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A Feminist Content Analysis of *Seventeen* Magazine

By

Brittany M. Trimble-Clarke

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

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Master's of Arts

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A Feminist Content Analysis of *Seventeen* Magazine

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This thesis has been examined and approved by the following members of the thesis committee.

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Abstract

Over the past two decades, there has been growing concern among researchers, clinicians, and policy makers regarding the sexualization of female adolescents in the media. Developmental psychologists and researchers argue that adolescents are particularly vulnerable to messages presented in the media, as these messages are internalized as real. These messages afflict long-term emotional and physical effects on adolescent girls. Through content analysis and extensive research, The American Psychological Association (APA) Task Force (2010) argued that the sexualization of adolescent girls and women directly affects the psychosocial development of young women, creating self-objectification, negative self-images, anxiety, shame, depression, eating disorders, and other psychosocial issue.

The present study explores the content of *Seventeen* magazine in the year 2011 to determine if the featured articles have changed in response to previous studies that discuss the problematic nature of the sexualization of women in adolescent focused media and argues for an increase in feminist content within adolescent based media. Through an extensive literature review, I explore the impact and internalization of media's over-sexualization of women and adolescent girls, as well as how exposure to such message can lead to self-dissatisfaction among adolescent girls. This study uses a feminist textual analysis to examine all featured articles from 2011. Findings show a higher percentage of anti-feminist messages than feminist messages present within *Seventeen* magazine, with 60.5% of the total articles analyzed focusing on the importance of appearance. The overall impact of this study is significant because it addresses the current epidemic of the sexualization of women and how this phenomenon negatively

affects adolescent girls. This study serves as an extension of the content analyses conducted by Peirce (1990) and Schlenker et al. (1998).

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Chapter 1: Introduction

It is blatantly clear to anyone who has ever picked up an adolescent-based magazine that sex is a dominant theme. Bright and bold headlines promoting the “Hottest trends!” and “Sexy, toned, body!” jump out from the covers of *Seventeen*, while celebrities discuss their romantic relationships, ideal boyfriends, and recent crushes.

The purpose of this content analysis is to critically examine *Seventeen* through a feminist lens. While *Seventeen* magazine originally geared its publication toward inspiring adolescent girls to become role models in work and citizenship through promoting self-confidence and independence (Massoni, 2010), I argue this is far from the case. Featured articles were analyzed to determine if the content of *Seventeen* magazine provides adolescent girls with empowering, feminist messages. Specifically, this thesis seeks to answer two main questions: (a) do the featured articles of *Seventeen* from 2011 promote more feminist or anti-feminist messages; based on the measures created by Peirce (1990) and adapted by Schlenker et al. (1998), what stories are emphasized more frequently than others; (b) do that articles within *Seventeen* perpetuate the sexualization of adolescent girl and the Kids Growing Older Younger Complex (KYOOG), and if so, how? Throughout this project, I address both of these research questions as well as discuss their significance.

This thesis is organized into four key chapters. Chapter Two, Literature Review, analyzes research on the adolescent development, sexualization of adolescents, and gender role socialization in the media. These topics help situate the current state of adolescent-based media as well as the effects media has on this age group.

Chapter Three, Methods, provides an outline of the processes through which I

conducted the original research. To summarize, I conducted a content analysis of all the featured articles of *Seventeen* magazine from the year 2011. The selection of *Seventeen* magazine was not random; it was purposely chosen for its long standing circulation and popularity among adolescent girls. I classified each article based on a Likert scale as strong anti-feminist (-3) through strong feminist (3). From there, each article was assigned to one of the six existing categories created by Peirce (1990) and adapted by Schlenker et al. (1998).

In Chapter Four, Results, I present my results from the content analysis conducted on the featured articles of *Seventeen* magazine from 2011. The results of the current study are significant in relation to the messages adolescent girls received from magazines. This study's findings, as well as other findings from previous studies conveying similar significant conclusions, indicate that magazines currently publish anti-feminist material

Chapter Five, Discussion, contains the conclusion of my study by summing up the leading arguments and highlighting potential areas for further research. This chapter deconstructs the questions posed in Chapter 1 as well as how this affects adolescent girls and society as a whole. In looking at this study's results, it is evident that *Seventeen* perpetuates anti-feminist messaging by placing importance on ideal body and Western beauty, thus turning women into sexual objects where women are valued for their appearance and nothing more. *Seventeen* sends powerful messages to its readers about what is considered feminine or appropriate for a female. In addition, *Seventeen* perpetuates messages of heterosexism and patriarchy through articles that stress dependency on men, romantic attachments, and the need for a man in order to have fulfillment in life. I strongly believe that the results of this content analysis and potential

future research established by this project can highlight the problematic nature of current adolescent-based media as well as the harmful effects anti-feminist messaging has on the physical, emotional, and psychological development of adolescent girls.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction: A Time of Adolescence

Adolescence is a time of growth, confusion, and search for self-identification for young adults (Erikson, 1983). Inevitable changes occur to adolescents' interests, bodies, and interpersonal relationship, all of which may cause them to question their identity and worth to the dynamic, ever-changing world around them. Adolescents begin to question their role in their families, with their peers, as students, and as citizens of society (Erikson, 1963). Moving from childhood to adulthood, adolescents embark on a journey of exploration, heightened self-awareness, and search for self-identity. While in search of social acceptance and self-worth, adolescents become particularly vulnerable to societal norms. Adolescence can also be a period of severe psychological and emotional stress (Durham, 1999). Notions of gender identities, self-worth, and healthy sexual behavior are formed during these years. While these changes occur in both males and females, research indicates that females experience more difficulty in the transition process (Block & Robins, 1993; Durham, 1999).

Years of scholarly research suggests that females of all ages show lower levels of body satisfaction and self-esteem than their male peers (Botta, 1999; Pipher, 1994; APA Task Force, 2010; Gruber & Grubes, 2000; Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2003). In addition, adolescent females are more likely to associate shame and guilt with the natural changes of their body than adolescent males (Granello, 1997; Polce-Lynch, Myers, Kliever, and Kilmartin, 2001). When girls' bodies begin to naturally and healthily evolve the media is

pounding on the door telling them that their new, fuller figured bodies are not acceptable.

Pipher (1994) asserts the following:

girls have strong bodies when they enter puberty, but these bodies often soften and spread out in a way that our culture calls fat. Just at the point that their bodies are becoming rounder, girls are told that thin is beautiful, even imperative. (Pipher, 1994, p. 55)

Adolescents are bombarded with mixed emotions stemming from these messages.

While it is obvious that a period of both biological and psychological growth causes an increase in size, society is more accepting of this change in boys than girls. Adolescent boys welcome this change, as it increases power and strength, while girls fear this change due to ideals of beauty valuing thinness that are reinforced in mass media (Granello, 1997; Polce-Lynch et al., 2001). Researchers Polce-Lynch et al. (2001) argue that girls are socialized to conform to Western standards of beauty and ideologies of patriarchy; when their appearance or beliefs stray from the norm, feelings of insecurity and body dissatisfaction emerge. Conversely, research on adolescent boys indicates that the transition from childhood to adulthood tends to be a positive experience related to feelings of increased body satisfaction and self-assurance (Granello, 1997; Polce-Lynch, et al. 2001).

Multiple studies (Durham, 1999; Granello, 1997; Polce-Lynch et al., 2001) indicate that girls turn to the media for self-identification and explanations of the evolving world around them at much higher rates than boys. Magazines are one of the many media resources to which they turn. While the effects of the media, specifically magazines, cannot be inferred directly from an examination of its content alone, the

prominence of gender role socialization in contemporary society is such that it deserves careful attention to the development of adolescents. Therefore, in order to better understand the impact of magazines on teenage girls, it is necessary to explore adolescent development; specifically the psychological effects that gender role socialization through the media has on adolescent girls.

Media Influence on Adolescent Development

Popular media creates and promotes a vast diversity of social constructs, theories, and images that pressure and influence American adolescents and their perceptions of themselves. In 1954, social psychologist Leon Festinger proposed a theory that would be later known as Social Comparison Theory (SCT). Festinger's theory argues that individuals evaluate themselves based on comparisons to others. In the words of Festinger, SCT hypothesizes that "people will [at some point in their lives] compare themselves and significant others to people and images whom they perceive to represent realistic goals to attain" (as cited in Botta, 1999, p. 26). Subconsciously, we make comparisons of ourselves to both the people and images that surround us. SCT argues that human beings turn to others—in this case, images and articles in the media—to help define and make sense of the world around them. As a result, individuals strive to look and act like the images to which they compare themselves, even if the expectations are unobtainable. Because adolescents have not yet reached the level of cognitive development associated with critically analyzing and differentiating fantasy from reality, they are even more vulnerable to SCT than older females (Hargreaves & Tiggemann,

2003). SCT is a useful theory for explaining how the media influence adolescents to strive to look, act, and be like the images and articles plastered in mass media.

Psychologist Erik Erickson would later add to Festinger's theory. According to Erikson (1963), adolescence is marked by the search for identity, a process that often results in psychological turmoil and identity crisis. Erikson's theory of social development argues that adolescents are in a stage of confusion he titled "identity-versus-role confusion". This stage results in the drive to discover individual strengths and weaknesses, as well as a path for the future. At this stage, an adolescent will often "try on," or embody multiple roles presented by society in search for one that best fits his or her capabilities and beliefs. Through this process of "trying on," adolescents seek to better understand the world around them. Often times, adolescents are socialized to gender conforming ideologies rooted in patriarchal oppression where young girls and boys learn the "appropriate" behavior, attitudes, and beliefs for their assigned sex. When gender socialization is rooted in patriarchal oppression, women continue to experience more discrimination than men in every aspect of their daily lives, such as the need to conform to Western standards of beauty, the pay wage gap, controlled sexuality, and, derogatory sexualization.

Festinger's and Erikson's theories imply that adolescent girls are at a higher risk than any other age-gender combination for perceiving images in the media as reality. Based on these models of development, adolescent girls turn to the media to help define how they should look, behave, and feel about their current selves. They begin to internalize media's images and messages as realistic and attainable, and will often attempt to look, both through their actions and physical characteristics, more like the

images to which they are exposed (Arnett, 1995; Erikson, 1963; Durham, 1999). This poses several problems, some of which include the desire to be sexualized and objectified through the eyes of others, low self-esteem and poor self body-image, and eating disorders among women who want to achieve the unrealistic and unattainable standards of Western society. This is especially concerning, as according to Durham (1999), adolescent girls choose pop culture over every other form of media to make sense of their world. Arnett (1995) adds to this by stating “media consumption gives adolescents a sense of being connected to a larger peer network” (pg. 524). Consequently, adolescents expose themselves to multiple forms of pop culture (i.e., television, magazines, and music videos) on a daily basis. This is especially true for individuals ages 13 to 14 (Rosenblum & Lewis, 1999), the age range impacted most severely by media. Adolescents slightly younger tend to be more indifferent to messages in the media, while individuals slightly older are able to more critically analyze media’s messages (Rosenblum & Lewis, 1999).

