparently a sex-role interaction between women and the magazine advertising images they expose themselves to, an interaction which is far more complex than the simple feminist view, which believes there to be an imposition of 'sex-role stereotypes' on unwilling, or gullible women. As Fand 1965 suggests:-

"The concept of role implies interaction between two or more members of a social situation. In order to be able to communicate, the interacting individuals have to establish a common frame of reference ... This they do by reacting with an internally consistent series of responses to a given situation. Their behaviour is expected by others in that situation who react with a similarly consistent series of responses. Thus, a role is both a mode of perceiving and interpreting the behaviour of others. It encompasses both the behaving organism and the expectancies which the perceiving organism has regarding the behaviour'...(p.27).

'Need satisfaction' is evidently an important component in understanding the 'other woman' perspective on women's magazine advertising, a perspective which she apparently has some control over, and in which she operates some selectivity. Such an observation, however, while largely ignored by the more selective approach of the feminist critics, is not original in the context of mass media effects. As critics, the feminist group do not consider these factors of autonomy and different needs, and such narrowness of viewpoint has been sufficiently noted by Mendelsohn, 1974, in Chapter 1, Section 1:6, along with other commentators on the critical role. Quite simply, media do not unilaterally 'make' people do things in the crude sense, neither do they easily create needs and wants. The feminist view that women's magazine advertising, and other advertising imagery, 'makes' women what they are in simplistic, inaccurate and demeaning of these 'other women'. 'Other women', like feminists, appear to take from media, including women's magazines, what they need and want, and it is more possible and feasible that those needs are taken to the mass media than from it. It is, in other words, more likely on the basis of evidence in this thesis and elsewhere that women take their sex-roles, and certain needs and wants that those roles imply, to the women's magazines advertisements, and not from them. As Katz, Gurevitch and Haas, 1973 observe:-

"Media related needs are not, by and large, generated by the media. Most predate the emergence of the media, and properly, ought to be viewed within the wide range of human needs' (p.180),

while in the context of the different needs of 'other women', Mendelsohn, 1974 has suggested that 'the uses to which individuals put the media, and the gratifications they derive from them, vary as do their dispositions'(p.387).

In short, 'other women' apparently have their own autonomy in the context of women's magazine advertising, and a feminist view of the 'other women' as manipulated by, and not in control of exposure to such imagery must at best be seen as simplistic and at worst, insulting.

Section 9:2

Women's magazine advertising: Inferences from the 'feminist' perspective

The second angle of inference which may be made from the women's magazine content analysis is from the 'feminist' viewpoint, inference which is greatly aided by the broad results of the studies in Part III of this thesis.

Initially, the same format as used in the previous section can give some first observations on interpretation of the 'feminist' stance although, to avoid repetition, the detail given in the previous section will be assumed in this one.

1. Comparisons with 'reality'

It was observed in Chapter 8 that the 'feminist' subjects differed significantly from 'other women', in several important ways. The results of the 'Kelly' study indicated that the 'feminist' group were more likely to utilise constructs, in the contexts of self and advertising images, which related to the more abstract forms of behaviour. It was observed that such items were related to concepts of 'masculine' behaviour, and could be construed as 'anti-traditional' in female sex-role terms. This trend in the data was also witnessed in the semantic differential results, so that 'feminists' rated all concepts significantly differently to 'other women' on certain items, again of the 'masculine', 'liberated', or 'anti-traditional' nature, which were therefore assumed to be independent of the concepts and dependent on the sex-role status of the subjects.

This strong differentiation of the 'feminist' group was also witnessed in all concepts by a greater extremity of rating, which contributed to significant, negative correlations between their two self-concepts, and the 'women in general' and the advertisement concepts. In short, there was good evidence to describe the 'feminist' group as 'extraordinary' women, with strong, persistent and idiosyncratic views on role, behaviour and status, particularly in those areas which were related to sex-roles and female/male behaviour. This was particularly illustrated by the unique feminist concern with such aspects as 'sex-objects', 'male relativity', 'politicism', 'liberation' and 'aggression', in both the Kelly and questionnaire studies.

Such observations obviously have implications for all aspects of the advertising, sex-role debate to which feminists have contributed. In the context of the sex-role stereotypes noted in the content analysis of women's magazines, they also illuminate and give good grounds for interpretation of the feminist reaction to these journals and the advertising they hold.

(i) **The 'decorative' role: concern with appearance**

The 'decorative' stereotype, sometimes termed a 'sex-object' by feminists, has formed a potent source of advertising criticism. While there is some evidence that depiction of such a role might provide a valid reflection of 'other women' interest, it is evident that such an image conflicts with feminist priorities. Not only were 'feminist' subjects significantly less likely to utilise 'appearance' constructs in the Kelly study, but were also, in the rating of the two self-concepts, significantly more likely than 'other women' to see themselves in ways that represented a negative interest in appearance, rating themselves as 'untidy/scruffy', 'unfashionable', and with a relatively low 'need to be attractive'. They also deviated significantly more than 'other women' from the semantic pole of 'reliance on looks'. These aspects were seen most strongly in the self-concepts, and in several cases deviated markedly to extremity for their 'ideal self', particularly in the 'need to be attractive'. In

the case of 'ideal self' rating, feminists also described themselves as wearing significantly less make-up than did 'other women', and in the context of the advertisement 'personal (cosmetic)' stereotype, to relate to 'useful' rather than 'luxury, make-up, women's products'. That such 'feminist' deviation in appearance concern is important is also witnessed by 'opposite polarity' on several of the appearance items in each of the self-concepts.

Such results also concur with those reported by Rosen and Aneshensel, 1976 who found that 'anti-traditional' women were significantly less concerned about appearance than more 'traditional' women.

Evidently, then, it would appear that the 'feminist' critical emphasis on the 'decorative' female in advertisements (see Chapter 1, Section 1:2) is not unrelated to their own attitudes, priorities and self-perceptions.

In respect of the strong women's magazine emphasis on the 'female' stereotypes of the 'decorative' role, concern with appearance and association with cosmetic products it might be inferred that 'feminist' attitudes might be most intense, and it was observed in the 't' test data on 'feminist' and 'other women' perceptions of the 'women in women's magazine advertisements' concept, that among the few 'idiosyncratic' differences which characterised the 'women's magazine' advertising concept, but not the more general 'women in advertising' one, four of the eight deviant item differences concerned 'appearance' aspects. 'Feminists' perceived the women in women's magazine advertisements as significantly more 'smart', 'thin' and with a greater 'need to be attractive' and 'rely on looks' than did 'other women'.

(ii) Domestic and work roles

The 'domestic' female stereotype and a related notion of absent, external work, have formed the other two aspects of the central 'feminist' critical triad in advertising critiques. (See Chapter 1, Section 1:2).

The previous section has observed several instances where there was good evidence for assuming such images to be relatively accurate reflections of life-styles for many women. By corollary, however, it was also noted that, in

the literature, it was on these dimensions of 'work' and 'domesticity' that 'feminists' and 'non-traditional' women most deviated from the majority of 'other women'. For example, the 'non-traditional' women were more likely to work after marriage (Rosen and Aneshensel, 1976), had less desire to marry early (Birnbaum, 1971) and had less desire for the 'homemaker' role (Rand, 1968).

In this respect, it is observable in the results of studies in Part III of this thesis that some of the strongest trends in opposite polarity, in item comparisons of 'feminist' and 'other women's' self-concepts, concerned 'domesticity' and 'work'. 'Feminists', for example, were significantly more likely to see their self-concepts - with the 'ideal self' providing the greatest extremity - as wanting 'other things' than a family, to be 'working with their husbands at home' and to be a relatively 'poor wife, housewife and mother'. They were also significantly more likely to desire a career than be 'a housewife', and to have few or no children.

Given this evidence, then, it would be assumed that the feminist criticism of the domestic/non-worker roles in all advertising, but particularly that in women's magazines (see Chapter 3, Section 3:3), may again be related to the idiosyncracies of feminist attitudes and perceptions.

(iii) Behaviours

The third main strand to feminist criticism has been in notation of the behaviours perceived in female advertisement characters. In the feminist criticism of such characters have been observations as to passivity, dependence, servility, inferiority, lack of intelligence and 'control'. Such criticisms have also been made in the context of women's magazine advertising. (see Chapters 1 and 3, Sections 1:2 and 3:3).

Again, it is feasible that such criticisms may have sprung from the idiosyncratic feminist stance. In Chapter 2, Section 2:5 studies were reviewed that showed 'anti-traditional' women to be more assertive, aggressive, dominant,

autonomous, self-controlled, active and educated than 'other women', results also supported in Part III of this thesis in respect of significantly different 'feminist', 'self', and 'ideal self' perceptions of 'control', 'independence', 'autonomy', 'aggression', 'ambition', 'reliance on mind' and 'education', many of which factors then discriminated all the concepts measured.

(iv) Other 'stereotypes'

The three sets of observations noted above refer to the strongest sets of female stereotypes found in advertisements through the women's magazine content analysis. Inferences as to feminist reaction to these stereotypes and, in fact, to all such stereotypes in media advertising, can be made from the evident individuality of the feminist stance, self-perceptions and attitudes. Two other observations may also, however, be made about other sex-role stereotypes' noted in the women's magazine advertisements.

First, in respect of the general feminist criticism of the work roles found in advertisements, and noted to be 'traditional' in the women's magazine advertisements, (nurse, clerk, secondary professional), it may be noted that 'feminists' tend, on the evidence of the literature, to have higher occupational levels, education and income, capacity for status, need for achievement, and a higher sense of competence than do 'other women'. (see Chapter 2, Section 2:5). 'Feminists' also scored in opposite polarity for their 'self' concept in Part III as 'manager/doctor types' compared to 'other women's' rating of 'self' as 'nurse/secretary type' and, in 'ideal self', as significantly more likely to be a 'manager/doctor' type.

Second, in respect of the image of 'passive sexuality' in women's magazine advertising, seen to be a 'female' stereotype, 'feminists' were found in the rating of 'ideal self' in Study 1 in Part III of this thesis to see themselves as significantly more 'sexy' and 'liking' sex than 'other women'.

In the context of the observations above, it is perhaps not really surprising that feminists have evinced such hostility to the images of women in advertisements,

including those in the women's magazines. The strongest advertising stereotypes in all media, which are not notably different to those in the women's magazines, evidently convey a strong contrast with the ways that feminists perceive themselves. If such images add up to a relatively traditional view of women, then feminists, who also rate themselves as significantly more 'liberated' than 'other women', must be continually confronted, through such advertising, with alien and discrepant images. As a group, they not only see themselves in a markedly anti-traditional way, but also in terms of relative masculinity. In this latter respect, it is not surprising that 'feminist' subjects rated their 'ideal selves' as significantly less 'feminine' than did 'other women'. This observation is also relevant in relation to how the stereotypes noted in women's magazine and other advertising imagery appeared to equate with the female discriminating items in factor analyses of 'masculinity-femininity' tests.

As in the previous section, these first observations on the data are initially inferential, particularly in relation to how the images of female characters in advertisements might deviate from the self-concepts of the 'feminist' group. Nonetheless, the suggestion of marked 'feminist' distancing from advertising imagery is also supported by the inter-concept comparisons in Chapter 8, Section 8:2 which demonstrated the 'feminist' alienation from advertising images of women through the negative and significant correlations, and large 'D' statistics, in comparisons of their two self-concepts and their two advertising concepts, both of women in advertisements 'in general', and in women's magazines.

These results demonstrated a strong, if not total alienation of 'feminists' from their perceptions of women in advertisements, but it is notable that, on a profile comparison, the alienation occurred most strongly in the items related to the 'strongest' stereotypes found in women's magazines and - as has been noted - all advertising.

If the 'feminist' 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts are plotted against those of their two advertisement concepts, then it may be seen that most deviations from the

advertisement concepts occur in items referring to aspects of appearance, domesticity, and sex-role related behaviour (see Appendices G:13 and G:14).

Such results do, however, particularly reinforce the emphases in the feminist advertising critiques:

For example, 'feminists' self-perceptions - particularly where most 'deviant' compared to female 'norms' - are counter-balanced by extreme, opposite perceptions, in 'traditional' terms, of advertisement imagery, suggesting that the 'feminist' attitudes and perceptions colour their world view, not only in absolute terms but also in extremity of perceptions.