Researcher Granello (1997) provide additional information for the vulnerability of young adolescents. Granello (1997) analyzed cognitive reasoning of girls during the age of twelve, seventeen, and twenty-one. While all three age groups turned to the media for advice, developmental levels of each group differed, allowing for a difference in ways each group made sense of and internalized media’s messages. The youngest of the three groups, the twelve year-olds, turned to images in the media to help shape how they should live their lives. Characters and scenarios presented on television and in magazines were seen as realistic. The twelve year-olds believe that they would be able to live the same lives and achieve the same status if they modeled themselves in the same manner

(Granello, 1997). The seventeen year-olds used the media as a model for how life could be given a different variable (e.g., had they lived with a different parent or in a different geographical location) (Granello, 1997). If a seventeen year-old desired a different lifestyle, he or she would strive to be similar to a character who was living a comparable desired experience. However, this age group did understand that nothing in life is guaranteed. The oldest group, the 21 year-olds, were able to blatantly distinguish between reality and fantasy, as well as understand that media portrayed fiction (Granello, 1997). Media was mostly utilized as a model for engaging in dialogue with peers for this age group. Overall, media influences adolescents' perceptions of themselves and the world in which they live.

In short, adolescent girls are quick to define themselves through the images and messages conveyed in media. Their search for identity and social acceptance is facilitated through the media's representation because it helps adolescents make meaning of social norms, rules for acceptance and White Western standards of beauty. Adolescent girls are extreme consumers of mass media, and in return, mass media has strong influence on adolescent girls.

The same messages can be found in adult women's magazines as well. Franzwa (1975) adds to the argument in an analysis of themes from 122 articles in three popular women's magazines: *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's*, and *Good Housekeeping*. Franzwa's findings were two-fold: one, marriage is inevitable for every normal female; two, a lesson for those who was to bring about the inevitable more quickly, in order to catch a man you must be passives, virtuous, and less competent than he (Franzwa, 1975). Further, finding a husband is the only pursuit of a woman, as it defines her self-worth.

While some articles portrayed women with talents or careers, the lives of those who had a man or were married were much more fulfilling. A similar study published in the same year found little or no change in content of women's magazines from 1951-1973 (Kidd, 1975). As in Franzwa's (1975) study, Kidd (1975) found that men and women were expected to hold traditional roles of men as breadwinner and women as subordinate homemaker.

Adolescents and Magazines

The increased popularity of teen magazines makes it important to consider as a mode of adolescent development. A report published by Teenage Research Unlimited (2003) states that roughly eighty percent of girls between the ages of twelve and nineteen read at least one magazine each week. By focusing on one medium, I can better analyze how repetition of negative message can affect adolescent girls. When messages emphasize the importance of appearance, weight, and relationships with boys, magazines serve as a driving force for early socialization of adolescents to traditional values and Western sexual standards of femininity and beauty.

Several researchers (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli, 1994; Lake, Sosin, and Snell, 1997; McRobbies, 1982; Peirce, 1990) suggest that the media has a powerful impact in shaping adolescents' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of both themselves and the world in which they live. As active consumers of media, adolescent girls are exposed to hours of multiple forms of media a day (i.e., fashion magazines, advertisements, radio, music videos, television programs, and commercials). For example, Gerbner et al., (1994) conducted a study that suggested that the amount of exposure to media may make it one

of the highest, if not the highest, influences on adolescence and adolescent development. Their research study on media and gender illustrated that media can offer both positive and negative messages for adolescent girls. While Gerbner et al. (1994) found positive messages in the form of role models, their research concluded that negative messages reinforced stereotypical messages regarding appearance, relationships, and patriarchal power appeared in overwhelmingly high numbers. When looking at adolescent-based magazines specifically, Gerbner et al. (1994) found that 37 percent of articles focused on the importance of appearance, 35 percent on heteronormative dating and the need for a man, and only twelve percent on school or careers. As seen in this study, negative messages found in magazines reinforce the stereotypes suggesting that women should place importance on beauty and relationships and should remain confined to the private sphere while men are allowed to focus on their careers in the public sphere, ideologies feminists have long been trying to erase. Similar findings are evident in other studies. I move forward to highlight some of them.

McRobbies (1982) published one of the first research studies on adolescent-based magazines. His study consisted of a contents analysis of *Jackie*, a British teen magazine. Similar to the findings of U.S. based women's magazines of the time, McRobbies (1982) found that *Jackie* portrayed images and articles that alluded ideas that teenage girls' only concerns were romance problems, fashion, beauty, and celebrities.

Peirce (1990) conducted a study to determine if the feminist movement influenced on the content of popular girls magazines. In order to do so, Peirce analyzed content from *Seventeen* magazine in the years associated with high radical movement (1961 and 1972), as well as extremely conservative times (1985). Peirce (1990) found that sixty percent of

Seventeen's articles from all three years analyzed contained messages that focused on beauty and fashion, cooking, and home upkeep or decorating. Peirce (1990) concluded that *Seventeen* reinforced traditional ideologies as she stated that *Seventeen* magazines alludes to assuming that the “concerns of a teenage girl are primarily with her appearance, household activities, and romance and dating” (p. 491). While issues from 1972 decreased in adolescent heterosexual relationships and increased in “self-development”--stories that focused on personal health, self-care, hobbies, and relationships with family and friends--by 1985 these levels would return to more traditional messages, indication that the women’s movement did not have a permanent effect of the messages and content within magazines marketed towards adolescents and women. Peirce (1990) overall findings suggest that *Seventeen* was full of images that portrayed girls as being “neurotic, helpless, and timid beings who must rely on external sources, usually men, to make sense of their lives” (p. 372). It should be noted that Peirce’s measures were adopted for my research study. These revisions are addressed in the subsequent Methods chapter.

In response to her 1990 study, Peirce (1993) published an article arguing that adolescent publications, such as *Seventeen*, did not depict girls as liberated. Peirce (1993) found it disturbing that *Seventeen*, a magazine that claims to empower our youth, “focused mostly on appearance, finding a man, and taking care of a home” (p. 66). Women and girls were portrayed as dependent and magazines created a gender segregation of occupations. Peirce argues that messages found in adolescent-based magazines are potentially harmful because teenage girls lack a solid understanding of

social realities as they are currently learning about and being socialized to the world (Peirce, 1993, p. 59). She strengthens her argument by stating:

Teen magazines have a unique opportunity to shape the world of the teenage girl. There isn't an overabundance of magazines targeted to that age group so the magazines that do exist are read by hundreds of thousands of girls. Changing their fiction to include more nontraditional messages... would show readers that there are options, that women are not confined to a few limited roles. (Peirce, 1993, p. 67)

Here, Peirce (1993) argues that magazines marketed towards adolescent girls have a responsibility to provide information that a young woman needs, including the message that she has choices other than a traditional, patriarchal, and heteronormative lifestyle. It should be noted that Peirce fails to acknowledge intersections of race in her sample and results.

Despite her negative views of messages in teen magazines, Peirce (1993) stays positive by offering the opportunity to counteract the negative affect associated with such messages. The presence of anti-oppressive, liberating, and feminist messages would do just that. While Peirce's research indicated minor positive changes have been made in regards to the content of *Seventeen* over the years such as an increase in articles focusing on self-development, her research also showed that its content has not abandoned the messages that have been conveyed since its first publication in 1944—that women are concerned first and foremost with accepted appearances and pleasing a man (Peirce, 1993).

Stereotypical gender roles are emphasized in other genres as well. Steering away from magazines, Low and Sherrard (1999) randomly selected twelve college-level psychology textbooks that focused on Marriage and Family or Human Sexuality. Two textbooks for each subject were selected from the following eras: 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. As in Peirce's (1990) study, Low and Sherrard (1999) measured data based on feminist or traditional messages. Low and Sherrard (1999) used a total of six categories, three providing traditional messages (appearance and sex, male-female relations, home and mother) and three holding feminist messages (self-development, career development, and political and world views).

Complementing previous research on images of women in psychology textbooks (e.g., Peterson & Kroner, 1992; Percival, 1984), results indicated a higher percentage of traditional messages in the 1970s than in the 1980s and 1990s. Furthermore, the highest percentages of feminist messages were found in the 1990s textbooks than the other eras analyzed. However, it should be noted that while the 1990s held the highest number of feminist messages, more than two-thirds of the images still reinforced traditional gender roles (Low & Sherrard, 1999).

While Low & Sherrard's (1999) research indicates a slight increase in feminist messaging, adolescent-based magazines still perpetuate an overwhelming amount of anti-feminist messaging. Repetitious exposure of these messages negatively influence adolescents and lead to the oversexualization and objectification of adolescent girl and women.

Sexualization of Adolescents

Scholarly researchers concluded that advertisements in women's magazines portray images of women as sex objects that exist to satisfy men's sexual desires (APA Task Force, 2010; Aubrey, 2004; Evans et al., 1991; Impett, Schooler, & Toman, 2006). It is important to study the portrayal of women in adolescent magazines to investigate how the sexualization of women becomes internalized in adolescents. This internalization has been linked to age compression, also known as Kids Growing Older Younger (KGOY), of adolescents wanting to look and behave older (APA Task Force, 2010). Before delving further into the discussion of the sexualization of adolescents in the media, I begin by identifying sexualization. As outlined by the APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls (2010), unhealthy or negative sexualization occurs when:

- (a) a person's value comes only from his or her sexual appeal or behavior, to the exclusion of other characteristics;
- (b) a person is held to a standard that equates physical attractiveness (narrowly defined) with being sexy;
- (c) a person is sexually objectified—that is, made into a thing for others' sexual use, rather than seen as a person with the capacity for independent action and decision making; and/or
- (d) sexuality is inappropriately imposed upon a person.

There are several components to sex, sexuality, and sexual behavior, and while it would be premature to say that adolescents should not be exposed to sexual content what

so ever, it is important to note that this discussion of the sexualization of girls is different because sexualization is not a part of healthy sexuality. In 2001, Advocates for Youth (2008) implemented long-term campaign on adolescent sexuality titled *Rights, Respect, Responsibility*. The purpose of this campaign is to shift the current American societal paradigm of adolescent sexuality away from negative components of fear and ignorance and move towards an acceptance of healthy and normal sexuality (Advocates for Youth, 2008). Advocates for Youth (2008) view adolescent sexuality as a valuable and important step of healthy development. The *Rights, Respect, Responsibility* campaign believes that “adolescents have the *right* to balanced, accurate, and realistic sex education, confidential and affordable health services, and a secure stake in the future,” that our youth deserves the respect to not be perceived as part of the problem,” but rather a “ part of the solution to societal issues and participate in developing programs and policies that affect their well-being,” and that “society has the *responsibility* to provide young people with the tools they need to safeguard their sexual health and young people have the *responsibility* to protect themselves from too early childbearing and sexually transmitted infections, including HIV” (Advocates for Youth, 2008, p. 4). Advocates for Youth take the stance that when, and only when, adolescents’ rights, respect, and responsibility are achieved, so is the opportunity for healthy sexuality.

However, the exposure of adolescents to any form of sexualization may possibly lead to negative sexuality. Therefore, the purpose of this section is to discuss the sexualization of adolescents, specifically adolescent girls, and articulate the harmful effects of such. Although the exposure of over-sexualized content can have harmful effect on any group, adolescents are particularly susceptible due to the vulnerability of

their developmental process. How one perceives gender roles, sexual behaviors, and attitudes of sexuality are largely shaped during adolescent years (Botta, 1999; Erikson, 1993). Thus, adolescents who are exposed to oppressive and over-sexualized images are at a particularly high risk because the cognitive reasoning that allows them “to critically analyze messages from the media and to make decisions based on possible future outcomes are not fully developed” (Gruber & Grube 2000, p. 211).

Several researchers have attempted to explain how and why the sexualization of adolescent girls leaves detrimental consequences to the physical, psychological, and emotional self. Due to the difficulty of successfully passing Institutional Review Board (IRB) regulations on the ethics of studying minors, most of these studies have been conducted on young adult and middle-aged women. However it is safe to generalize that the effects of sexualization are stronger in adolescent girls due to the vulnerability of the developmental process.

Self-objectification, for example, is one of the many cognitive consequences of the sexualization of adolescent girls. Self-objectification can lead to emotional consequences as objectification has been proven to undermine healthy psychology and emotional development in adolescence (Impett, Schooler, & Toman, 2006). Psychologists argue that objectification, whether through society or internalized to the self, results in lower self-confidence and body-image. Impett, Schooler, and Toman (2006) also linked self-objectification to shame and anxiety in adolescent girls as young as twelve and thirteen years of age. Most self-objectification becomes internalized through objectification of women and girls presented in the media. Scholars also have linked self-objectification to decrease use of condoms, as well as a lower sexual assertiveness

(Impett et al., 2006). In conclusion, self-objectification during adolescence may lead to the inability to develop a healthy sexuality.

Additionally, sexual content in the media has flourished to become more pervasive and explicit over the past few decades. “Sexy” behavior and the act of sexual intercourse are two acts that have become so immersed into U.S. media that are depicted as a normal part of life. Women who are sexy or images that allude to women partaking in sexual behavior live glamorous lifestyles. Rarely will the media convey the negative consequences that can be associated with unsafe sexual behavior, unless of course it is relevant to the story. Kunkel, Cope, & Biely (1999) found that when consequences are included, they were generally physical limitation, not social or emotional consequences.

In examining sexual behavior of media marketed towards adolescents, Aubrey (2004) found a double standard with regard to the events preceding and following a sexual encounter. In her analysis of 84 episode of prime-time drama, Aubrey (2004) examined male and female characters between the ages of twelve and 22 years old. In instances where a male would initiate sexual activity, negative consequences occurred thirty percent of the time. When a female character would initiate sexual activity, on the other hand, negative consequences occurred sixty percent of the time. Of the consequence associated with female initiated sexual activity, females were twice as more likely than males to be the receiver of negative consequences. Aubrey (2004) noted that this double standard leaves female adolescents with impressions that terrible things will happen to them if they initiate sexual activity. Conforming to patriarchal norms, it is much safer to simply follow a man’s lead and not act on personal urges. In addition, Aubrey’s (2004) findings conclude that prime-time television promotes the stereotypes that it is normal for

a man to be assertive while women should remain passive.

Adolescent magazines are also guilty of over-sexualized messages and images. Evans et al. (1991) found that adolescent magazines perpetuate the idea that successful relations occur through sexual manipulation and argue that adolescent girls are socialized to believe that seductive behaviors are not only acceptable, but vital in attaining success.

Furthermore, research suggests that adolescent girls receive conflictive messages. Pierce (1990) found instructions on how act sexy in order to attract and please men, yet Durham (1998) found messages of empowerment and encouragement to express their sexuality. Simultaneously, Durham (1998) noted that messages warned girls not to give into their sexual desires and fantasy, as female sexual is not for personal pleasure; rather, sexuality should be used as a manipulative tool to gain access to equality. Actual images in adolescent magazines portrayed females as sexy, yet reserved; eager, yet modest. In addition, Durham (1998) found both direct and indirect messages of heteronormative, stereotypical sexuality. Words like “sexy,” “kissable” and “hot” were displayed across the covers of magazines; exercise articles did not promote health and fitness, but rather the ideal Western image of a sexy and touchable body; beauty and fashion advice focused on attaining a man and succumbing to the male gaze (Durham, 1998).

Over the past decade, there has been a growing concern in regard to adolescent exposure to sexual content through media. Journalists, psychologists, and scholars have argued that this increase exposure has led to harmful sexualization of adolescent girls (APA Task Force, 2010). The APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls (2010) and other scholars have articulated the potential effects this increased sexualization has on a young woman’s “sexual attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors” (Gruber & Grube 2000, p.

212). As a result, documentation on the growing prevalence of sexual behavior in all genres of media, as well as the associations between adolescent exposure and their sexual behavior has increased.

Gender Role Socialization, Body Image, and the Media

A survey administered by Lake, Sosin, and Snell (1997) worked in conjunction with The Kaiser Family Foundation and Children NOW to conduct a study on the impact of media on ten through seventeen year-olds. According to their findings, adolescents are receiving conflictive messages when it comes to how women should look and act in their professional versus personal lives. Of those interviewed, over half of both females (61%) and males (51%) reported female characters appearing thinner on television and in magazines than women in real life (The Kaiser Family Foundation, 1997). Both sexes also reported that the following traits were associated with female characters: worrying about weight and appearance, displaying emotional distress and weakness in the forms on crying and whining, and the need for a male figure. Lake et al. (1997) conclude their study by stating that seven out of ten girls surveyed wanted to dress, look, and act like the women they saw in magazines.

Silverstein, Perdue, Peterson, and Kelly (1986) demonstrated that the historical and current standard of attractiveness portrayed in magazines conforms to White Western standards of beauty and messages of ideal weight. Silverstein et al. (1986) conducted a content analysis of four most popular women's (i.e., *Family Circle*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Redbook*, and *Woman's Day*) and four most popular men's (i.e., *Field & Stream*, *Playboy*, *Popular Mechanics*, and *Sports Illustrated*) magazines of the time. Analyzing

advertisements and articles, Silverstein et al. (1986) narrowed their focus to messages dealing with dieting, food, and body shape and size. The results supported their hypothesis of women receiving more messages about the importance of appearance and staying slim than men. After analyzing 48 issues for both women's and men's magazines, 63 dieting advertisements were found in women's magazines compared to one in men's magazines; articles revolving around the importance of body shape and size were 96 for women and eight for men (Silverstein et al., 1986, p. 525). This research reiterates the role magazines play in pressuring women to conform to White Western ideals of being thin.

Women's desires to obtain thin, beautiful bodies can be directly linked to images portrayed in U.S. media. Mass media, magazines included, have been and will continue to be a pervasive influence that reinforces and maintains White Western standards of beauty. This image sends messages to women that they must desire the ultra-thin, "glamorous" body in order to be accepted, respected, and successful. Botta (1999) captures the irony of Western ideals in stating:

[Our] culture's obsession with thin ideals is played out in the media via models and actresses who may have eating disorders themselves, who may have personal trainers to help them maintain a thin body, and whose bodies, as portrayed through airbrushing and camera-angle techniques, may not even be their own. (p. 23)

Adolescent girls and women desire a fantasy of White Western beauty, while the actuality is that the images they desire to look like are, in fact, fake.

Botta (1999) indicated that adolescent girls are particularly vulnerable to the ultra-thin messages promoted in media. Through her textual analyses, Botta (1999) concludes that adolescent girls seek outside information to help form their self-identity. Conflicting message between their changing body and the media's representation of a thin, non-curveous woman can result in feelings of low self worth and body dissatisfaction. Pipher (1994) also found a negative correlation between exposure to images of thin women and self-esteem, body image, and confidence in adolescent girls. When an adolescent girl believes her body does not meet societies acceptable ideal, her self-assurance become devalued (Pipher, 1994).

Hargreaves and Tiggemann's (2003) research supports Pipher's theory. In a study on girls between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, Hargreaves and Tiggemann (2003) asked each participant to watch twenty commercials each. Half of the participants watched commercials containing images of ultra-thin, ideal female bodies, while the other half watched commercials that portrayed female figures of all shapes and sizes. Those who watched the ultra-thin women reported a significantly greater dissatisfaction with their own bodies than those who watched the commercials displaying a variety of women. All of the participants were later asked to partake in a word-stem completion activity. Again, those who viewed the ultra-thin women generated more words related to White Western stands of beauty and appearance than those who did not. Hargreaves and Tiggemann (2003) concluded by stating that for adolescent girls, "one brief exposure to 20 images of the thin female ideal (of only about at ten minute duration) can result in increased body dissatisfaction, and maintain a negative effect for at least fifteen minutes after the exposure" (p. 372).

Similarly, Turner, Hamilton, Jacobs, Angood, and Dwyer (1997) critically analyze the influence of adolescent magazines have on adolescent girls' body image. Their sample included 39 college women enrolled in a General Psychology course. After all participants completed a body image survey, the group was split into two where half of the women were asked to read a fashion magazines (e.g., *Vogue*, *Bazaar*, *Elle*, or *Allure*) while the other half read a news magazines (e.g., *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News & World Report*, or *Newsweek*). Then, questionnaires were administered to reassess body image satisfaction. This assessment consisted of a series of female body images the participants would use to match to ideas of their own body, their ideal body, and their perception of the ideal body according to society. Supporting their hypothesis, results showed that:

women who viewed fashion magazines preferred to weigh less, were less satisfied with their bodies, were more frustrated about their weight, were more preoccupied with the desire to be thin, and were more afraid of getting fat than their peers who viewed news magazines. (Turner et al., 1997, p. 603)

Although the participants for this study were college women, not adolescent girls, Turner et al. (1997) stated that is safe to generalize their findings on adolescent girls.

Cultural standards and expectation of ideal beauty are prevalent in mass media. Associated with ideal beauty is the expectation of extreme thinness, which has influenced an increase in extreme dieting and eating disorders. Research shows that Western society's expectation of thinness coincided with images of slim women portrayed in the media (Szmukler, McCance, McCrone & Hunter, 1996), as well as the increase in

magazine articles highlighting weight-loss, exercise, and diets (Anderson & DiDomenico, 1992).

Stice and Shaw (1994), for example, demonstrated how exposure to thin ideal females is directly linked to adverse effects. In a study of 157 female undergraduate students, Stice and Shaw (1994) exposed 157 female undergraduate students to images from adolescent and women's magazines. Images included models with the following body types: ultra-thin, average weight, or plus-size. Participants then filled out a questionnaire regarding satisfaction with their own bodies, and well as ideas of the ideal female body. Eating and exercise behaviors were also assessed. Results of their research indicated that exposure to thin images heightened feelings of shame, guilt, depression, and stress, all of which lowered levels of self-confidence and body satisfaction (Stice & Shaw, 1994, p. 303). Further, Stice and Shaw (1994) also correlated low levels of self-confidence and body satisfaction with higher risks of eating disorders.