This last point is particularly interesting in respect of the media exposure data for 'feminists' and 'other women'. Despite the obviously strong feelings of the 'feminists', their advertising perceptions and extremity of rating, they were, nonetheless, found to expose themselves to quantities of television viewing and magazine readership that did not, for the most part, differ significantly from those of 'other women'. Although the 'feminist' group watched less television - which may have been related to other factors such as availability, age and leisure interests - their exposure levels to all media and to different types of women's magazines was surprisingly similar to that of 'other women'. Nonetheless, they apparently emerged from such exposure with quite different perceptions, compared to 'other women', an observation which provides a strong case for suggesting that attitudes to female advertising images are less dependent on exposure to media than prior sex-roles.

This 'control' exercised by the exposee was also illustrated by the 'other women' samples of both studies who appeared to choose types of women's magazines on a sex-role basis. The images of the magazines, and the idiosyncratic advertising themes of those magazines, appeared to concur with the sex-role orientations and self-concept priorities of those women.

If the 'feminist' group may be seen to exercise some control in these respects, it is evidently in their generally lower exposure to all types of women's magazines than

'other women', and their evident preference for 'feminist/political' magazines which the more traditional 'other women', apparently also through choice, appeared to avoid.

These aspects of 'control' and 'choice', however, have not been a striking element in the content of feminist criticism. In those criticisms, it was noted (see Chapter 1, Section 1:4) that feminist critics, while prepared to distance themselves from some notion of advertising 'effect', as being capable of objective evaluation of advertising media images, did not feel 'other women' to do or be so. The feminist notion of these 'other women' was of manipulated, passive, helpless and controlled people who were as much victims of the advertising media as of social pressures to be 'traditional' in sex-role orientation.

This view of 'women in general' also emerged, in the semantic differential ratings, where the 'feminist' perceptions were found to be more extreme, traditional and negative than those of the 'other women'. In this context, it is not irrelevant to also observe that the 'feminist' perceptions of 'women in advertisements' and 'women in general' demonstrated a higher, significant correlation than did those of 'other women' with only the 'feminist' group demonstrating a significant correlation between 'women in general' and 'women in women's magazine advertisements'. Similar trends were also seen in triads in the Kelly study, adding up to a singular 'feminist' perception that 'women in general' and all 'women in advertisements', are equally bad, traditional and, on item mean inspection, (see Appendix F:2), equally 'controlled' and 'persuaded by adverts'.

In short, the 'feminist' group have emerged in the data as an idiosyncratic and 'anti-traditional' minority, whose self-concepts, and those of advertisements and 'women in general', appear to have been coloured by their special status, roles, behaviours and perceptual priorities. They also appear to hold a negative view of 'women in general', a view which may be fundamental to more general feminist attitudes to the 'ordinary woman'.

Fundamentally, it appears that feminists hold an idiosyncratic world-view of roles and female status, coloured by their own self concepts, and which, by extension, has apparently impelled not only the tone of general, feminist advertisement criticism, but also its extent, the latter factor no doubt related to the obvious extremity of the 'feminist' position.

All these characteristics may be construed as fundamental to all feminist critiques of advertising but especially to those concerning women's magazine advertisements. There is, in fact, some good evidence for assuming that feminist critics may have been judgmental of advertising imagery from a personal and elitist stance, which does not appear to take into account the 'reality' of life for non-feminist women. Such observations give rise to certain implications in the advertising, sex-role debate, and to inferences from women's magazine advertisement data which are discussed below.

2. Feminists and 'other women' - the current and future positions

There is little doubt that the special, feminist position has contributed largely to their advertising critiques and attitudes to 'other women'. An obvious antagonism to the 'reality' for 'other women', no doubt coloured by their own self-perceptions and priorities, has led to a severe judgemental stance not only of the 'ordinary' woman, but also her use of, and response to advertising.

To the feminist critics this advertising is obviously 'unreal', but apparently more so in the women's magazines, a factor supported by the observations in Chapter 8, Section 8:1 that the idiosyncratic differences between 'feminists' and 'other women', that were only perceived in 'women in women's magazine advertisements', referred, in three of the eight instances, to factors of 'reality'. 'Feminists' significantly more than 'other women' saw 'women in women's magazine advertisements' as 'idealistic', 'impossible', and 'unreal'. The same differences were not seen for the general 'women in advertisements' concept, where the two groups of women agreed in their perceptions of 'reality' issues. The feminist rejection of, and

attitudes to, women's magazines, particularly in the light of their views on 'other women' and 'women in general', not only suggest an apparently elitist stance to these magazines and women, but also foresake either an empathy or understanding of what the majority of women appear to need and want.

In the first place, such a view does not take into account the fact that such women might be relatively happy and content with their traditional roles. After all, if some congruence between 'self' and 'ideal self' is an expression of self-actualisation, (Maslow, 1968), then it is noted that this congruence was as close for 'feminists' as for both groups of 'other women'. This is not, furthermore, an observation original to this thesis. Steinmann, 1958, for example, in a study of mothers and daughters with two different sex-role orientations, found that for both groups of women the 'self' and 'ideal self' concepts were close. The sex-role orientations differed, but the degree of self-actualisation did not.

In addition, the studies in Part III of this thesis have shown that despite differences in perceptions of concepts between 'feminists' and 'other women', their different priorities and perceptions in relation to work, domesticity, appearance and behaviour, there were no significant differences in self-ratings of 'happiness', 'competence and success', 'self-respect' and 'stability'. (see Chapter 8, Section 8:4). Again, too, this result is not original to this thesis since there is other evidence in the literature that the 'happiness' of women is not entirely dependent on sex-role, per se.

Lipman-Blumen, 1972, for example, in a study of two groups of college women concluded that 'the traditional and contemporary sex-role viewpoints lead to two distinct life-patterns (but) women are still able to find fulfilment and meaning in their life, within each ideological pattern' (p.42). Rowe and Rowe, 1973, reached a similar conclusion, that there were no significant differences in anomia between married women who worked and those who were full-time housewives, while Gump, 1972, in a review of some literature on happiness in women, found that 'neither happiness, nor the establishment of relationships with men differentiated women

traditional in sex-role orientation from women primarily interested in realising their own potential' (p.79). To be sure, there is also some evidence that certain types of women are not satisfied, and may be physically unhappy with their life styles, (Berk and Berheide, 1977; Weiss and Samuelson, 1958; Warren, 1975; Ferree, 1976; Berheide, Berk and Berk, 1976), but it is not merely sex-role orientation which discriminates the happy from the unhappy woman. In many cases, it is either the intrusion of other factors, or, to paraphrase the terminology of Gump, 1972, the 'unrealisation of potential'. For example, Rowe and Rowe, 1973 isolated 'adequate income' as an important modifier to sex-role contentment, that:-

"it is not a question of ideology as to whether the married woman is happy in the role of housewife, but rather that given the role of marital partner, a woman may be most happy complementing her husband's role by being a housewife, if she feels the family has an adequate income' (p.2).

The external factor of income was a more important discriminator of the 'happy' women than sex-role orientation alone.

In the case of 'realisation of potential', there is also evidence that the woman who wants to work, or, alternatively, be a housewife but cannot, is the most likely to be dissatisfied. Women who, although relatively traditional in views, work when they wish to, are more happy than those who cannot. A combination of roles appears to be a valid source of contentment for many women, rather than a wholesale rejection of the traditional one. Ferree, 1976, for example, concluded that part-time workers who wished to work were the group most satisfied with the work situation, and most interested in the non-financial aspects of the job, a result supported in work by Gump, 1972 and Rand, 1968.

This factor of choice, of individual 'realisation of potential', is perhaps the aspect least considered by feminist critics, and this lack of consideration has no doubt contributed to several of the backlash movements against the feminist ethos. As Egginton, 1977 concluded in her work on this subject of differential female potential:-

"Feminists have never really addressed themselves to this. On the contrary, they have made housework and child-care seem demeaning'.

Certainly, the feminist attitude has contributed to some notably hostile attitudes among non-feminist women. As Williams, 1978 has recently suggested:-

"Perhaps we need a new 'movement' to protect femininity. Not 'fascinating womanhood' - that is rubbish - but something emphasising the value of female qualities, which at present are being ignored in the stampede',

while Tinker, 1977, in a research report on the working mother, observed that:-

"many women obviously enjoy this role and perhaps a bit more public recognition of the importance of this role would not come amiss'.

A physical representation of the anti-feminist movement has been the successful marketing of various books upholding the traditional 'feminine' values. Marabel Morgan, for example, has published over three million copies of her book 'The Total Woman', in the United States alone, which, given the extent of feminist interest in that country, is a valid indication of a certain hostility to the feminist view.

Writing of the sales of this book, Egginton, 1977 observes that:-

"The bitter fact remains that after ten whole years of women's lib, with all its consciousness-raising and considerable achievement, there is still a vacuum large enough for a counter-movement to flourish; a movement, moreover, which offers nothing more than a return to the women's magazine world of home and family'.

This view by Egginton is surely the fundamental point on which this Section rests. The evident disdain for the 'woman's magazine' world is part of the very attitudes which have contributed to the 'backlash', and such a view reinforces the notion of a lack of feminist empathy, a refusal to admit or understand that 'other women' may have different roles and priorities to the feminist ones; that women's magazine purchase may fulfil a chosen and valid role for women.

Feminists, however, have been slow to examine the implications of their stances, with the result that certain of their writings may obtain an ironic twist. Rowbotham, 1978, for example, writing as a particularly committed and political feminist, in a treatise on the role of advertising and women observes that:-

"Acting on the assumption that women regard themselves through men's eyes, as objects of pleasure, advertising and the media project a haunting and unreal image of womanhood. The persistent sense of dislocation between the unrealised feminine self and the projected feminine stereotypes has contributed to a feeling of failure....They find their own perceived world threatened, their values reduced and depreciated and are given an ideal of femininity which is foisted upon them by ever more powerful (agencies)...." (p.34).

Leaving aside the attitudes to women implicit in this comment, which are not unlike those commented upon in Chapter 1, Section 1:4, it is interesting that although Rowbotham is obviously referring to advertising images as the 'threat' to women, to a large extent a similar 'threat', 'feeling of failure', 'reduction in values' and the 'foisting' of an 'unreal' ideal of femininity could equally apply to the imposition of feminist values upon 'other women'.

In some ways, it may be suggested that the feminist view is as unilaterally stereotyped and dogmatic as the feminists themselves claim the advertisers' imagery to be. That women might have a variety of needs is given little consideration. As a pragmatic view of womankind is rejected in favour of a unilateral feminist philosophy, so 'women' are seen as a generic and homogeneous group with little room for different orientations. As Glendingⁿ and Amsden, 1977 suggest, however, :-

"The trouble with mobilising women as a political class....is that the more they achieve as a result of their agitation, the less they categorise themselves purely as women, if indeed they ever did" (p.43).

Such a view obtains particular relevance in the feminist assumption of the global effect of advertising on women, but also in their view of the homogeneous 'women's magazine' imposed wholesale on women readers, who take all they need from its pages and advertisements. It is not considered that women might take from women's magazines what they want, and equally turn to other sources for less female - orientated content. Certainly, as was observed in Section 9:1, while some of the aspects of 'other women's' self-concepts obviously showed a close

concurrence with their perceptions of women's magazine advertising imagery, particularly those aspects which dealt with appearance and domesticity, other aspects did not. Thus, it may be assumed that women's magazine advertisements and, perhaps, content, fulfil a specific and chosen function for women in some ways some of the time. In other respects, women's magazines perhaps do not have the same interest and self-identifying potential.

In this respect, it is interesting to reiterate the data on media exposure in Chapter 8, Section 8:5, which showed that although there was a relationship between subjects' sex-role orientation and magazines read and bought, indicating some interest and identification on a sex-role basis, purchase of one magazine type did not exclude others, and certain women, not only the more anti-traditional ones, were also likely to read more 'general', 'trade' and 'men's' magazines. Ironically, such an observation can work in reverse, since it was also shown that despite their preference for the 'feminist/political' magazines, neither did the 'feminist' minority avoid the more traditional women's magazines, in fact reading them not significantly less than 'other women'.