Additional studies have been conducted to assess the influence of magazines and other forms of mass media on girls' weight concerns. Fields, Cheung, Wolf, Herzog, Gortmaker and Colditz (1999) administered a questionnaire to 548 girls, grades fifth through twelve. The questionnaire assessed exposure to fashion magazines, the impact of media on body-image, and actual body weight versus dissatisfaction with body weight and shape. Their results showed a strong correlation between the images in magazines and adolescent girls' perceptions of their own body. In fact, 69 percent of the girls surveyed reported that magazines influenced their perceptions of an ideal body (Fields et al., 1999). Almost half of the 548 girls surveyed (47%) were dieting, exercising, or both to lose weight with hopes of looking more like the women they saw in magazines (Fields

et al., 1999). Further, rates of dieting and exercising to lose weight were two to three times higher in girls who self reported as frequent readers of magazines. Findings from this study demonstrate the dangers associated with exposure to images of underweight models and it is vital to continue research on adolescent girls' body-image in order to create social change within the institution of mass media. However, in knowing that one's intersectional identity affects the internalization of these images, how can Fields et al. feel comfortable with their findings when they did not incorporate race in their measures or discussion?

As we know, the ideology of an ultra-thin, attractive image is ingrained in all aspects of our Western society. While U.S. based magazines are not the sole perpetrators responsible for contributing to these stereotypes, teen publication can serve as a powerful influence in an adolescent's life. With millions of issues sold each month, *Seventeen's* readership levels indicate that adolescent-based magazine includes information in which adolescents are invested in learning. When magazines convey messages that promote stereotypes and provide little variation in women's independence, self-development, and talents, they could potentially become a source that suppresses the potential of its adolescent readers.

Intersections of Gender, Race, and Age in the Media

Much of the existing literature on women and sexuality in the media fails to examine the racial implication of the data. In doing so, researchers fail to use intersectional lens and provide an incomplete picture when analyzing the internalization of sexuality among adolescents. While some of the existing literature analyzed

advertisements and articles geared specifically toward women of color (e.g., Kidd, 1975; Duke & Kreshel, 1998; Jackson & Ervine, 1991), very little research has provided a feminist analysis that focuses on the intersections of gender, race, and age simultaneously.

Silverstein et al. (1986) expanded their research on body image to the portrayal of curvaceous women—an image attributed to women of color -- in two popular women's magazines (*Ladies Home Journal* and *Vogue*). Focusing on the early- to mid-20th century, methods consisted of collecting bust-to-waist ratios of the images of women in the magazines. Their findings show that the bust-to-waist ratio for both magazines was at a low in 1925 and had increased 33 percent by the late 1940s (Silverstein et al., 1986). Further analysis showed that bust-to-waist ratio rates for the late 1960s and 1970s are comparable to that of 1925. From 1965 to 1985, the average bust-to-waist ratio measured below 1.3, or a very non-curvaceous woman. Silverstein et al. (1986) linked this data to the epidemic of eating disorders found in young generations. Overall, these studies conclude that the media plays an important role in promoting White Western standards of beauty, resulting in an emphasis of thin bodies over curvaceous bodies, yet lacks a discussion on if and how racial difference exist within the magazines.

Blank (2002) examined differences in how females and males were represented in three top adolescent magazines, *Seventeen*, *YM*, and *Teen*. Through a simple random sample of 1200 images, Blank (2002) coded the following variables: title, issue, gender, body index, and story type (Blank, 2002). Blank (2002), did not state if she deliberately left race out of her variables. Findings showed that of all images of women, fifty percent were cropped from the hips of lower and seventeen percent only showed the chest area

(Blank, 2002), placing emphasis on fragments of the female body, therefore objectifying women. Blank's (2002) data supports face-ism theory, suggesting that the de-emphasizing of the face is associated with low levels of intellect. Additional findings confirmed reinforcements in traditional messages that promote stereotypical gender roles (i.e., fashion, beauty, and dating). No distinction of race in the images was discussed. One wonders if women of color were objectified or depicted with more animal-like features that support the Jezebel stereotype. "By adolescent girls constantly seeing images of these thin bodies, some can't help but want the same look for themselves" (Blank, 2002). Blank concluded by stating that when adolescent girls see images that overemphasize the body, how one's body looks becomes internalized as the only important thing that matters.

Evans, Rutberg, Sather, and Turner (1991) found similar evidence in their content analysis of adolescent-based magazines. The researchers analyzed thirty randomly selected issues of *Seventeen*, *YM*, and *Sassy* from 1988 to 1989. Their findings showed that fashion had the highest percentage of coverage, followed by beauty and skin care. Articles featuring self-esteem, self-health, and education or career development were found less than 25 percent combined (Evans et al., 1991). Evans et al. (1991) conclude by stating that girls internalize these messages to form their own ideas about femininity and being a woman. Finding similar result, Duke and Kreshel (1998) conducted in-depth interviews with ten adolescent girls between the ages of 12-13 who were frequent readers of *Seventeen*, *Teen*, *YM*, and *Sassy*. Duke and Kreshel (1998) questioned adolescent girls' use of the magazines to shape their definition of womanhood and femininity. Results indicated that a significant amount of adolescent girls' perceptions regarding femininity

relied heavily on articles focusing male opinions, advice given to gain male approval, and how to further romantic relationships (Duke & Kreshel, 1998). Even though *Sassy*, a magazine with predominantly Black readership, was selected for analysis, no distinctions were made in regards to the images of White women verses women of color in either study. Again this seems out of place.

Women of color have been excluded from much of mainstream media until the recent decades. Scholars argue that the recent increase in the number of ethnic women in the media is to appear ethnically sensitive and gain a broader readership (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). While Black women continue to be underrepresented in mainstream media, traditional images that are representative them tend to reinforce patriarchy and oppressive stereotypes associated with Black sexuality (i.e., the mammy or jezebel). For example, Jackson and Ervin (1991) analyzed advertisements in mainstream fashion magazine, and found that twenty-three of the 962 advertisements analyzed contained women of color, most of which contain Black women who had European-like physical features (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). As these finding prove, images of Black women in mainstream media still remain uncommon, especially in a society that values Whiteness. Another study performed by Coltrane and Messineo (2000b) suggested that while White women were often portrayed as sexual objects of the male gaze, Black women were depicted as irreverent or unimportant as they were shown only in the background or as a “prop” in the advertisement. Coltrane and Messineo (2000) concluded that “regardless of race or ethnicity, women continue to be much more likely than men to be shown as sex objects, but it is White women who are singled out as icons of beauty,” not Black women (p. 383).

One reason the intersections of gender, race, and class must be discussed when exploring the sexualization of adolescents in media lies in the relationship between Black women and White Westernized standard of beauty. Ideals of sexual attractiveness are often associated with Whiteness, as Black women of media are often portrayed with European like features. When images of Black woman in the media depict a fair complexion women with Western features, such as long straight hair, a thin nose and lips, and a thin figure, traditional Black standards of beauty (darker complexion, natural or curly hair, thick lips, broad nose, and curvaceous figure) are viewed as less sexy and become erased from mainstream culture. Beauboeuf-Lafontant (2009) articulated it best when she stated, “racialized hierarchies within our society have carefully regulated imagining and regulation of Black female bodies” (p. 23). Researchers have linked exposure of sexualized female ideals with lower levels of self-esteem, self-objectification, and depression among Black adolescent girls. Such exposure can also be linked to the higher rates well as eating problems and disorders among Black women.

Conclusion

As seen throughout this extensive literature review, numerous studies have been conducted on adolescent girls and the media. Most of the existing research does not use an intersectional approach, as research tends to focus on either white, middle-class females or magazines whose target readership is women of color. Current research conflates the sexualization of women into one overarching category, failing to discuss how unique intersectional identities are affected differently. Very few studies take into

account the intersecting identities of race, gender, class, and culture when conducting a research study.

While Durham (1999) did analyze how ethnic background and social context affected girls' interactions with media, she did not continue with an intersectional analysis of the actual content found in the media. Girls from different ethnic backgrounds shared similar concerns regarding Western standards of beauty and the importance of social acceptance. Her findings, however, showed that race and class influenced who adolescent girls idolized.

Although a vast amount of research discusses race and sexualization, or the sexualization of adolescent, little has been written on the effect sexualization has on all adolescent girls, an identity that is composed of gender, race, and age. What has been left out of previous research and the discussion of common stereotypes of Black women is the impact it has on adolescent girls. At the present time, little research exists that a) discusses the common stereotypes associated with Black women's sexuality and b) exclusively examines the portrayal of Black women in adolescent magazines and the impact it has on Black adolescent girls. Thus, it is important to discuss and extend previous research on the portrayal of Black women's sexuality in the popular adolescent media, specifically magazines.

Chapter 3: Methods

Sample

The sample for this research study consists of all *Seventeen* magazines published in 2011, making for a total of 11 issues. I focused on all stories featured on the cover of the magazine. I selected *Seventeen* for my content analysis for several reasons: (a) my research serves as a replication, as well as an extension, of a feminist content analysis of *Seventeen* from 1945 to 1995 conducted by Schlenker, Caron, & Halteman (1998); (b) moreover, of all magazines that cater to females, *Seventeen* is the only longstanding magazine (i.e., in print for 66 years) that targets adolescent girls; c) *Seventeen* reports an estimated monthly readership of over 13 million nationwide, making it today's largest selling teen beauty and fashion magazine ("*Seventeen* Media Kit," 2011)

Market research conducted in 2010 estimated that *Seventeen* reaches 35.7% of all adolescent girls. Hearst Magazine released a Media Kit on *Seventeen* in 2011, revealing that 96% of *Seventeen*'s readers fall between the ages of 12 and 19, with a median age of 16.5 for overall readership ("*Seventeen* Media Kit," 2011). Therefore, *Seventeen* attracts a predominantly adolescent and young teen audience at a higher rate than any other magazine distributed in the United States. In addition, *Seventeen* reaches a diversity of racial readership. Roughly one third (32.18%) of all readers identify as African-American or Black, and a fifth (18.82%) of readers identify as Hispanic/Spanish ("*Seventeen* Media Kit," 2011). While *Seventeen*'s main target might not be women of color, it is clear that its audience is not only white women. These statistics position *Seventeen* as a potentially powerful venue for voicing and defining adolescent sexuality in the United States.

Feminist Research

This study is grounded in feminist theory and the findings from this project will be used to expose the hegemonic ideologies present in *Seventeen*. According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007), feminist textual analysis uses a feminist lens and allows researchers “to ask different questions, approach the data differently, and use their resulting knowledge to effect intellectual, social, and political change” (p. 236). Furthermore, feminist content analysis looks at text from the viewpoint of women who may not otherwise be considered, in this case, adolescent girls. Thus, I will critically analyze the articles with a feminist lens but be aware that adolescent readers may lack the ability to critically analyze the messages in the same way.

I am also a self identified feminist and root feminist research methods in the foundation of my research. I aspire to challenge the “basic structure and ideologies that oppress women and fosters empowerment and emancipation for women and other marginalized groups” (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 4). As a feminist researcher, I also aim to gain a better understanding of the lives of adolescent girls, promote social justice and social change, and ensure that I, the researcher, remain mindful of the relationship between adolescent girls and myself, as well as privilege and authority imbedded in my identity.

Positionality

Feminist research values situated knowledge, or the idea that “knowledge is... based on experience, and so different experiences should enable different perceptions of ourselves and our environments” (Harding, 2004, p.7). Thus, it is imperative that I situate

myself within my research. I come to this topic from the perspective of a white female who has always lived in and was educated in the rural Midwest of the United States. As a child, my experience with magazines, specifically *Seventeen*, was very little. My mother, a self-identified feminist, tried her hardest to provide toys and books that were gender-neutral and did not promote Western standards of beauty, or the idea that ideal beauty can only be achieved through thinness and beauty-related attributes such as flawless skin, attractive features, and well-styled hair and attire (APA Task Force, 2010; Blank, 2002; Duke & Kreshel, 1998; Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2003; Polce-Lynch, Myers, Kliwer, & Kilmartin, 2001; Silverstein, Perdue, Peterson, & Kelly, 1986; Turner, Hamilton, Jacobs, Angood, & Dwyer, 1997). She also found items like Barbie and teen magazines to be objectifying and detrimental to the self-esteem and the body image of young girls.

I began working for the family restaurant at age 12 and was responsible for purchasing my own items such as make-up, clothes, or tickets to the local basketball games. Thus, when it came down to purchasing a magazine or new team shoes for basketball, the shoes won every time. Nonetheless, I still had some access to teen magazines, such as *Seventeen*, as many of my friends and teammates were subscribers. We would read aloud relationship advice and beauty tips on bus trips to and from athletic events. I was personally affected by the articles dedicated to diet and exercise advice, as well as skin care. Pages from these sections were plastered all over my walls and bathroom mirror to serve as a constant reminder of how I wanted to look to fulfill my understanding of beauty. While it is obvious my mother did her best to protect me from Western ideals of beauty, the pressure to be beautiful and thin surrounded me in the form of peers and media; the pressure ultimately won.

Looking back, I cannot remember a time when body image, thinness, or beauty was not on my mind. I now realize how fixated I was on white, middle class, heteronormative images, as well as how influenced adolescent girls are by Western ideals of beauty. As a result, I come to this research as an outsider-within. I have personally been affected by the negative effects associated with Western ideals of beauty and sexualization of adolescent girls in magazine such as *Seventeen*. I, however, am no longer an adolescent and cannot place myself in within this community. As an outsider within, I seek to revisit *Seventeen* and critically analyze these stories and images through a feminist lens. Although my politics of location and knowledge have previously created internal struggles when dealing with adolescent magazines and standards of beauty, I anticipate that my research and writing reflect a feminist invested in expanding my frames of reference beyond middle class American concerns.

Procedures

A textual analysis of all issues of *Seventeen* from 2011 was used to determine the content of the magazine and how it compared to previous research reported by Peirce (1990) and Schlenker, Caron, and Halteman (1998). As in the research conducted by Peirce (1990) and Schlenker, Caron, and Halteman (1998), feminist and traditional messages were the focus of this study, with featured cover stories serving as the articles investigated. Thus, I focus on cover stories for two reasons: a) this study is an extension and expansion of Peirce (1990) and Schlenker et al. (1998) and cover stories served as the articles for investigation in both studies; b) adolescents are exposed to cover stories before they even pick up a magazine, thus this content serves to attract buyers.

Advertisements will not be analyzed. I then code the featured articles into measure created by Peirce (1990).

In order to obtain more replicable results that could offer a better comparison to the results of Peirce's (1990) and Schlenker, Caron, and Halteman's (1998) studies, I decided to use the six final categories outlined below. However, I argue that each category can hold both feminist and anti-feminist message. Thus, I have adopted the measure to better fit my research.

I decided to change the term "traditional," as it does not hold true to the nature of my study. My research question is to understand if *Seventeen* magazine holds feminist or anti-feminist message, as traditional messages can hold both feminist and anti-feminist messages. For example, an article discussing the importance safe sex and pressures adolescents face regarding sexual behaviors would be categorized as Male/Female Relations. Peirce (1990) and Schlenker, Caron, and Halteman (1998) classified any article regarding Male/Female Relations as traditional; I, however, believe this article promotes feminist ideologies because it stresses the importance of educating oneself on safe sex, how to overcome the pressures adolescents face, and resources for a healthy sex life. Furthermore, I decided to use "feminist" and "anti-feminist" as classifiers instead of "feminist" and "traditional." While I understand that the terms feminist and anti-feminist hold numerous definitions, I have decided to stick to the following message when coding the articles:

Feminist Messages

- 1.) Promote the social, political, and economic equality of the sexes; or
- 2.) Hold anti-prejudice meaning

Anti-Feminist Messages

- 1.) Promote ideas that suggest social or economic or political inequality of men and women; or
- 2.) Hold prejudiced meaning (sexist, racist, heterosexist, classist, etc.)

Each message will then be further coded on a Likert scale based on level of feminism, with -3 being strongly anti-feminist, 0 serving as neutral, and +3 for those messages that strongly identify with feminism. Table 1 provides a visual representation of this scale.

Based on the 15 year gap, I will also be mindful of issues that may arise that are not addressed in previous categories, such as sexual behavior or sexual orientation. In addition, when necessary, I developed new categories as discussed in my results section.

Table 1

Article Level of Feminism Scale

Strongly Anti-Feminist	Moderately Anti-feminist	Slightly Anti-Feminist	Neutral	Slightly Feminist	Moderately Feminist	Strongly Feminist
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

Definition of Categories

As stated above, the following categories were used for coding the feature stories of *Seventeen*.

1. *Appearance*: latest fashion trends; shopping for clothes; hairstyles; makeup; beauty products; how you look to others.

2. *Male-Female Relations*: fictional stories dealing with relationships/love; advice columns about relationships/dating; how to shop for or please your boyfriend; and feature article on male actor/musician (e.g. “hunk of the month”).
3. *Home*: cooking; sewing; crafts (e.g. Christmas ornaments and baskets); playing hostess; decorating.
4. *Self-Development*: health; how to take care of yourself; quizzes about your personality; relations with friends and parents (excluding boys); hobbies.
5. *Career Development*: going to college; spotlight on famous women (athletes/actresses) and their careers; what it is like to work in a certain career area.
6. *Political/World Issues*: environment; international issues; volunteering for the war; political articles; features on foreign high schools.

Chapter 4: Results

In this study, I sought to determine the frequency of feminist and anti-feminist messaging within *Seventeen* magazines published during 2011. A total of 101 articles were analyzed. I hypothesized that there would be a higher percentage of anti-feminist than feminist messages in the featured articles of *Seventeen* magazine. The overall percentage of articles devoted to feminist and anti-feminist messages were calculated for each month. Below is a discussion of feminist verses anti-feminist messaging within *Seventeen* magazine. Second is a breakdown of feminism within the magazine based on the Likert scale that was discussed in the methodology section. Last is an expansion of the Likert scale based on the preexisting categories created by Pierce (1990) and Schlenker, Caron, and Halteman (1998).

Before I move forward to address my results, it should be noted that the sample was altered based on *Seventeen's* volume sequence. First and foremost, twice a year *Seventeen* combines two months: December/January and June/July. Therefore, December of 2010 and January of 2012 were also analyzed due to the juxtaposition of months. In addition, this resulted in a content analysis of eleven, not twelve, magazines.

Feminist vs. Anti-Feminist Messaging

There is a significant difference in the number of feminist messages appearing in the magazines, compared to the number of anti-feminist messages appearing in the magazines. Twenty-one percent of *Seventeen's* featured articles held feminist values, while anti-feminist messages occupied 73% (74 articles) of the featured articles. The remaining 6% of the articles contained messages that were neither feminist nor anti-

feminist, thus contained neutral messages. Examples of messages that were coded at neutral include a contest to win tickets to the movie of your choice and an article titled “Signs your BFF is out to get you,” an article that discusses how best friends can be destructive, manipulative, mean girls and what to do if you are caught in this “toxic” situation. These numbers show that this adolescent magazine does in fact promote anti-feminist values above feminist values. Results for this section are presented in Figure 1.

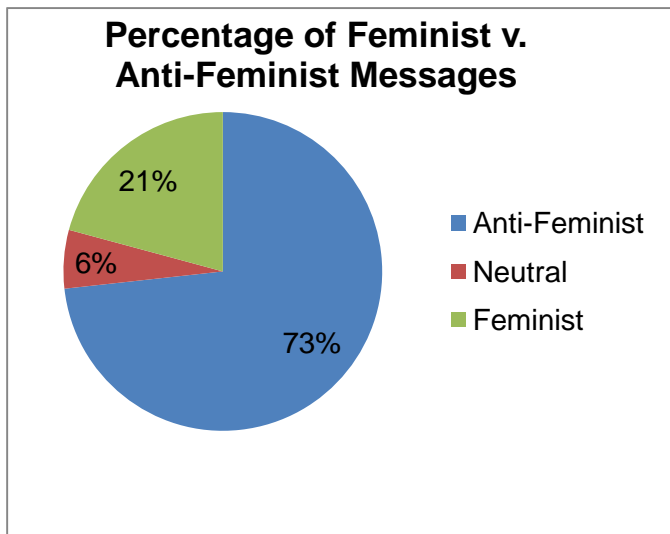


Figure 1. Frequency of feminist v. anti-feminist messages within *Seventeen* during 2011

Range of Feminism within *Seventeen* Magazine

As stated in the methods, articles were coded on a Likert scale based on level of feminism, with -3 being strongly anti-feminist, 0 serving as neutral, and +3 for those messages that strongly identify with feminism. As shown in Figure 2, 31% articles analyzed contained strong anti-feminist messages. Contradictory, 7% of the articles portrayed messages that were coded as strongly feminist. Article holding moderately and slightly anti-feminist messages were found 19% and 18% of the time, while 9% and 5%

of the articles contained messages coded as moderately feminist and slightly feminist respectfully. Table 2 provides list of examples for each range of feminism as well as a brief description of the article’s message. For a complete list of article analyzed, please refer to Appendix A.

Table 2

Example of Each Range of Feminism Based on Liket Scale

Strongly Anti-Feminist (-3)	“Be His Best Kiss Ever: All the New Tricks.” Not only did this article stress the need for a man to kiss under the mistletoe, this article promoted heterosexism and patriarchy. In addition, of the five images provided, no mixed-race couples were featured.
Moderately Anti-Feminist (-2)	“7 Days of Perfect Hair: You’ll look hot in the Hallway.” Although this article focuses on the importance of having great hair for the first week of school, many of the hair tips were applicable to women of color, a feature that did not exist in many other articles.
Slightly Anti-Feminist (-1)	“Avoid Guy Gossip.” While this article is directly centered on the importance of having a man and promotes heterosexism, the article provides advice for girls who worry too much about what guys think of them. The author provides examples of what do say or do if one is caught in a gossip or rumor situation, but overall advises girls to surround themselves with positive and respectful people.
Neutral (0)	“Major Discounts on Everything.” Discounts on everything (e.g., Restaurants, clothing, activities, travel).
Slightly Feminist (1)	“Are You Addicted to Food?” This article opens with a reader’s story struggle with and recovery from binge eating disorder (BED). While the article provides the basic symptoms of BED, it fails to discuss the dangerous physical, psychological, and emotional side effects of eating disorders. In addition, the author uses the phrase “normal versus not so normal” to describe eating habits, suggesting anyone who does not follow the author’s guidelines is not normal.