An issue of honesty is obviously involved in this need among feminists to categorise women as a political class, since it was evident not only in the media exposure data just noted, but in other sources in Part III of this thesis that although 'feminists' might have had a unilateral view of 'other women', they were not so unilateral themselves. In the Kelly study, for example, it was found that in forced comparisons of self-images with 'women in advertisements', 'feminists', despite earlier socialised stances, could and did give several construct items expressing identification, items which were notably more prosaic and less political than those observed in the 'socialised triads. It was shown that 'feminists' could, in many ways, be as gullible and affected, and could identify with certain images as much as the 'other women' sample. Similarly, although the 'feminist' self-perceptions deviated broadly from their perception of 'women in women's magazine advertisements' in the important role, career, and sex-role related behavioural

aspects they showed a marked congruence in others (see Appendix G:13). For example, in ratings of 'social life', 'life-style', 'emotionality' 'confidence', 'respect', 'friendliness' and 'stability' the profiles for the self-concepts were very similar to the women's magazine advertisements concept.

In short, just as the women's magazine advertisements apparently did not fulfill a globally identifying function for 'other women', neither did they operate entirely at variance for 'feminist' self-concepts, an observation which also supports comments by Winship, 1978 (Chapter 3, Section 3:3). To reiterate, she suggested that she, and other feminists, had to 'negotiate tension between our secret reading of magazines for their useful diets and zany fashion, and our attempts to break with the modes of femininity they represent' (p.134), and, as such, were not as singular in their orientations as might be supposed from the feminist critiques. In fact, in many ways it may be observed, not only in the writing by Winship, 1978, but also from the data in Part III of this thesis, that 'feminists' and 'other women' have many things in common, the 'feminist' extremity of view often being the main distinguishing factor.

Overall, it would appear the the feminist critical stance, the need to hold unilateral, dogmatic views of 'other women' and 'advertisements' may proceed more from the feminist politic than a more central and fundamental honesty. Certainly, a more pragmatic view of 'women in general', 'women in advertisements', of women's magazines and other 'female' media, could proceed more easily from some recognition by feminists of not only the inherent common ground between them and 'other women', but also a view of 'other women' as distinctively different in ways that are qualitatively different from their own, but not inherently worse. At present, the feminist position appears to be not only propogandist, with all the dogma that such a position implies, but also denigrative of 'female values, the latter position ironically being an apparent extension of the social trend to give greater credence and value to male characteristics.

Feminists have also fallen into the trap of stereotypy as much as they assume advertisers to have done. This is not only apparent in the feminist critical views on women's magazine advertisements, wherein the assumptions of certain traits by no means took in all the available and often egalitarian images available in those advertisements, but also in their global views of women. In their socialised stances to women's magazines, advertising and women, an impression of relatively 'traditional' status has apparently engendered a whole series of related stereotypes which do not take into account the heterogeneous, pragmatic and differing aspects of either the women's magazine advertisements, or the women exposed to them. Such a characteristic of stereotypy is, however, not uncommon. As Secord, 1959 has observed, a perceived:-

"membership in a stereotype category is sufficient to evoke the judgement that the stimulus person possesses all the attributes belonging to that category,.....and the judgement that the stimulus person possesses in full degree the attributes belonging to that category...." (p.310).

In this respect, a feminist perception of membership in the categories of women's magazine advertisements, a relatively traditional sex-role or even the advertising industry have apparently evoked some extensive stereotypic judgements which do not take in all the aspects of reality.

Whether such stereotypy among feminists will reduce in the future is open to conjecture. Goudy Bain and Spiker, 1977 suggest that a consistent use of stereotypes may be related to a need to maintain an elitist stance, and such a stance is observable, and may be persistent, in the feminist group, a factor noted and criticised by Willis, 1971 and Winship, 1978 alone among the feminist commentators. Reduction in the trend to stereotypy is, however, as Goudy Bain and Spiker, 1977 also suggest, related to a greater acquaintance with the stereotyped group, something which has not been observable among political feminists in the past, but which must be seen as necessary in the future. An ability to tolerate the ambiguity of different female role statuses may be aided by greater feminist contact and discourse with the 'other women' they claim to represent, but

evidently do not still fully either understand or empathise with. Feminists, in short, may have to understand, as Goldberg, 1975 suggests, that 'one woman's role sexual stereotype, may be another's sense of security, a traditional role that provides identity, continuity - even survival' (p.22).

3. Feminists as social contributors

This Section has concentrated on the need to interpret advertising imagery, and particularly that in women's magazines, from the feminist view. Overall, the comments have been critical of the feminist stance, and have suggested that to see the images in advertising as purely sex-role stereotypes is to give undue weight to an idiosyncratic feminist perspective; that such images need to be considered in the future less from the angle of feminist values or stereotypes and more from the views of what 'other women', in a pragmatic framework, might require. It was also clearly suggested that much of the feminist criticism may have been made from an elitist, self-interested perspective; that, as mass communications critics, they have, as Mendelsohn, 1974 suggests of all critics, 'sought to impose externally applied standards.....for various, self-serving personal, ideological or, political reasons' and have not bothered to:-

"find out the relevance of what they as observers subjectively need and what the audiences actually experience as such" (p.387).

While in no way detracting from such a view, which is well-supported in the data throughout this thesis, it would, however, be unrealistic not to suggest and project some wider interpretations of the feminist role from a social perspective.

There is no doubt that while some feminist criticism of mass media, and women's magazine advertisement imagery in particular, has been made from an ill-considered and evidently idiosyncratic stance, some of their criticisms and comments have been sufficient to impel a budding research tradition into media sex-role content. It is also true, particularly in America, that the feminist movement has pushed the advertising industry into some fundamental questioning of its imagery. In addition, although it may be true that for most women there

remains a strongly traditional streak in behaviour and priorities, for some other women there has been a notable change in sex-roles - a group of women typified by the 'high-scorers' in Study 2, in Part III of this thesis - and while such women have been shown not to differ markedly from 'other women' in their attitudes to advertising in the same ways as did feminists' -as was noted in the results of studies in Part III of this thesis and in the literature review in Chapter 2, Section 2:5 - it is possible that consideration of the feminist view of women's roles has given rise to some more varied and anti-traditional advertising, more reflective of the 'high-scoring' women's self-images.

Although such a trend was not noted in the 1975 sample of women's magazines, it is now possible to see a wider range of professional roles for women in certain women's magazine advertisements, including those of judge, doctor, lawyer, as well as a more confident, stronger female image in certain television and women's magazine advertisements. While it is true that the advertising industry might suggest that such images are there simply because these kinds of women now exist in greater numbers than they did in 1975, and choose to discount the feminist contribution, in America, the advertisers have given some credit to the impulsion from the 'extremist' feminist critics. (Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia, 1977; Duker and Tucker, 1977).

The feminist as a prick to the social conscience must be taken as a parallel view to her nuisance and idiosyncratic status in the eyes of many British advertisers. To some extent, the extremity of the feminist view might be responsible for a faster recognition of the need for selective change among advertisers. To reiterate the quotation in 'Campaign' magazine, noted in Chapter 1, Section 1:6, 'advertisers don't set foot until the path has been well and truly trod', and this caution in the advertising industry may well have been more severe if not for the impulsion by feminist critics, if not in terms of their specific views, then at least in terms of the issues they have raised and brought to public view.

Although the non-'feminist' but 'high-scoring' women evidently exist, and probably have done for many years, (Mason^{Czajka} and Arber, 1976) to what extent might the predominantly male, and on the evidence of Section 8:6 still relatively 'traditional', advertisers have foresaken imagery reflective of this type of women for a longer time; without the vocal 'feminist' criticism? As Glendingⁿ and Amsden, 1977 suggest:-

"The extremist feminists are necessary to counter-balance the dead-weight of tradition, prejudice, inertia and the social blinds and binds. The voice of moderation seems, sadly, to be ineffective. The evolutionists benefit from the extremes of the revolutionist, who go too far, so that the rest may advance just a few steps in their wake...."
(p.43).

Another issue, however, must be raised. Up to this point, it has been assumed that the feminist criticisms of advertising have largely sprung from their idiosyncratic self-perceptions, but it was noted in Part III of this thesis, that some of the ways in which 'feminists' differed from 'other women' also characterised the 'high-scoring' women differences. It was evident from that data however, that in spite of this common ground between the two groups of anti-traditional women, that it was the 'political feminists', who then deviated most and in greater extremes.

That 'feminists' and not simply 'high-scoring' women should maintain this different position, has not been noted even as a fact in the literature. The observations in this respect, in this thesis, are entirely original. It would appear, however, that a simple holding of 'anti-traditional' values, is not a sufficient impulsion for a strong, negative and vocal view on advertising, whether in women's magazines or elsewhere. Other factors evidently intrude, and it is suggested that one of these might be a relationship of feminist values with an 'innovator' status.

In the first instance, it is interesting that many of the characteristics which have been found to typify the anti-traditional women, and particularly the 'feminists' (see Chapter 2, Section 2:5) have also been found to typify the group known to marketers as 'innovators' or 'opinion leaders'. These people, who are known to constitute only about 2½% of the consumer population, a figure which notably

compares with the relatively small proportion of women who are known to be true, 'political feminists', are known to be most likely to lead consumer and social activism (Rogers, 1962).

It has been shown in the literature review (Chapter 2, Section 2:5) that 'feminists' differ significantly from 'other women' in certain aspects of self-concept, and it is interesting to note that Pizam, 1972, in a quite unrelated study, has found innovators to differ from the larger body of consumers in ways which compare with the feminist differences, that is, in ascendancy, intellectual efficiency, responsibility, self-acceptance and venturesomeness. Also, such innovators' differ negatively in the same ways as did feminists, in being less deferent, affiliative and, importantly, in the light of 'feminist' significantly differences in this respect in self-concept rating in the literature and this thesis, as being significantly less 'feminine'.

Pizam, 1972 made his observations from a review of 15 studies but in addition to these, and in the light of evidence that feminists tend to have higher socio-economic status than 'other women', it is observable that Painter and Pinegar, 1971 found that 'innovators' tended to come from families with higher income, education and occupational status than other consumers, results confirmed by Summers, 1970 and Rogers, 1962. The three last studies, in respect of the typical 'feminist' membership of women's liberation groups, and the non-membership of the 'high-scoring women' in the Chapter 8 studies, also found innovativeness to be related to 'participation in organisations'.

It is also interesting to observe that in work by Linton and Graham, 1959 and Centers and Horowitz 1963, there was a clear relationship between 'innovativeness' and 'inner-direction', a characteristic typified in their studies by being 'less easily persuaded' and 'less susceptible to social influence'. This result compares with the evident feminist belief in their autonomy in the face of advertising imagery, a belief noted in the literature, in the Kelly study results, and, in Chapter 8, in the 'feminist' ratings of both self-concepts as significantly more 'in control', 'autonomous' and less 'conformist' than did 'other women'.

Finally, in the context of the observations on media exposure, that 'feminists' tended to watch less television than 'other women', it has been noted in several studies (King and Summers, 1971; Reynolds and Darden, 1972; Summers, 1970 and DuBois, 1959) that innovators were likely to watch significantly less television than other consumers.

Evidently, several of these characteristics could equally apply to the 'high-scoring' women but, in the light of the data, noted in Chapter 8, that the 'feminists' were always the most 'extreme,' and showed a stronger 'mix' of these characteristics, there appears to be good grounds for suggesting that another characteristic of the feminist motivation to criticise advertising may be an 'innovative' or 'opinion leader' quality. In this respect, although no specific work has been found in the sex-role literature on this characteristic, it is notable that Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia, 1977, quoting a government report, showed that the small group of women who tended to be most extreme in their attitudes to sex-roles, and who were the 'strongest critics', were not only younger and more highly educated (which compares with other data noted above) but were also more likely to be 'opinion leaders'.

The importance of noting this data on the apparent relationship between the 'feminist', and the opinion leader or 'social activist' type, which further research would need to establish more fully, is to move the perception of feminists to a wider social role than that of simply elitist, self-interested critics.

It is quite possible that feminist advertising critiques may be based on a simple desire to represent and 'speak on behalf of' the 'ordinary woman'. This element in the feminist criticism was noted in Chapter 1, Section 1:4, and was typified as somewhat 'patronising', but such an interpretation does not negate the intent. As Webster, 1975 concludes on 'innovator' types, there is evidently a factor of 'social-consciousness' in the innovator motivation, that:-

He is a person who is in a good position in terms of income, education and occupation to contribute to the community, and his self-concept

allows him to take an active role. He acts in a manner consistent with his attitudes, playing an active role" (p.196).