Moderately Feminist (2)	“Ashley Benson Reveals Who’s Fun, Who’s Fake.” While this article emphasizes Benson’s perseverance over being a victim of childhood bullying and her poor body-image, this article also discusses Benson’s love life and how she snags her ideal man.
Strongly Feminist (3)	“Exclusive! Demi Lovatio’s Road to Recovery.” In addition to an interview with Lovatio regarding her struggle and recovery with self-cutting, this article discusses societal pressures that surround adolescent and teen girls. The authors provide statistic on women who turn to harmful habits (e.g., eating disorders, cutting, drugs, and alcohol) as well as resources for those who need help.

To reiterate, six of the 101 articles were coded as containing neutral messages. Results for this sectional are presented in Figure 2 and Figure 3.

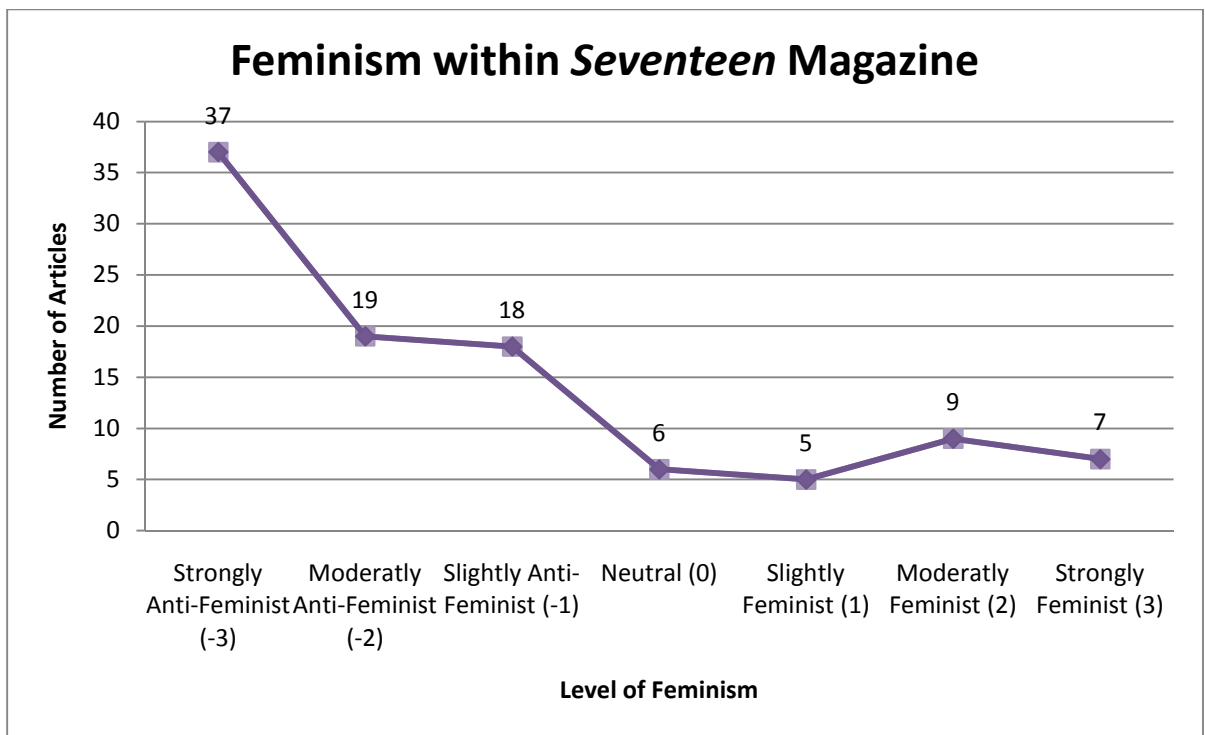


Figure 2. Likert scale of feminism within *Seventeen* magazine.

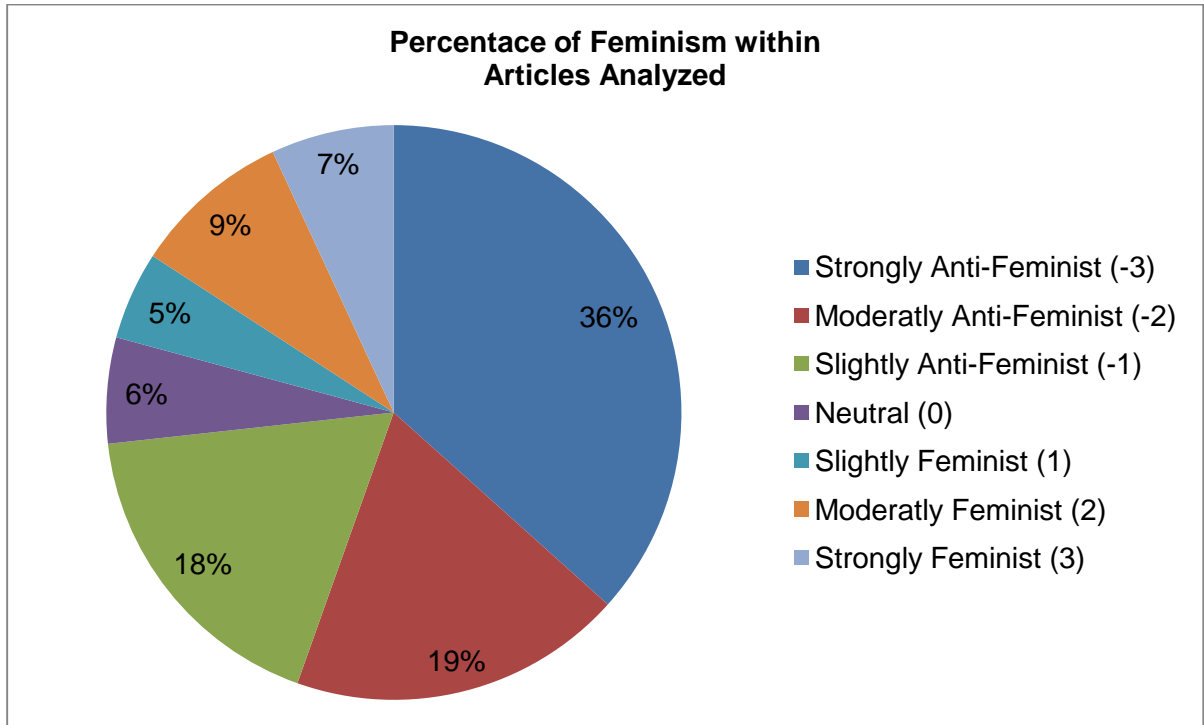


Figure 3. Percentages of feminism based on Likert Scale within Seventeen Magazine

Examining Categories within *Seventeen Magazine*

Articles were coded based on one of the six existing categories designed by Pierce (1990) and Schlenker et al. (1998). Figure 4 serves as a visual representation of the feminism within each category. Figure 5 expands to include a breakdown of the Likert scale for each category.

Before moving forward, it is important to note that 11% of the articles analyzed contained messages that fell into more than one category. For the purpose of this study, these messages are coded under all applicable categories. The titles of articles that were coded as Combination, as well as the combination of messages each article contained, are presented in Appendix B.

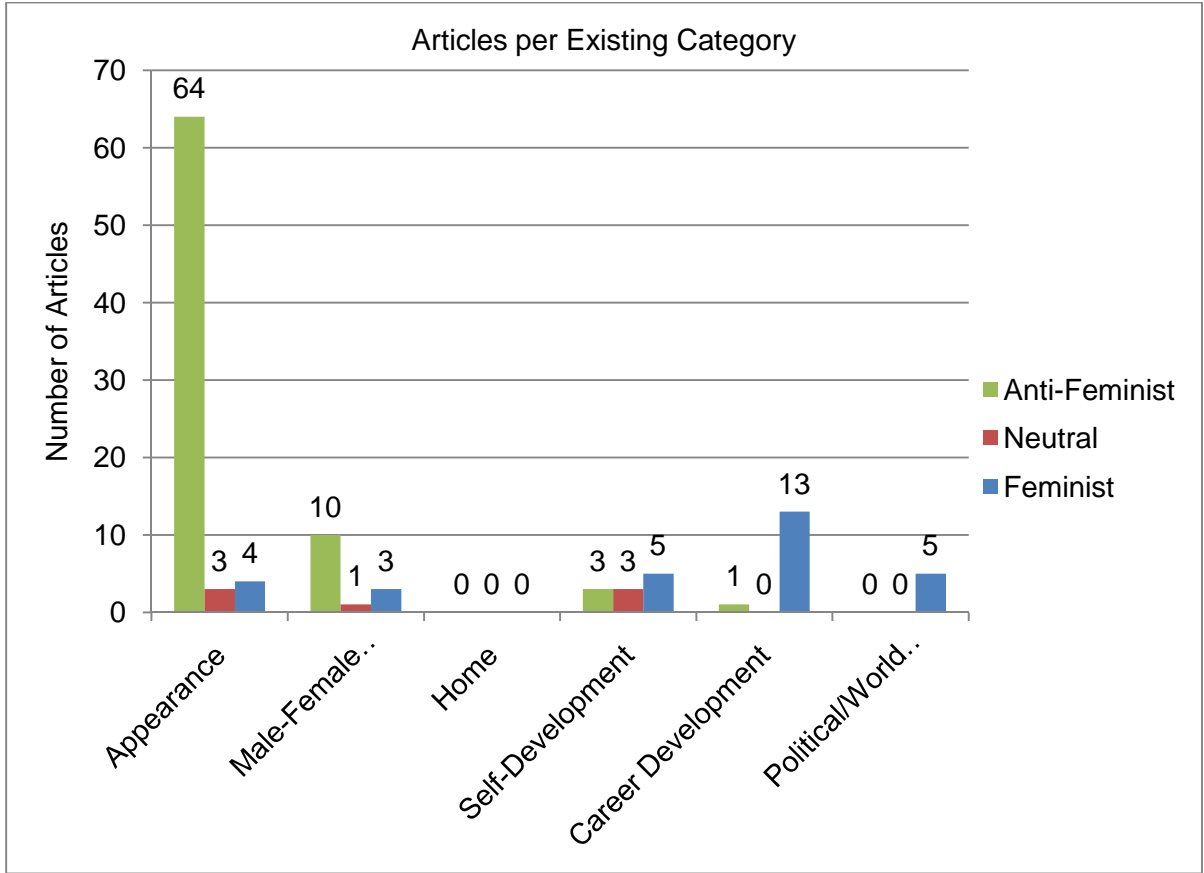


Figure 4. Frequency of feminism within existing categories

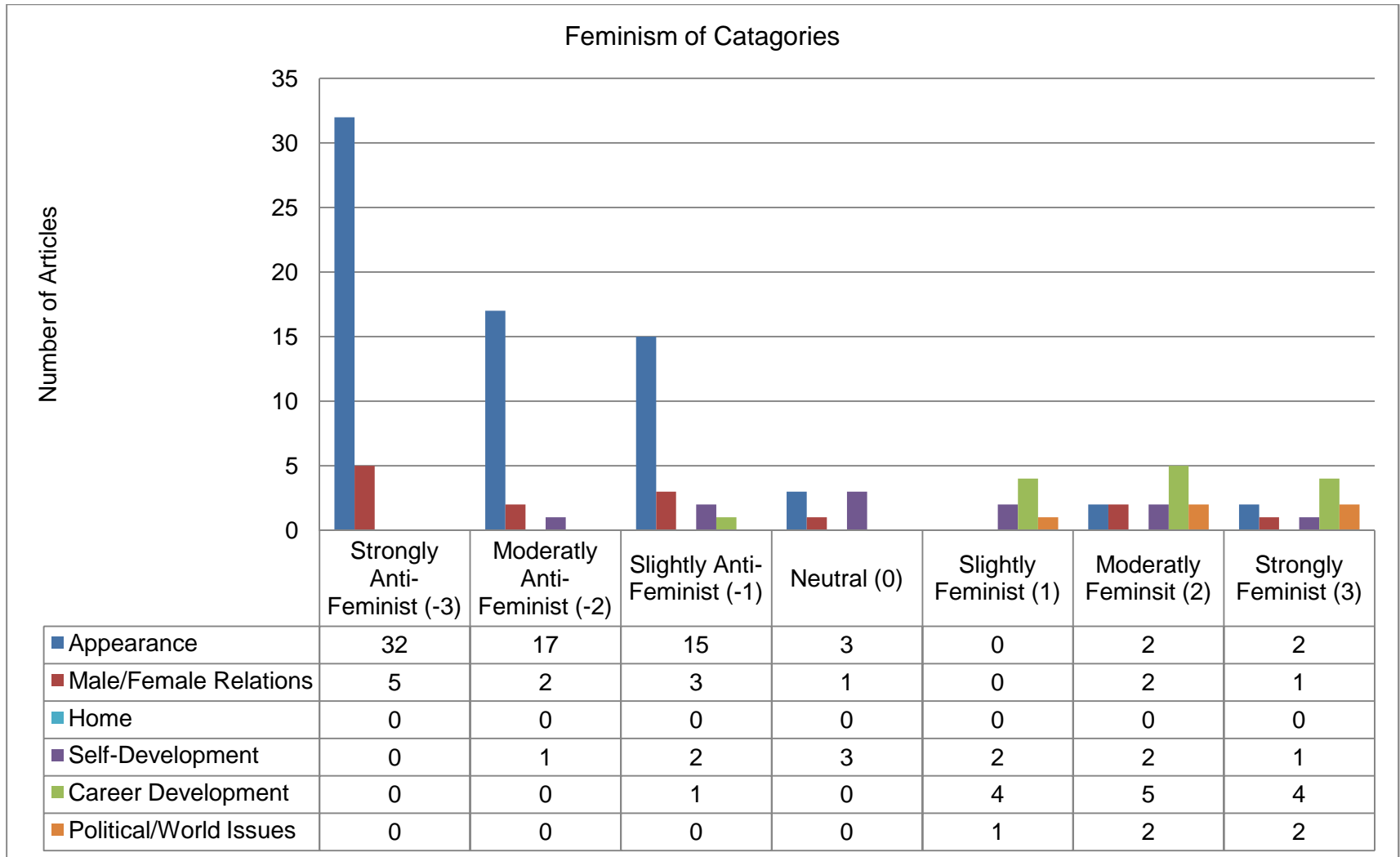


Figure 5. Likert scale of feminism within each existing category

Examining Appearance.

Articles discussing Appearance were the most common reaching an overwhelming 63%. Of the 71 articles contained messaging on Appearance, 90% contained anti-feminist messages, most of which stressed the importance of Western beauty and the ideal body. Articles such as “Look leaner and taller: style tricks that will transform you body” co-exists with monthly workout tips that will help adolescent girls “Get flat abs and a great butt by New Years Eve” and “Look hot in a bikini.” Figure 6 serves as a visual representation of the level of feminism in articles coded under Appearance.

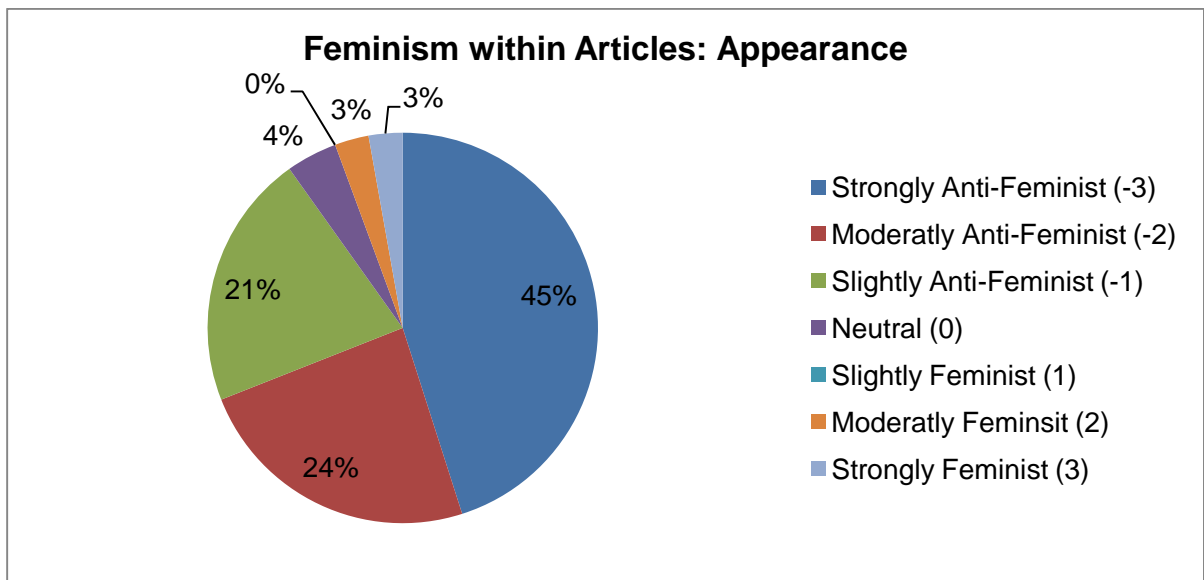


Figure 6. Frequency of feminism within articles coded as “Appearance.”

Examining Male-Female Relations.

Following Appearance in frequency of anti-feminist messages is Male-Female Relations with a total of fourteen articles. Sixty-seven percent of these articles contained anti-feminist message. These articles promoted heterosexual relationships, how to attain

popularity among boys, and snag a guy. *Seventeen* teaches adolescent girls how to “Be his best kiss ever” and provides advice from guys on “How to flirt with them the right way.” Results for this section are shown in Figure 7.

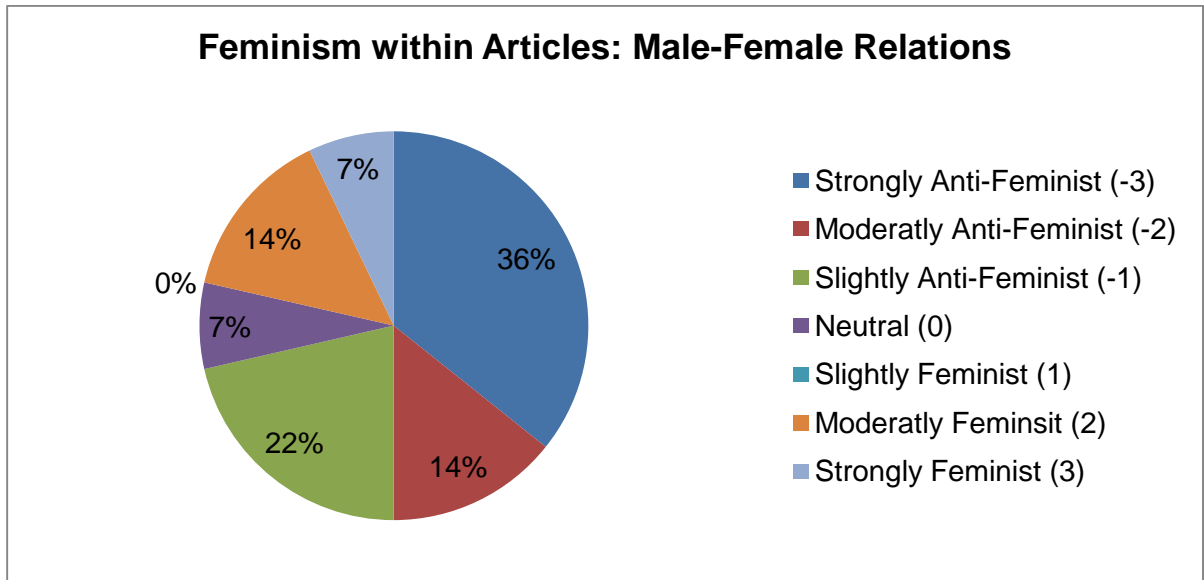


Figure 7. Frequency of feminism within articles coded as “Male-Female Relations”

Examining Home.

None of the featured articles held messages that were coded into the Home category.

Examining Self-Development.

According to Peirce (1990) and Schlenker et al. (1998), articles containing messages of hobbies, relations with friends and family, or health and how to take care of yourself should be coded as Self-Development. Eleven percent of the articles analyzed for this study were coded as Self-Development. The articles for this category were spread

fairly evenly across the Likert scale with three anti-feminist articles, 3 neutral articles, and 5 feminist articles. “Get Un-board this weekend! 25 New Things to Do” was classified as a anti-feminist, Self-Development article because the article perpetuated hobbies that promote heterosexism (i.e., Date night with you man), Western beauty norms (i.e., Makeup tips), and the importance of keeping up with the latest fashion trends (i.e., Hit the mall for the latest trends). “Are you addicted to food” was coded as a feminist, Self-Development article because the author discussed the harmful effects of eating disorders and provided valuable resources for those who may seek help. Results for this section are shown in Figure 8.