This, then, should be the final inference from the feminist perspective, and although that perspective may be criticised on several grounds of honesty, representativeness, reality and empathy, it would perhaps be useful for the advertising community to remember the apparent 'opinion leader' or 'innovator' component in the feminist motivation in further reactions to, and interpretations of, her criticisms and activities. After all, although the activities of innovators have in the past been viewed as ahead of their times, the definitions of the innovator and the opinion leader contain an implicit assumption that where they lead others, in time, will follow.

Section 9:3 Inferences from the advertisers perspective

The final set of inferences from the women's magazine content analysis should be made from the views and perspective of the advertising industry, particularly in terms of their responses to the feminists in the general advertising, sex-role debate and their consideration of 'ordinary' women exposees. In the first place, it is observable from the previous sections in this Chapter, and the evidence quoted in Part III, that there is apparently good ground for supporting many of the advertiser's views on the female imagery in advertisements. The advertisers' contentions that they know the consumer best, that they do much research to reflect the female consumer attributes, and produce such imagery in their advertising in order to make it effective, would appear to have some support from the 'other women' perspective as discussed in Section 9:1 of this Chapter. Furthermore, even if this evidence is left aside, the data discussed in Chapter 8, Section 8:5, demonstrated that advertiser perceptions of 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' correlated positively and significantly with the real 'self' concept of both groups of 'other women', and the 'women in advertisements' concept with 'ideal self'. In short, whether through research, luck or a universal acceptance and

understanding of certain female concepts, it would appear that the advertising industry might have certain accurate knowledge of, and relatively effective communication with, the 'ordinary' majority of women.

Such evidence tends to support the notion that advertisers use their advertising to 'connect' with the perceptions and priorities of 'ordinary' women readers and that such advertising is less dominated by an 'inaccurate', 'sex-role stereotype', as suggested by 'feminist' critics, than some accurate and careful reflection of the needs of 'other women'. Observations on the specific field of women's magazines tend to support this notion. First, there was some evidence, noted in Section 9:1, to suggest that the advertising used in different women's magazines did, to a large extent tally, in priority of role emphases, with the sex-roles reflected in self-concepts of different women readers. Second, if there is some evidence that the women's magazines provide some reflection of an 'idealised' life-style for many women, then the function of the 'decorative' and 'appearance' aspects in that 'ideal self' were apparently well reflected in the emphasis on the 'decorative' role and related images in women's magazine advertisements. (see Chapter 5) Furthermore, if the 'decorative' and 'appearance' aspects are evidently an important quotient in women's 'ideal-self' interest, and women's magazines aim to reflect this interest, then the predominant emphasis on the 'decorative' role only in women's magazines, noted particularly by Venkatesan and Losco, 1975, would appear to give further support to an advertising attempt to reflect priorities and interests of women readers.

Another point, however, may be made and this again in respect of an 'idealised' function in the content of women's magazine advertising.

In the first place, it was interesting to note that certain of the behavioural characteristics, shown in objective evidence in Chapter 4 to be strong functions of sex-role stereotypes, were found to be non-significant in the content analysis, that they were not demonstrated significantly by either sex in the advertisements examined. Further interpretations of these non-significant differences showed,

however, that many of them related to concepts which were inherent in the 'ideal sex-role stereotype', a stereotype which is characterised by images common to both sexes, (the list of these 'ideal' sex-role stereotypes is set out in Appendix A:4). For example, the feature of 'competence' was clearly demonstrated in Chapter 4 to be a 'general' male sex-role stereotype, but in the 'ideal' stereotype such factors as 'intelligence', 'not foolish', 'success', 'wisdom', 'sharpness' and 'not unsuccessful', implied in the 'competence' code, are found in the 'female' stereotype as well. The concept of 'extroversion' was also derived as an 'general' male stereotype, but in the 'ideal' sex-role stereotype, many of its defined and implied components such as 'vibrancy', 'dynamic', 'humour', 'colourful', are common to both sexes. 'Activity' and 'fast movement' were also derived as strong, male, 'general' stereotypes, but these also occur in both sexes in the 'ideal' stereotype as 'not still', 'not static' and commonly, 'active'. 'Leader' behaviour was also a strong, male 'general' stereotype but both sexes in the 'ideal' stereotype are described as 'important', 'strong', and 'not unimportant'. 'Active nurturance' was derived as a clear female, 'general' stereotype in Chapter 4, but in the 'ideal' stereotype, such factors as 'kindness', 'affection', 'consideration', 'not cruel', are common to both sexes, while for the male, 'passive nurturant', 'general' stereotype, comparisons may be made with the common 'ideal' stereotype notions of 'co-operation', 'dependable' and 'appreciative'. 'Anxiety' with its implied components of instability, was a clear 'general', female stereotype, but in the 'ideal' stereotype such aspects as 'emotional stability', 'healthy' and 'strong' are common to both sexes.

Several other examples could be given, but what is relevant to this discussion is the fact that despite clear evidence that certain characteristics are strong 'male' or 'female' sex-role stereotypes in the common usage, in the concept of 'ideal', 'masculinity' and 'femininity', sex distinctions are not drawn, and, importantly, neither were they drawn in the women's magazine advertising imagery.

There were, for example, no significant differences between the sexes for 'extrovert' behaviour and its qualitatively associated 'positive' expression,

'enthusiasm/fun' advertisement tones, 'laughing' and 'approach/call' relationships. There were no significant differences between male and female characters for the use of 'competence', 'leader' behaviour and levels of 'activity'. Neither were there significant differences in the exposition of 'active' and 'passive nurturance', and associated images such as the 'nurturant' expression, and 'holding onto' in relationships. There were no significant differences in the evocation of 'anxiety' behaviour and appeals to 'insecurity' and, furthermore, if there is an absence of 'introversion' in the 'ideal stereotype', for both sexes, it is notable that this code, and its associated 'faraway dreamy expression', were also non-significant in the women's magazine advertisements. Finally, if the 'leader' and 'extrovert' behaviours and 'activity' are components of the 'ideal' stereotype for both sexes, then it is observable that the advertisement images of 'leader' behaviour and appeals to 'activity/freedom' were not distinguished significantly between the sexes.

In short, not only is there evidence that the advertising images in women's magazines reflected, as advertisers assert, some important quotients of roles and priorities for ordinary women readers, these reflected in the strongest significant differences between the sexes, but also some evidence that where distinctions were not made between the sexes, then these would appear to have been reflections of certain 'ideal' sex-role characteristics for males and females, to reflect some 'ideal' function of women's magazines. Such data, furthermore, does give important credence to a view of the images in women's magazines not as simple sex-role stereotypes, but as components of canny, reflective and effective advertising.

These interpretations of the images in women's magazines advertisements from the advertiser viewpoint take in, in fact, most of the significant and non-significant differences in imagery. Yet, a further interpretation of these, and the remaining differences and similarities, may also be credibly made from another advertising viewpoint of effective advertising, and that is from the angle of simple 'attractiveness' of the imagery.

In the first place, it was observed in the content analysis results that some of the most important sex-role stereotypes which distinguished the sexes lay in aspects of physical appearance. Such aspects of appearance, to be sure, also evinced some concept of 'ideal' masculinity and femininity - the 'blonde' female, the 'dark' male, the 'slim' female physique, the strong 'muscular' male physique - aspects which have been noted in independent sources to compare with the 'ideals' of both sexes in somatypes (Dwyer and Mayer, 1968) and appearance (Millum, 1974, Berg, 1964), and as such may simply be interpreted as part of the 'ideal' function of this advertising, as noted above. Another interpretation of these physical images, however, and also some of the non-significant differences in female and male behaviour where females demonstrated male characteristics not significantly less than males, is in some consideration of the function of attractiveness and positive aspects for the advertising designer.

Many studies have investigated the components of, and associated variables in, the concept of 'attractiveness' and, it is important to note, many of these components also equate with the images found in the women's magazine content analysis. For example, female characters were not shown to be significantly less 'competent' than males, and studies by Clifford and Walter, 1973 have shown this characteristic to be related to 'attractiveness'. In the context of the non-significant differences in 'extrovert' and 'leader' behaviour and associated images, noted earlier, it is observable that the inherent sub-codes of kindness, strength, poise, sociability, outgoing and exciting behaviour are also related to perceptions of 'attractiveness' (Berscheid et al. 1973).

Cash, Gillen and Burns, 1977 has also shown that 'attractiveness' is related to the more traditional aspects of masculinity and femininity, including physical appearance, and the use by advertisers of the traditional images of 'slim', 'blonde' females and 'dark', 'muscular' males in their advertising, obviously has relevance to this fact.

'Attractiveness' and its associated components are no doubt part of a desire by the advertiser to present an 'ideal' and 'positive' image of its characters, but a more direct indication of its use to the advertiser comes from the results of studies which have extended the concept of 'attractiveness' into factors of 'liking', 'persuasion' and 'positive evaluation'.

Perrin, 1921, Waster et al. 1966, Bjerstedt, 1951, Faunce and Beegle, 1948, have shown that there is a strong relationship between 'attractiveness' and 'liking', while Byrne, London and Reeves, 1968, have found that 'attractiveness' is more likely to produce a positive response from a stranger, results supported by Bruner, Shapiro and Taguiri, 1958; Miller, 19 and Bercheid et al, 1973. On the subject of 'persuasiveness', Mills and Aronson, 1965 have shown that if a physically attractive communicator expresses a desire to persuade her audience, she is more effective in producing attitude change than an unattractive communicator, while Sigall and Aronson, 1969 have found that it is more rewarding to please an attractive person than an unattractive one. She is also more persuasive. Other studies have also shown that a physically attractive person arouses more of an anxiety to please than an unattractive one. (Aronson, 1962, Aronson and Linden, 1965, Sigall and Aronson, 1969).

In short, 'attractiveness' and its associated components may be a very effective selling tool, arousing 'liking', positive evaluation and, importantly, being more persuasive, than 'unattractive' characteristics.

Furthermore, if it is important to the advertiser for a consumer to remember the product, it has also been found that attractive faces are more retained, (Fleishman et al, 1976, Cross, Cross and Daley, 1971, Galper and Hochberg, 1971) while, in the context of the advertisers' need to attract attention, it has also been noted by Smith, 1953 that attractive people are perceived as closer, and thereby attract greater attention. Of relevance to the field of advertising design, is work by Lando, 1976, who found that attractiveness not only arouses a positive expectation of a person but also of the objects and environments with which they are

associated, a result supported more directly in the advertisement context by Smith and Engel, 1968, who showed that the use of an attractive woman could make a car appear to be faster, more appealing, youthful and of better design. Steadman, 1969 and Baker, 1961 have also demonstrated that the use of sexually attractive females in advertising has high attention-getting value, and will arouse the attention of both men and women.

On this evidence, it is scarcely surprising that advertisers should choose to portray their characters in ways that are physically and behaviourally attractive. Not only does it appear that such images may be more persuasive, but also more retained, noted and attended to. They will also, apparently, arouse more interest and liking in the exposee, and bestow a positive 'halo' effect on the product advertised.

In this respect, it is interesting to reiterate the observation in Chapter 5, Section: 5, that not only were certain of these attractive characteristics non-significant between the sexes, but also the more common characteristics. The 'positive' expression, the attractive behaviours of 'extroversion', 'leadership' and 'competence', for example, were not only non-significant between the sexes, but also the most common attributes for both sexes in those codes. By corollary, the least 'attractive' behaviours were shown to be 'weak' stereotypes, represented by very low frequencies. For example, 'anxiety', 'follower' and 'introvert' behaviours, to be 'fat' or 'plump', whether sex-role stereotypes or not, were always subordinate to the more positive and attractive characteristics.

In this respect, too, some further interpretation may be made of the high frequencies of the 'positive' expression, and the 'to the reader' attention. It has been shown that not only a positive and attractive expression/behaviour/appearance is useful in advertising persuasiveness, but also a factor of 'positively evaluating' the exposee. As Sigall and Aronson, 1969, for example, concluded:-

"the data indicated that people like pretty girls who evaluate them positively and dislike pretty girls who evaluate them negatively" (p.99).

If it can be postulated that the high incidence among females of the 'male' characteristic of 'positive' expression, combined with the significant difference in favour of females for 'to the reader' attention may be construed as an attempt to 'evaluate the reader positively' (the low incidence of the 'negative' expression can be noted in this context), then such female imagery moves beyond the region of appropriate or non-appropriate 'sex-role stereotypes' into the stratum of effective advertising design.

Some interpretation of the female 'decorative' role may also be made from the basis of this 'attractiveness' analogy. Although females showed this role significantly more than males, it is interesting to observe that while 'attractiveness' is evidently important for both sexes, it is even more so for females. This has been noted by Sigall and Aronson, 1969, but Hill and Landon, 1976 also found that attractive female photographs were assigned higher ratings of both 'happiness' and 'intelligence' than were unattractive female photographs. This was not found for males. It was suggested that the 'beauty is a good thing' phenomenon was not as salient for males, and that judgement of physical attraction for males was not so consistent or reliable. In short, it may be construed that if males were shown in the 'decorative' role less than females, it was again as likely to be related to reasons of advertising 'effectiveness' as of 'sex-role stereotype'.

The overall significance of the previous discussion on advertising imagery in women's magazine advertisements has been to suggest that to interpret such images solely from the feminist or sex-role stereotype perspective is not only a limited and simplistic approach, but analytically incomplete in failing to recognise the potential advertiser motivations for such imagery. Inferences from the advertiser perspective tended to render considerations of 'sex-role stereotypes' subordinate to those of good advertising design and the theory of advertising effectiveness.

Where significant differences were shown to be present, and to relate to advertising 'sex-role stereotypes', further interpretations have shown them to be

potential attempts at reflecting the perceptions and priorities of 'ordinary' women readers. This was also shown for the different imagery between magazine types, and in the use of the apparently idealised function of these magazines. Similarly, although many other sex-role stereotypes were found to be non-significant between the sexes in the women's magazine advertisements, instead of merely seeing such images as 'stereotypes' not proven, the previous discussion has shown that a more valid interpretation may be a positive desire to evoke concepts of 'ideal' feminⁱⁿity, and 'attractiveness', the latter factor being a pertinent element in attention, retention and persuasiveness of advertising. Even when other 'sex-role stereotypes' might be inferred - for example the 'to the reader' attention of female characters - such an image also concurs with implied design factors. By corollary, however, the use by the advertiser of frequent 'positive' characteristics for females, even when they were clear sex-role stereotypes for males, should not be seen solely as some 'liberated' view of the advertiser, but as a desire to evoke positive, attractive advertisements, an interpretation supported by the fact that certain images, although seen in other contexts as sex-role stereotypes, were notably 'weak' and infrequent, avoided, apparently, since they evoked negative and 'unattractive' imagery.

In short, to see the advertising images in women's magazines from the sole perspective of sex-role stereotypes does apparent disservice to the advertiser. Other factors also tend to support this view.

First, it was shown in Chapter 5, Section 5:10 that when advertisements were partialled for 'role', there were then very few instances where the female characters were negatively, or inappropriately displayed in the products, or advertisement situations. For example, the 'decorative' role could be seen as a female stereotype in that significantly more females were shown in this role, but when males were shown in it they, like females, were most often related to the 'decorative' products, and in 'modelling' poses.

Second, since 'decorative' products, such as cosmetics and clothing, were evidently a strong component of the products advertised in these journals, it was really not surprising that the 'decorative' role for females should be a predominant image. Furthermore, since it has also been shown that the 'decorative' advertisement aspects are perceptually close to women's 'ideal-self' concepts, and women's magazines appear to have an idealised function, neither is it remarkable that the 'decorative' products should form a large quotient of the advertisements in these journals, with the 'decorative' role most evident. Product/role congruity which did not distinguish the sexes was also seen in the cases of the 'domestic', 'lover', 'sports/hobbyist' and 'worker' roles, further supporting the notion that advertisers are less interested in stereotyping and providing 'reactionary' images of women, than in producing consistent advertising images, which then just happen to relate to the feminist concept of the 'manipulative and negative sex-role stereotype.

Third, it is an established and assumed fact in advertising design that the main character is the central identifying figure for the exposee. If advertisers were actively concerned to present a manipulative, negative and traditional stereotype of women, then it may be conjectured that such imagery would also be found in the secondary and less noted characters, where the arguments as to good advertising design might apply less. Yet, among these characters, it was shown that advertisers were apparently more random in their depiction, and, in fact, showed both male and female characters in some often strongly anti-traditional imagery. A feminist argument might be that advertisers reserve their non-traditional sex-role depictions for the less evident characters, the secondary, or, as was also shown, the few 'older' women characters, and the less evident, black/white and smaller advertisements. This interpretation has also been offered by Millum, 1974 and Adams and Laurikietis, 1976 but, from the advertiser viewpoint, it may equally be argued that such images demonstrate a laxity in the desire for reflective, effective, attractive depictions, resulting in a more pragmatic and randomised imagery, which then happens to be 'anti-traditional' in nature. Certainly, on the evidence, such an interpretation has as much validity as the feminist one.

Given all these arguments and discussion, made from an inferential 'advertiser' view, it is, however, easy to understand the advertiser responses to the feminist critics, a view which not only saw feminists as 'extraordinary', but also as somewhat irrelevant, and perhaps ignorant, in their interpretation of advertising imagery from a purely sex-role stereotype basis. The discussion also illustrates why advertisers and feminists fail to agree in their interpretation of advertising imagery, since it is obvious that the two parties will have quite different priorities and aims in viewing this imagery.

It is also, no doubt, true that advertisers are perhaps detached and indifferent to the feminist views, not only because of strong, and apparently well-supported bases for their view of female advertising imagery, but also because the issue of sex-role stereotypes is evidently of little interest or relevance to their function as designers. This neutrality in the advertiser function is also seen in the evidently central placing of the three advertiser concepts on the semantic differential scales (see Appendix G:16). No extreme ratings were seen in 'women in advertisements', 'women in general' or the 'women closest to you', and this result compares markedly with the extremity and obviously stronger perceptions of 'feminists' on all the concepts they rated. While the issue of advertising, sex-role stereotypes is of evidently vital importance to feminist critics, for reasons which were discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1:1, advertisers obviously do not feel the same way. Interestingly, such a discrepancy has also been witnessed between females and males in the study by Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia, 1977 - a factor relevant to this discussion since the sample of advertisers was a male one - when it was observed that it was only the younger, better educated, higher socio-economic groups of females, the feminist types, who expressed strong interest in the advertising issues, and that:-

"The rather large differential between female and male respondents may be indicative of the higher interest levels among women concerning this subject....the response suggests that these up-scale persons may have higher awareness and greater involvement with this topic..." (p.75).

What is also interesting in the 'advertiser/feminist' conflict, is not only the way the feminists appear to have given some inaccurate, if not over-simplified, interpretations of the advertisers' motives in advertising imagery, but also the way they appear to have under-rated the advertiser perceptions of women. It is not a little ironic, in the context of the feminist criticism of advertisers, that the advertiser perceptions of 'women in general' were in many ways more positive and 'anti-traditional' than were those of the 'feminists'. The feminist critics have frequently suggested that the advertiser images of women intrude in a negative and reactionary manner in the advertising they produce, but it would appear that despite the more traditional sex-role attitudes to women of the advertisers, their imagery of women was relatively pragmatic and positive, and the intrusion of the advertisers' imagery into advertising would apparently create a more positive final image, than the 'feminist' imagery would.

In many respects, however, the feminist and advertiser views of women do not depart, in relative terms, from what has been noted elsewhere in the literature on male and female perceptions of women. McKee and Sheriffs, 1957 for example, found that women believed that men's views of women were more traditional and sex-typed than they actually were. The real male view of women was found to be a good deal less restrictive than women believed it to be, including many positive and also 'masculine' characteristics. Rossi, 1964b found that in a hypothetical marriage/career conflict, only a quarter of the women subjects thought that 'the woman' should give up her career, but three-quarters thought that men would favour this solution. Steinmann, Levi and Fox, 1964 found that women's perception of man's ideal woman was significantly more traditional than their own self-perceptions, while Kaplan and Goldman, 1973 found that women perceived a greater gulf between the stereotypes of women held by members of the opposite sex than men did, a result supported by Steinmann, 1963. The conclusion by Steinmann, Levi and Fox, 1964 however, is perhaps the best comment on the evident discrepancy between the advertisers' views on women, and what feminists perceive them to be:-

"Evidently both men and women do not understand each other's desires as to what role a woman should assume....the women felt that men are either not interested in the self-realisation and goals of women in their lives or these men may even be in opposition to women's needs.... A conflict and/or a lack of communication is obvious...." (p.374).

The lack of communication between feminists and advertisers is also vividly demonstrated in the contrasts between the 'feminist' self-concepts and those of the 'advertisers' 'women in general' and 'women in advertisements' concepts, noted in Chapter 8, Section 8:5 and which were represented by negative and significant correlations.

To a large extent, the evidence on the feminist and advertiser points of view suggests that the advertiser would, in order to consider continued 'effective advertising', be advised to avoid the feminist view. Not only is there good evidence that such women are atypical and 'extraordinary' in many ways, but to reflect such a view might also be to alienate the majority of 'other women'. As was found in other data, reviewed in Section 8:2, even the 'high-scoring' and non-'feminist' woman, although different in several important ways from 'other women' - which will be returned to - did not appreciably differ in their whole-scale assessments from 'other women' in the same way as the 'feminists' did.

Nonetheless, although there is good evidence to suggest that advertisers do make some real attempt to reflect women's self-perceptions in advertising, and that the issue of 'sex-role stereotypes' may be a luxury propagated by a distinct minority of 'extraordinary' feminist critics, there is also evidence which should make the advertisers a little uneasy. In the first place, although there was evidence that the 'other women's' perceptions of self-images correlated positively with their perceptions of the advertising concepts, these correlations were neither large nor always significant. There was also evidence that the images of advertising as perceived by these women provided a better correlation with their 'ideal self' concepts, than with those of 'self'.

Inspection of the profiles comparing the 'other women's', 'self' and 'women in advertisements' concept, (see Appendices G:11 and G:12), which are comparable in many ways with the appropriate comparison with 'women in women's magazine advertisements' (see Appendix G:10), demonstrate that while there is a relatively close concurrence in the main 'sex-role stereotype' aspects of role, appearance and domesticity, there are strong variations in relative assessments of the two concepts in terms of certain behavioural aspects, such as 'control of life', 'dominance', 'independence', 'conformism', and, as has been noted earlier, in the perceived reality of these advertisements. There are also some indications of an attitude to advertising which is not markedly different from the public surveys noted in Chapter 1, Section 1:6, in that 'women in advertisements' were often rated within the poles of 'I do not like her at all', and 'not at all like me'. To some extent such assessments may be taken as part of the evident general hostility towards advertising noted in Chapter 1, but in respect of an advertiser belief that he is reflecting women's self-concepts, such results suggest caution.

Although there is evidently a closer relationship between 'ideal self' and the different advertisement concepts, discrepancies in behavioural aspects are also seen in these comparisons, as well as in aspects of 'reality', and 'liking' the advertisements. Further rated discrepancies are also observed in 'happiness', 'education', 'intelligence', 'culture', 'reliance on mind/ability' and 'political' awareness, all of which items show opposite pole discrepancies against the advertisement concepts - particularly the generalised one - and indicate that, in these respects, advertisers, while maintaining their successful portrayal of female roles in other respects, should question whether their advertising is sufficiently reflective of all women's self-perceptual priorities.

Advertisers should also be aware that many of the 'other women's' self-concept items bore a close directional similarity, albeit not in the same extremity, to those of the 'anti-traditional' women, particularly in such aspects of behaviour as 'dominance', 'control', 'independence', and 'intellectual' characteristics. In these

respects, advertisers should ask themselves whether a more forceful, independent image of women needs to be used in their advertising, within the existing framework of domesticity, work and 'decorative' concerns.

Certainly, outside the context of this thesis, there is some indication that the general content of women's magazines has shown some move in this direction, assuming now, more than ever before, a women reader who is intellectually and behaviourally competent, not uninterested in either anti-traditional issues or politicism. This factor is illustrated, first, by the evident change in women's magazine content where articles on abortion, political figures, contraception, sexuality, problems of working women, and the legal and consumerist quotients in women's lives have been added to the continuing content on appearance and domestic issues, and not only in the 'young' magazines (Whitehorn, 1978b). If the editors of these women's magazines feel that such change is appropriate, then the evidence cited above indicates that advertisers, lagging behind as ever, would be advised to broaden their imagery too. Such change is not only indicated anecdotally, but also by the recent interest in women's magazines as wider social documents, not interested purely in the 'trivial' matters of home and appearance. Referring to this tendency, a recent article on the Royal Commission into women's magazines suggested that:-

"as the magazines have become more socially important, so society... has to monitor their performance...women's magazines may still be bound up with homes and families, but note has to be taken of their growing social significance". (Times Higher Educational Supplement, 1977)

Retail Business, 1978b in a report on these magazines also noted this change, that women's magazines:-

'are likely to remain important as a continuing source of relaxation, entertainment and information...(and) there is likely to remain a market for the mass selling titles...women's changing role in society will create new opportunities for magazines....Magazines fulfil two functions; they reflect the status quo and in some cases act as opinion leaders' (p.42).

Whitehorn, 1978b suggests that the women's magazines have taken into account the subtly changing emphases in women's role, the broadening of their behaviours and, through this tactic, 'the more uncertainty, changing of jobs and roles and assumptions there is, the more women's magazines will prosper', an observation supported in analysis of over-time content by Williams, 1966. In a study on women's magazines over ten years he noted:-

"By comparison with the earlier sample, it seems that interests represented in women's magazines are slightly broadening. It is not only that there are occasional articles of general public interest, but (the content) is in some ways comparable to other kinds of general interest magazines' (p.58).

The change in the content of women's journals, according to Williams, had also included articles on legal and financial positions, and Stott, 1976, commenting more recently on this change to a more political view in women's magazines, notes the discrepancy between the refusal of the women's magazines to carry Labour Party advertising in 1974, because 'our readers do not expect this form of advertising in our magazines against the background of editorial content' with the recent presence in these magazines of Conservative Party advertisements directed straight at women.

In short, if the editorial content of women's magazines can change and modify its imagery to allow more complex role portrayals for females including, but adding to, the older and still strong, traditional role and appearance interests, then advertisers should be prepared to do so too. Certainly, it appears that women are currently finding some discrepancy between advertising imagery and certain of the more 'liberated' types of behaviour, such as 'intellect', 'competence', 'politicism' and 'independence', and in the literature review of self-perceptions in Chapter 2, Section 2:5, as well as in the semantic differential results in Chapter 8, it was noted that non-'feminist' women may display such behaviours less strongly than 'feminists' but not necessarily in the opposite conceptual direction.

Advertisers would appear to need to consider such imagery more closely, particularly in women's magazines. Even though such images in the form of

'leader', 'extrovert' and 'competent' behaviours were not significantly less evident for female than male characters in the women's magazine content analysis, the discrepancies in women's rating of items related to these concepts, in comparisons of 'self' and 'women' in women's magazine advertisements' (see Appendix G:10) showed that such behaviours are either not evident, or strong enough in women's magazine advertisements for the ordinary woman reader.

There could be an argument, however, that if women change in these respects, then they may simply change their preferences in women's magazine type - for example, to the 'young' magazines. That the 'young' women's magazine is the fastest growing sector in the market is perhaps some reflection of this shift in preferences. In these journals, not only the content, but also the advertising, as was demonstrated in Chapter 5, is most likely to represent these more 'masculine' behavioural characteristics and roles. The 'high-scoring' women of Study 2 evidently found some congruence with their self-imagery in these journals, as witnessed by the results of Chapter 8, Section 8:8, but in the light of the fact that such women were also most likely to read non-women's magazines, it would appear that advertisers should ask whether their imagery is clearly and totally reflecting all the aspects of these women's lives.

The 'high-scoring' women, in fact, should present the advertiser which his most searching questions on present imagery. Such women did not deviate in views and perceptions from 'other women' as much as did 'feminists', but their individual item ratings often distinguished them in ways totally comparable to the 'feminists'. Furthermore, they did not appear to identify strongly with the existing advertising imagery of women. The research on such women has suggested, however, (see Chapter 2, Section 2:5) that they do not deviate from 'other women' sufficiently to be considered as a basis for a wholesale change in advertising imagery (Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia, 1977; Duker and Tucker, 1977) and the data in Part III of this thesis goes some way to supporting this notion. Nonetheless, these women do exist,

were a respectable proportion of the random sample of women chosen for Study 2 and were obviously not entirely satisfied with the current images of women in advertising, from the view of self-reflection.

In short, advertisers cannot afford to be too complacent in their views on women. The more 'traditional' woman is evidently within their grasp in terms of the advertising they produce, but in the case of the 'high-scoring' women, some re-thinking would appear to be necessary in the future.

Advertisers must also be careful not to place too much faith in the status quo, which they reflect with some apparent success, but which also has a habit of slowly changing, of creeping up on media controllers. Also, as Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976 observed in their content analysis of sex-roles in advertising, although advertising imagery may broadly represent how many women are at any one time, advertisers should still attempt to operate with 'awareness and responsibility'. Excessive emphasis on the status quo that 'works' may not exactly manipulate women, but it may reinforce existing attitudes to the detriment of the pace of potential change.

As Williams, 1966 has observed:-

"It seems to be generally agreed that in the movement of public taste and opinion you cannot start a trend but you can accentuate one that exists... In the process, of course, you may be distorting the balance of interests and limiting the range of original, potential response" (p.94).

He goes on to observe that the trends to the future cannot be disregarded and 'this is very important because in the new kinds of living opening up to us, many of our ideas and our tastes are bound to be potential'. He suggests that if such considerations are not kept in balance 'the whole process of growth and change is likely to be damaged' (p.95). Furthermore, on the basis of the observations above, and also the comments in this respect in the Courtney and Whipple, 1974 study, noted in Chapter 1, Section 1:3, the 'damage' may not only be to certain women, but also to the potential of 'growth and change' in the advertising industry itself. Women have always had, and evidently do exercise, a choice in the types of media they expose themselves to and, in the case of advertising in women's magazines,

the journals they will invest their considerable financial resources in. Fundamentally, however, much of this discussion comes down to not only the potential profitability of the advertising industry but also some element of responsibility. Although the current 'mass images of women apparently, for the most part, do concur with what 'other women' want, at least in terms of sex-role imagery, as Williams, 1966 has suggested:-

"To look only at the 'masses', we can have neither the respect for people nor the sense of growth that underlie responsibility... (advertising) uses the appeal of known tastes as a jumping-off ground for directing new interests and new appeals into channels convenient to those with something ready to sell, but not necessarily relevant to the real problem of the new living itself" (p.95).

Advertisers, although still evidently successful in reflecting the interests of 'ordinary' women, must be prepared to modify and change their views where necessary. Just as the feminists are not simply a troublesome minority and should be listened to and not entirely disregarded, so should 'other women' be regarded not entirely as a contented and bovine mass. Nonetheless, as the last word on the advertising industry, the most optimistic view is perhaps that by Kotler, 1972. Writing of the marketing and advertising industries, their changing and future role, he observes that:-

"One of the signs of the health of a discipline is its willingness to re-examine its focus, techniques and goals as the surrounding society changes and new problems require attention. Marketing has shown this aptitude in the past" (p. 46).

Section 9:4 Directions for future research

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the previous discussion on women's magazine and other advertising imagery, is not only to question the unilateral feminist view of such advertising, that it creates and contributes to women's current and traditional sex-role, but also to cast doubt on the field of advertising sex-role stereotypes as a useful and productive field of research into women's present and potential position.

There have been strong suggestions from the data in this thesis, and the preceding discussion in this Chapter, that advertising not only appears to reflect to a large extent the held sex-role values of 'ordinary' women to whom it is directed, but also that such women have autonomy in their use of women's magazines and other advertising media. It has also been suggested that the issue of sex-role stereotypes in advertising may not only be a feminist issue per se, but also gratuitous to both the majority of 'ordinary' women and the advertising industry. The issue still remains, however, of where, therefore, do we look for changes in sex-roles in the future?

There are two main areas where future research into change in women's position might be directed, and these - the issues of 'affirmative action', and socialisation of children - are discussed below.

1. Affirmative action

Overall, it would appear that for both women's magazines and general advertising, any suggestion that traditional roles of women are created by that advertising would be simplistic and ill-advised. There is more evidence, on balance, that this is an issue created and sponsored by the feminist critics, and that 'other women' may be more likely not only to take sex-roles to advertising than from it, but to be willing and autonomous in so doing. There is also little evidence that advertisers are actively manipulating and creating the sex-roles of women. A more valid interpretation of the advertising images propagated by that industry would be a simple desire for effective, reflective and well-designed advertising, factors which just happen to concur with the feminist view of the sex-role stereotype' in their physical representation.

In the first place, if feminists are concerned with the advertising image of women, then it would appear that the surest way to change such imagery would be through some consideration of 'de facto' liberation. If advertising does reflect female roles or, at worst, reinforce them, then it would appear that a change in female sex-roles would be the surest way of changing the state of advertising imagery.

Such an argument is obviously circular, but sensible in the sense that it assumes that advertisers should be pulled towards change, rather than pushed, unwillingly, to instigate it. The approach of 'de facto' liberation is a valid and important one, and is one which, by implication, also tends to render the investigation and criticism of advertising, sex-role stereotypes to a position subordinate to more fundamental attempts at changing women's actual employment, expectations and behaviour.

This view of 'liberate and all else follows' is not a new one, although it does reflect the direction of interest in contemporary, academic research and political commentary. Such a view would argue that if the physical and employment position of women is changed, then attitudes, values and ideologies change 'post hoc' to accommodate the new position. As an ideology, it was propounded by Myrdal and Klein, 1956 over twenty years ago, and is now providing an important component of interest in women's liberation since, literally, it has been found to work, to be effective in changing women's roles in society. Myrdal and Klein, 1956 for example, noting that changes in the attitudes to women's employment were 'in marked contrast to the views and practices of previous generations' (p.196), suggested that the change in roles pre-dated the attitudes, that:-

"....attitudes and ideologies are gradually being brought into line with technical and social developments and tend toward greater participation of (women) in the economic, political, administrative and cultural activities of the community...." (p.196).

Developing this, 'attitude follows change' argument, they observe that 'the necessary mental adjustments, however slow to come, are bound to be made in the end' (p.196).

This more deterministic approach to a change in sex-roles is now witnessed most of all in the trend by certain feminists in the front line of social and legal issues to stress the concept of what is now known as 'affirmative action'. Such commentators believe that the liberation of women should not come by waiting for the more indirect agencies of Equal Opportunities Commission pressure, changes in media imagery and complaint, but by providing actual change now, as a means of changing 'post hoc' the climate of attitudes and norms.

Whitehorn, 1978^a for example, a vociferous proponent of this attitude, asserts that for more direct and fundamental changes in women's position, then the need is for 'crude tools like affirmative action and positive discrimination'. Noting the obvious success of such strategies in America, she suggests that change is always more unlikely when it is potential, than when realised:-

"Certainly what is needed is habit - it is no coincidence that, looking at the American experience, the police in New York have entirely accepted women, since they have had them for a while, while the firemen, who have merely been threatened with them, are screaming before they are hurt....".

This attitude is also one which has now been adopted, albeit belatedly, by academic researchers, and even the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC). The most recent invitation for research monies by the EOC emphasised that less research was needed to explore the theoretical and indirect causes of women's position, than ways in which actual achievement discrepancies might be positively and quickly rectified. (Equal Opportunities Commission/SSRC Grant Awards 1977). This attitude was also taken up by speakers at the recent conference on sex-roles in Cardiff, when ^{Oonaq Hartnett, (also see} Hartnett, 1975), as chairman of the conference, suggested that there had been too much emphasis on descriptive research into sex-role stereotyping; that more British research should take the American emphasis on action, on the power of intervention rather than complaint.

Employment, in particular, appears to be an issue of considerable importance for the proponents of this interventionist action. Morris, 1972 for example suggests that:-

"Until employment problems are solved.....the other aims cannot be achieved.... The most important thing is to make sure that women are qualified and able to compete with men for the better paid jobs...."

The International Labour Organisation (ILO,1977) takes a similar view, that many employment practices should change, that the 'crux of the problem lies in determining where protection ends and discrimination begins...'. By changing and broadening the opportunities for women to work, it argues, attitudes will change too. The ILO point to evidence that legislation, and attitudes to women at work, have changed in a number of countries as a result of the opening of certain professions to women, and cites the offices of aero-space engineer, traffic controller and meteorologist in Canada. In short, there is a suggestion that the physical changes in employment types open to, and occupied by women, may create a new norm and open up 'de facto' the possibility of women doing these jobs.

At the centre of such affirmative action in Britain lies the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC), and the Act it represents. It is notable, however, that in the past two years, criticism of the EOC has developed and hardened, and many observers criticise the Commission as favouring the subtleties of indirect change, change by seduction rather than by exertion and exhortation. In an article on this subject, Mackie, 1978 asked various women, concerned with the political realities of change, for their opinion of how change could most effectively be produced. These women, including Members of Parliament, members of the NCCL, and leading feminist figures, all cited aspects of affirmative action, such as the provision of nurseries for working mothers, better, non-sexist education, greater occupation opportunities, re-training, and, in every case, a stronger and tighter role for the EOC, with more powers and a more direct attitude to the opening of opportunities for women. Importantly, none of these women cited any of the indirect factors, such as media imagery and advertising, as fundamental to this change.

Nonetheless, if the EOC is the only tool for affirmative action in Britain, then the current body of opinion is that prevarication on direct action is inherent in its

policies. The current attitude to the Commission is succinctly summarised by Toynbee, 1977c in her view that it is a 'spongy, pusillanimous creature', more concerned with persuasion than legislation. In its 1977 report, however, the Commission appears to recognise its weakness, that:-

"A sympathetic hearing, from Government Departments and local authorities, employers and unions, and above all from the mass media.... is an important pre-requisite of successful action... but we are conscious as a Commission that what matters is not sympathetic hearing but effective action...." (p.1).

Nonetheless, the Commission does continue, despite its research interests, to emphasise the more indirect causes of discrimination against women, still placing strong emphasis on media imagery which, on the basis of results in this thesis, would appear to be an extremely static, if not fruitless, approach. The Commission gives great credence to such images, seeing them as active creators of roles, rather than the reflective agencies they mainly are. As the 1977 report suggests:-

"The Commission intends in future to give further consideration to ways of encouraging among advertisers some degree of awareness of the Commission's legitimate interests, at the point when new advertising campaigns are being formulated" (p. 33).

The Commission is not, apparently, aware that advertisers are probably already well-versed in the exigencies of sex-roles in advertising, and have good grounds for minimal or reluctant change in their advertising imagery. The Commission, however, still favours this indirect approach and despite the panacea reference to 'effective action', are still concerned with the indirect factors of stereotypes and images as contributing to women's position. They believe that:-

"The complexity of the problems which we are required to deal with, and the entrenched habits, practices and attitudes which surround and sustain them, make it wholly unrealistic to expect rapid and dramatic solutions. Dealing with sex discrimination and promoting equality of opportunity does not lend itself to instant results and the results will certainly not come about as a consequence of the Commission's activities alone..." (p.1).

The Commission, too, is apparently confused, particularly in the context of advertising and media imagery, over the question of actual change in women's position and change in the climate of awareness, or knowledge of the factors involved in change. Certainly, there is no doubt that the mass media are useful and effective in informing people about issues, but this is a conceptually different problem from actually producing change, which on the evidence of media effect research is not only very difficult but also improbable. As Klapper, 1958 observes:-

"(Although mass media) are relatively ineffectual in conversion, they are quite effective in forming opinions and attitudes in regard to new issues, particularly as these issues are the more unrelated to existing 'attitude clusters' (p.463).

Feminist politics and changes in women's position are nothing if not 'unrelated to existing attitude clusters', and the Equal Opportunities Commission Report, 1977, is not inaccurate when it suggests that the mass media 'have substantial effectiveness' in moulding public perception of the problems and well as the climate of public opinion' (p.1)(writer's emphasis). There is, however, a world of difference between creating awareness of female liberation issues and inducing the behavioural changes involved in those issues. There is no doubt a laudable motive in the EOC desire to 'make management, unions....and those in professional associations which provide a service to the public.... aware of the ways in which their practices place women at a disadvantage' (Equal Opportunities Commission Report, 1977, p.2) but such awareness may not lead to a change in those attitudes and practices without a good push from other agencies. In America, for example the recent trend to litigation as a solution to discriminative employment practices has been startlingly successful. Companies which have merely voiced an interest in changed employment roles for women, have been notably galvanised into action over those changes in the face of costly law-suits brought against them. In short, the observation by the Equal Opportunities Commission Report, 1977, that there is a 'much greater willingness to pay attention to the substantive issues of discrimination than there was a year earlier' (p.1) is an interesting but impotent observation.

It does not discriminate between 'awareness', and 'achievement' and 'awareness' can continue for a very long time without the impulsion of affirmative and litigative action to translate it into reality.

Apart from the norm-creating advantage of affirmative action, it would also appear that such an approach also has more indirect advantages for a long-term change in women's position, an area which, in its own right, would appear to deserve greater emphasis in future research. This secondary approach to affirmative action, notably in respect of female employment, would argue that actual change also has a distinctly resonant effect on children; that is, on the next generation of women and men.

Perloff, 1977, for example, in a study of sex-role stereotypes held by children, found that children's stereotypes tended to be similar to those of their parents. Children whose mothers were employed outside the home had less stereotyped sex-role perceptions than children whose mothers did not work outside the home. The effects of the working mother on her child have also been noted by Siegal and Haas, 1963 and Broverman et al, 1972. The first study, a review of the literature on working women, concluded that one effect of the working woman was that her family not only tended to be smaller, but also more egalitarian in its attitudes toward division of authority and labour in the home, with children showing cross-sexing in household labour. The second study showed that the daughters of working mothers perceived significantly smaller differences between men and women than did daughters of homemaker mothers; daughters of employed mothers also perceived women more positively on competency characteristics. Other studies have also shown that a working mother increases the likelihood of her daughter's expectations of combining marriage with a career, (Riley, Johnson and Bocock, 1963), of actually pursuing a career (Graham, 1970) and that the daughter of a working mother minimises sex-role related behavioural differences (Hartley, 1964).

In short, it appears that the fact of mothers working increases the probability of a generation springing de-socialised from traditional sex-roles. Importantly, although only one study included some estimate of mass media effects on the

daughters of working women, that by Perloff, 1977 did show that there was no effect of television viewing on sex-role orientation. Heavy viewers among the children did not have more stereotyped sex-role perceptions than moderate and light viewers.

It is interesting to conjecture why these working women had a less stereotyped notion of sex-roles to pass on to their children, but what arguments do exist point again, to the 'de facto' effect of employment. For example, Bass, Krussell and Alexander, 1971 stress that stereotypes of minority groups are reduced when working alongside members of those groups, and it is perhaps possible to infer that working women, working with women may, by process, modify their own stereotypes. Certainly, in the literature on self-concepts, 'anti-traditional' women were found to be significantly more likely to be employed outside the home than more 'traditional' women. Contact of working women with working women may also produce a cognitive dissonance, so that their own image of 'women in general' may be modified to achieve consonance. Haire and Grunes, 1950 and Wayner and Lindsfold, 1976 both observe this effect, the latter noting that:-

"a stereotype may be disrupted by a bit of discrepant information. If, from the information, the target person is assumed to be more similar to the perceiver than to the intact stereotype, the perceiver will project some of his own characteristics onto the target, which will be more favourably evaluated than the stereotype" (p.302).

Nonetheless, returning to the central issue, there is certainly a seductive quality to the argument that simply allowing and encouraging more women to work, and in better jobs, might in itself lead to changes in sex-roles through inter-generational change. It is also true that changes in women's employment, roles and opportunities, through affirmative action, might contribute to a changed attitude to women, creating, in turn, new norms of female behaviour.

In short, rather than investigating the more indirect agencies of such factors as mass media and advertising effect, further research might be better advised to examine the potential and effectiveness of affirmative action.

Another more difficult problem, however, which the Commission notes but does not resolve, is one which turns on the issue of action by women themselves. Apart from the few feminist activists, it appears that women are notably apathetic in either campaigning for, or activating changes for themselves. Summerskill, 1977, for example, noting that women were not taking advantage of the Sex Discrimination Act - only 360 cases of discrimination had been brought to the attention of the Commission since it was established - observes that:-

"If women do not fight for their legal rights, they have only themselves to blame if they suffer from discrimination because of their sex.....the Act by itself does not abolish discrimination...."

A similar point has been made in the Equal Opportunities Commission Report, 1977, that changes in the sex-role climate 'will certainly not come about as a consequence of the Commission's activities alone... the Commission does not have an exclusive responsibility in the field of sex-discrimination' (p.1). The report also suggests that the responsibility is on 'all of us' (p.1), a view which has no doubt fired the feminist role in advertising criticism.

Why women have not been exactly overwhelmed by the responsibility of self-determined change is an interesting question to which three answers may be postulated.

First, it may be argued that such 'non-action' by the majority of women may be a function of the mechanistic shortcomings of the Commission complaint procedures. For example, the burden of proof of discrimination still rests on the complainant, so that only the more blatant forms of discrimination succeed in tribunal judgements. Allied to this, there is also the point that complaint to the Equal Opportunities tribunals requires a certain level of organisation and procedural knowledge, a knowledge supplied in other similar tribunals, say, those on Employment Protection, by Trades Unions on behalf of their members. Since women are not only notoriously inconsequential about joining Trades Unions, but also obviously have problems in obtaining Trades Union interest on their behalf (Bland, Brunson, Hobson and Winship 1978), then the lack of female interest in positive anti-discriminatory action may be seen as more of a problem of political impotence

than apathy. In this respect, at least, the intervention of vocal and aggressive feminist action would appear to be a vital quotient in future changes in women's physical social status and role. The feminist altruism may also be seen, in this context, as less patronising than a necessary determinism.

Second, the female apathy to social changes on their own behalf may be interpreted - and this again from a feminist stance - from the view that such apathy is only a further symptom of the observable lack of female ambition and political aggression, of which lack of employment status and non-participation in Trades Unions are only other features. This argument, discussed at length in Chapter 1, is an integral part of the feminist, sex-role socialisation claims and is difficult to counter without taking, again, the feminist view of 'action on behalf of the ordinary woman'. Such a view implies that women are politically inactive because they are socialised to be unaggressive, passive and uncomplaining; that they are victims of 'the system' as they are victims of their sex-role. Where such a view extends into procedural and political impotence, as in an inability to actually bring cases of overt discrimination, as noted above, then it is difficult to see the feminist counter-stance as anything but desirable. Problems arise, however, when the feminine apathy is construed to extend to the non-mechanical issues of female status, such as the rejection of non-traditional roles, and the desire to maintain a status quo in terms of housewifery, motherhood and a non-career orientation.

In the former case, it is arguable that should women choose to work and are then negatively discriminated against in terms of pay, opportunity, training and legislative action, then feminist intervention is creditable and empathetic. In the latter case, however, a factor of judgement will intrude, which orientates again around the case of whose chosen role is 'best'. There is obviously a considerable difference between recognition of an imposed inferior role in chosen employment among women, and an assumption of an inferior role in women either choosing not to work, or in working in the 'traditional' female spheres.

This last point is also relevant in the third postulated reason why women should be relatively 'apathetic' in determining changes in their own sex-role status, a reason which has to do with judgement of the female roles, and the potential 'happiness' of the non-feminist, 'traditional woman.

The issue of apparent contentment among females maintaining a relatively 'traditional' role has been discussed in detail in Section 9:1, but is also typified by the recent results of a survey by Woman's World, 1977, which concluded that:-

"contrary to popular belief the majority of housewives are not bored and frustrated with their lives but are actually enjoying themselves...".

Feminists do believe that there is much which is inherently 'bad' about the traditional female roles of housewifery and motherhood. Nonetheless, in considering whether such traditionalism in role is inherently 'bad' obviously depends on two factors. First, it is a frequent media argument that not only is this feminist view a minority one, but also an essentially 'middle-class' one. Support for such an interpretation is readily available in the literature where it has been clearly shown that feminists do differ from 'other women' in being essentially higher in income, employment and class status. This 'middle-class' consideration in regard to changes in women's general roles, is also a consideration in the second factor; that is, the issue of alternatives to the traditional role with which non-middle-class women are faced. For a middle-class feminist, the alternative to the traditional role may evidently be employment roles which are distinctly positive and desirable. For 'other women', however, the alternatives may be considerably worse. As Berheide, Berk and Berk, 1976 stressed in their study of working class housewives, 'housework is accepted as a reassuring and not wholly onerous job, with generally few affirmative reactions' (p.516). Only 10% of their sample wished to change their roles and positions, largely because, for many of the women interviewed, the alternative employments of clerking, typing, waiting at table were perceived as considerably less desirable than that of housewifery, that 'perhaps the rigours of household work, were primarily accepted as the best job alternative available' (p.516).

The issue of women's apparent apathy to changes in their present position is evidently a complex one, and difficult to resolve without taking some form of judgemental stance on the desirability of certain female roles. The issue is obviously clearer with regard to physical discrimination and poor treatment of women who do choose to operate in an anti-traditional fashion, and then it would appear that direct research into affirmative action would be relevant and useful.

In the case of general traditionalism of roles, however, future research directions, and actions on that research, are much harder to resolve. Do we, for example, accept that the issue of women's liberation is essentially one of choice, and only seek to establish freedom for women to operate that choice on the same basis as men? Or does this factor of choice imply some concept of 'place', that only middle-class women can have a clear choice, that working class women, who may be housewives through factors other than sex-role, should be left 'as they are'?

Either way, it would appear that further research into women's position must take a much more complex view than has hitherto been demonstrated. As a corollary to this, mere observations of sex-role stereotypes in media - advertising or otherwise - and simple assumptions of 'effect' of advertising or other media, must be regarded as only symptomatic and static lines of enquiry. Advertising evidently reflects a status quo, and investigations of advertising imagery may be regarded as mere sorties into the resonance of that status quo. Research into changes in women's position must seek to take a wider view, not only of sex-roles 'per se', but also the integration of sex-roles in the broad social fabric; to establish what affirmative action on sex-roles really means to all women.

2. Sex-role formation among children

While the issue of affirmative action as a fertile area for future research remains the most pressing consideration for immediate changes in women's social position, a more long-term and, in the end, important area for research is that into children's sex-role formation. In this respect, the issue of sex-role stereotypes in advertising and other media imagery achieve a more pressing and valid emphasis.

There is already a considerable body of research into children's sex-role behaviour, sex differences and perceptions, but, at present, there is only an inadequate estimate of the relative influences of different agencies.

In particular, the role of media and advertising imagery, as inputs into the vulnerable phase of sex-role formation, has been notably avoided or inadequately approached.

The particular importance of investigating children lies in some understanding of the adult female and male usage of media, which evidently includes a strong component of bringing sex-roles to media and not from it; that media and advertising images provide reflection of attitudes and perceptions which are already well-formed.

In the first place, at what point do media and advertising images start to merely reflect a child's sex-role perceptions, and at what point, if ever, do such images help to create or consolidate that sex-role? Frueh and McGhee, 1975 for example, have shown that in very young children there is a positive relationship between a traditional sex-role and the amount of television viewed. It is not certain whether other factors, if controlled, would not have provided an alternative explanation of such a relationship - for example, the influence of parents, peers and school - but such a relationship is of concern to the issue of adult sex-roles since, on other evidence, it is known that sex-roles are formed very early in life, and the influence of media and advertising imagery during those years might well be more measurable and significant than for adults.

This early formation of the child's sex-role is represented by a considerable body of research, which cannot be reviewed in its entirety here. Nonetheless, it is important to note, for example, that Hartup and Zook, 1960 concluded from their study on the issue that 'the sex difference found....suggest that at least some aspects of sex-role differentiation begin very early in life' (p.423). Sex differences in degree of appropriate sex-role preferences were found in children at the age of three years, while Vener and Snyder, 1966, in a study where children of 2½ years were asked to identify the sex-role linkages of certain objects, concluded that:-

"The children's highly accurate identification of the sex-linkage of artifacts, as well as their patterns of preference for them, both attest to the early age at which children anticipate adult sex-roles..." (p.159).

Strongly held sex-role behaviour has also been observed in early years by Rabban, 1950 for 3-8 year olds, Schlossberg and Goodman, 1972 at Kindergarten, Hartley and Klein, 1959 for 8-11 year olds, Hartley, 1959 for 4 year olds, Hartley, 1964 for 8 year olds and Brown, 1958 for 5 year olds. Considerable support for the early derivation of sex-roles is also given in books and articles by Belotti, 1975, Sharpe, 1976 and Lewis, 1972.

What role the media has in producing the early sex-role in children is still, however, unknown, at least in quantifiable terms, and few studies have used the mass media as an investigative variable in this respect.

It is true that many studies have attempted to establish the nature and extent of sex-role stereotypes in children's media, including children's books (Dixon, 1977) school readers (Sternglanz and Serbin, 1974) and television (Fowles and Voyat, 1974) but, again, the problem of equating sex-role stereotype content with 'effect' must be treated with caution as it was in the issue of adult women's sex-roles.

That media imagery has some effect on children is widely assumed in a respectable and extensive research tradition including classic studies by Himm^elweit, Oppenheim and Vince, 1958, Maccoby and Wilson, 1957 and Belson, 1967 and much of this work is based on premises of modelling. (Bandura, Ross and Ross, 1963, Bandura, 1965). Nonetheless, despite this general tradition, a specific interest in the direct or contributory effect of mass media, and advertising in particular, on children's sex-role formation is conspicuously lacking.

As with the related areas of media sex-role effects on adult women it is evident, however, that a lack of hard evidence has not restricted the proffering of 'common-sense' observations. Murphy, 1971 for example, in a discussion of the effects of media sex-role stereotypes concluded that:-

"overall, it would seem fairly clear that sex-role stereotyping has a considerable influence within education, and, in turn, affects the

performance of candidates of both sexes in examinations. The extent to which these stereotypes are built on differences in ability and the extent to which they are created by society remains unresolved, although it seems likely that the social cultural influence plays the bigger part....".

The Equal Opportunities Commission has also consistently campaigned for a reduction in sexist educational material, including that inherent in books, toys and games.

It is almost certainly true that advertising and other media sex-role stereotypes play some role in children's sex-role formation, but when this influence occurs, when it is strongest, through which agencies it is most observable, and what the real extent of the effect is are all questions which remain currently unanswered.

The problem, in this respect, is partialling out exactly where parental influence stops and other influences begin; and before a researcher sorties again into a thesis of advertising, or general media effect, on sex-roles - in this case among children - the concept of 'effect' must again be defined and restricted.

In the first place, parental effect must be understood and partialled out from other influences. For example, the classic review of sex-role literature on children by Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974 does emphasis how similar are the self-perceptions of small boys and girls, but that there is a sudden and often dramatic change in these perceptions as children age. To what extent is this change due to media effects and how much to parental and other influences? It is notable, for example, that while Lego reports that 95% of model cars are sold to boys, and 85% of doll's furniture to girls and that 'all this might be used as evidence that differences are natural between the sexes' (Haddon, 1977), only 7% of these toys were bought by the children themselves. As Haddon also notes, 'it is after the age of 4 that parents, particularly mothers, decide that little John will have a train, and Janet a doll's furniture set'. It is also interesting to note that a store, Hamley's, (Sunday Telegraph, 18th December, 1977) reported that 90% of the little girls who wrote to Santa Claus, care of the store, didn't want any more 'dollies' and preferred a train

set. In this context, too, Turner, 1974, writing on sex-role influences in children's education, observed that many teachers were reluctant to change to a more non-sexist form of teaching because of 'opposition of parents and administration'.

In short, investigation of the effect of media and advertising imagery on children appears to be necessary, but, as was noted in the introduction to this thesis, a complex rather than simplistic approach to associated variables must be taken.

In conclusion, the issues of affirmative action for adults, and investigation of the role of media imagery for children would appear to be fertile areas for future sex-role research. Certainly, such areas would appear to add more to direct and effective changes in women's position than further investigation of the indirect and apparently static issues of advertising imagery.

One final point must, however, be made. While it is evident that there is a continuing and growing interest in the use of research to sponsor directions for change in women's sex-roles, observers and researchers should also be aware of the fact that, in many ways, changes in women's social position appear to be inexorable. Research and its results may be useful to impel the pace of change, but, on the evidence, it is interesting to observe that many changes in women's position have apparently been more a function of natural historical trends than direct agencies for that change. Noting this factor is not a recommendation to adopt a passive attitude to women's position, but it would appear that change, once commenced, also has a certain dynamism of its own. Few observers are able to offer complete explanations of why this happens, but, likewise, few reject the fact of its occurrence. Weitz, 1977 for example, stresses that, in this respect, 'the lesson of history is one of continuous change' (p. 250), while King, 1974 in more specific terms, suggests that:-

"The differential sex-role training that society undertakes is repeated from generation to generation in a self-perpetuating spiral....what are or are not appropriate behaviours for each sex are less sure, less doctrinaire than heretofore. The tight, restrictive boundaries of the sex-roles are expanding and overlapping...." (p.32).

This gradual and long-term change in sex-roles is also observed in other studies, notably those by Mason, Czajka and Arber, 1976 and Roper and Labeff, 1977. These studies catalogue evidence from surveys which demonstrate that changes between generations in attitudes to sex-roles have been slow, but unavoidable. Roper and Labeff, 1977, for example, comparing a recent sample with that of Kirkpatrick, 1936, concluded that:-

"...the 40 years between Kirkpatrick's original study of the inter-generational attitudes towards feminists, and the 1974 comparisons, seem to show a trend towards more egalitarian attitudes...." (p.113),

while Mason, Czajka and Arber, 1976 suggest from a review of sample data from surveys between 1964 and 1974, that:-

"there has been considerable movement towards more egalitarian role definitions in the past decade, with such change occurring equally among higher and lower status women.... women from all walks of life have apparently undergone comparable attitude change since 1964" (p.573).

The interesting factor in the results of these two surveys lies, however, in their observations that such change in women's position has been taking place from a time prior to the inception of the women's movement. In short, it would appear that the feminist movement has sprung from, rather than induced many of the apparent changes in women's position. As Mason, Czajka and Arber, 1976 conclude:-

"Little evidence is found for the unique influence of the women's movement on change in women's sex-role attitudes, but the sizeable changes in those attitudes since 1964 may help explain the rise of the movement...." (p.573).

Such a conclusion, and observations on the inexorability of women's changing position, obviously have relevance to the feminist stance, and particularly to the somewhat crude accusations of agency effect within that stance. What such a conclusion does point to is a much more complex interpretation of women's social position, and its changing nature, than feminists have heretofore accepted.

Why this change has taken place, and over such a long period, is open to conjecture. Gould-Davis, 1971 in an extreme and somewhat mystical interpretation claims that the 'Age of Aquarius' has made a contribution, this 'Age' being related prehistorically to the rise of matriarchies. Other observers, such as Weitz, 1977 and Halsey, 1978 prefer the more prosaic issues of education, contraception, child-birth and population trends, suggesting that all these factors have played a contributory part.

What is relevant to this thesis, however, and which must make its most fitting conclusion, is that the issues of women's changing social role are complex and, in many ways, still poorly understood. While in no way rejecting the importance of conscious and deterministic action, it is still chastening to understand that some aspects of change may have had their inception, and be taking place, outside of that action.

Overall, it would appear that no one approach to the potential change in women's roles is adequate, and no unilateral conclusions on the effect of a single agency of change are desirable. The position is complicated, and this is no less so in the specific field of women's roles and advertising imagery.

Perhaps the best conclusion to the results and observations in this thesis, and to the whole issue of women's changing role in society, is this small, almost throwaway comment in the Equal Opportunities Commission Report, 1976 that:-

"Sex discrimination is rooted deep in the soil of attitudes and institutional practices. Many of its manifestations are obvious; the remedies are not....." (p.4).

1. Introduction
2. Methodology
3. Results
4. Discussion
5. Conclusion

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