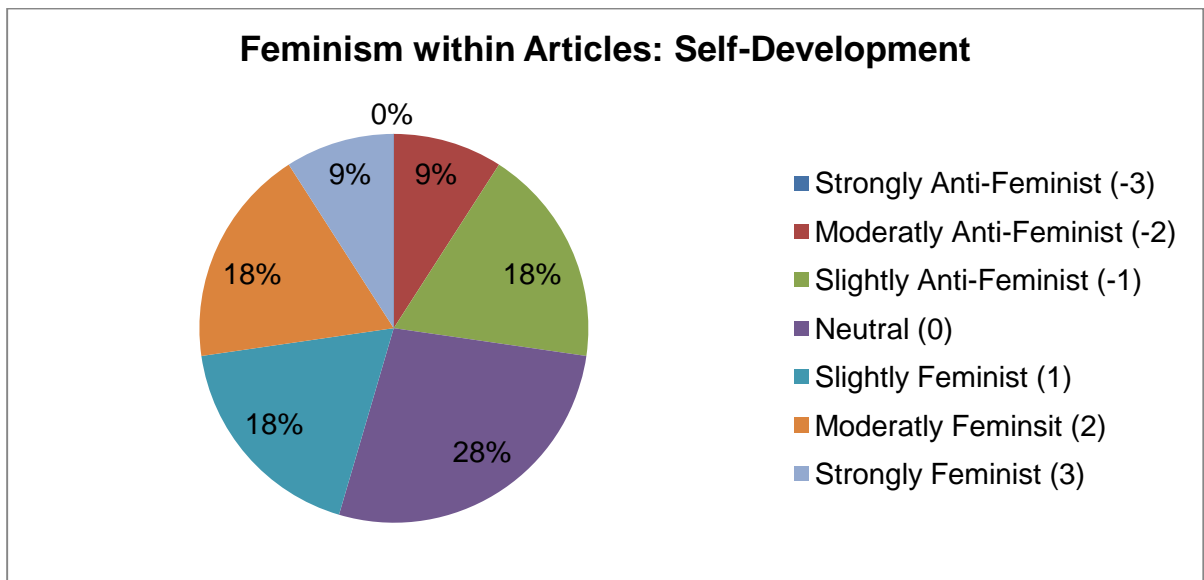


Figure 8. Frequency of feminism within articles coded as “Self-Development”

Examining Career Development.

Articles that focused on Career Development contained the highest percentage of feminist messages. While Career Development messaging only existed 12% of the time,

93% of these articles contained feminist messages. As defined by Peirce (1990) and Schlenker et al. (1998), articles focusing spotlighting on famous women and their careers should be coded as Career Development. Each issues of *Seventeen* features an interview with a celebrity, contributing to a majority of the Career Development articles. While almost all of the interviews were coded as feminist, “Leighton! The Wild Trick that Got Her Everything She’s Ever Wanted,” an interview with Leighton Meester, was coded as anti-feminist because her entire interview focused on Meester’s wardrobe and longing to be pursued by a man. Her career was never discussed. Other articles coded as Career Development include “Our 1st Cover Winner,” an article featuring a 19 year-old girl named Zoe who donates the profit from her homemade clothing business to the homeless, and a scholarship contest for college tuition. A visual representation of these results can be found in Figure 9.

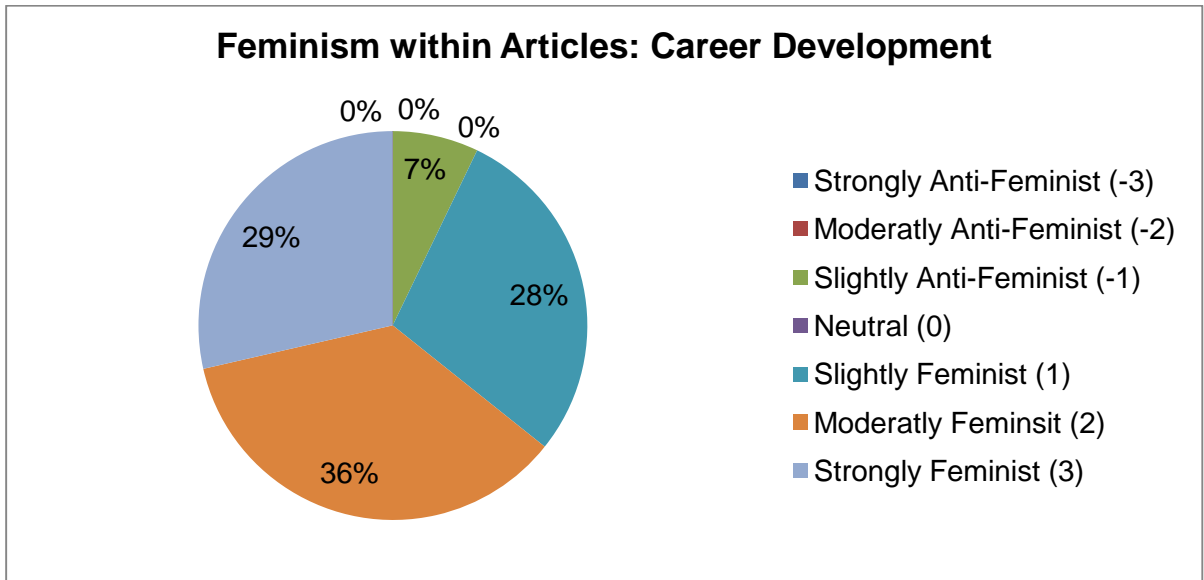


Figure 9. Frequency of feminism within articles coded as “Career Development”

Examining Political/World Issues.

Although only 4% of the articles analyzed were coded as Political/World Issues, each article for this category contained feminist messaging. Two additional articles coded under this category include “[delete] Digital Drama! You can Stop Bullying,” a story featuring reader’s stories of overcoming cyber bullying, and “MTV’s Teen Mom Exclusive! I never wanted to be a teen mom,” an article that stresses the importance of comprehensive sex education and reproductive rights. Results for this section can be found in Figure 10.

4%

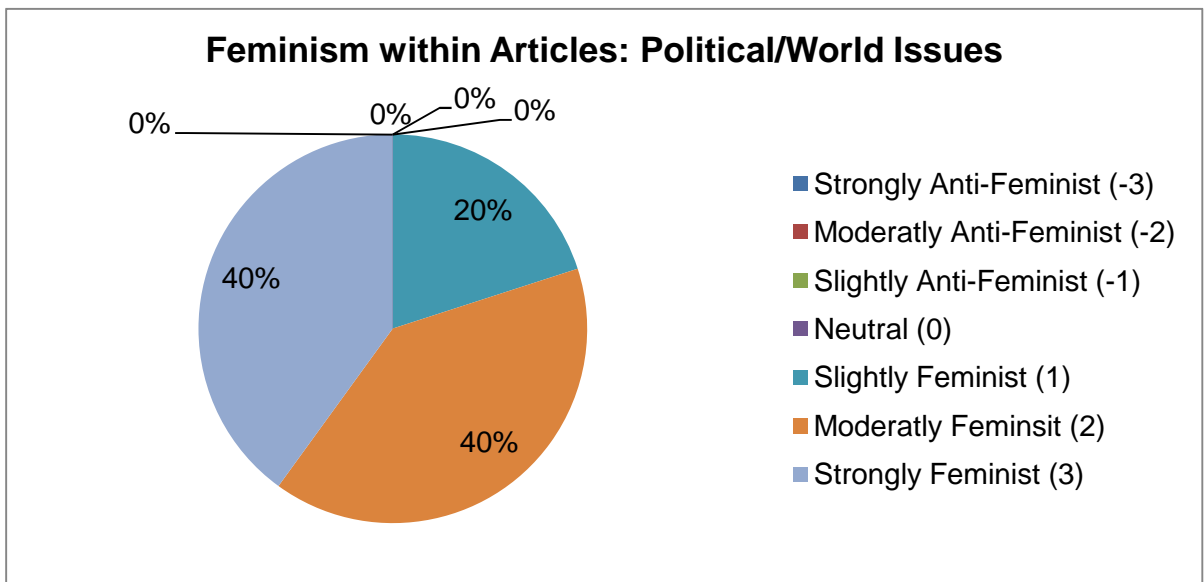


Figure 10. Frequency of feminism within articles coded as “Political/World Issues”

Feminist Messaging

While a majority of the featured articles analyzed for this study contained anti-feminist messages, it is important to address the feminist messaging within *Seventeen*. As stated in the results section, 21% of the articles analyzed contained feminist messages.

The category “Career Development” contained the highest percentage (13%) of feminist messages.

Titles of other feminist articles include “They called me a school slut! How one girl fought the nasty rumors” and “Real-life drama: ‘I got plastic surgery to stop the bullying,” a story that emphasizes how surgery will not fix shame or guilt, as well as the risks, complications, and permanence of plastic surgery.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Survey of Major Findings

Consistent with Peirce's (1990) and Schlenker et al. (1998) findings from this study confirm that *Seventeen* magazine does in fact promote anti-messaging by placing emphasis on articles focused on anti-feminist ideologies, such as the importance of appearance and Western standards of beauty or advice from boys and heteronormative relationships. In looking at the total number of articles analyzed, anti-feminist messages were found in 73% while feminist messages were found in 23% of the feature articles, supporting my hypothesis that *Seventeen* magazines containing more anti-feminist than feminist messages. The remaining 6% of the articles were coded as neutral messages.

In addition, this study provides insight on the currently content of *Seventeen* magazine as it furthers the existing research on adolescent-based magazines. Peirce's and Schlenker et al. research has not been updated for fifteen years, and while the article content may differ, the amount of anti-feminist message has increased. In Schlenker et al. content analysis of *Seventeen*, 60% of all articles analyzed from the year 1995 contained traditional (i.e., anti-feminist messages) while 40% contained feminist messages. However, in my research study, 73% of the articles contained anti-feminist messages, and only 23% contained feminist messages. Thus, it is evident that *Seventeen* engages in anti-feminist messaging at even higher rates than in the past. In the remainder of the discussion sections, I will provide leading arguments as to why this study's findings are potentially harmful to adolescent girls as well as highlight prospective areas for further research.

Anti-Feminist Messaging

After critically analyzing the findings of this study, there are some important issues regarding the messages adolescent girls receive from the content of *Seventeen* magazine. These issues require further discussion. As in Peirce's (1990) and Schlenker et al. (1998) findings, the results of this study confirm that *Seventeen* magazine does in fact promote anti-feminist messaging by placing emphasis on articles focused on anti-feminist ideologies, such as the importance of appearance and Western standards of beauty or advice from boys and heteronormative relationships.

Appearance.

Of the 101 articles analyzed, 64% contained anti-feminist messages focused on appearance and the importance of the ideal body and Western beauty. *Seventeen* magazine is loaded with editorials urging adolescent girls to look "hotter than ever" by providing hair and makeup tips that will make you "instantly prettier". When young girls are constantly exposed to messages that overemphasize appearance and Western standards of beauty, adolescents' may be fixated on the importance of the ideal body and obsessed with the notion of how the body looks.

It appears that the editors of *Seventeen* magazine believe that stories about how to look beautiful through make-up, clothing, and hair styles are by far the most important things to young girls. Adolescent girls are continuously being exposed to images related to fashion and beauty, more than other imperative area under discussions. Through constant exposure to related articles, adolescent girls could assume that beauty and fashion are the most important concerns of life.

Several studies indicated that adolescent girls are vulnerable and susceptible to these messages and cannot help but compare themselves (Erikson, 1963; Hargreaves & Tiggeman, 2003; Rosenblum & Lewis, 1999), wanted to look, act, and be like the images they see and articles they read. As we have seen in studies previously discussed in the literature review, some adolescent girls take extreme measures in the hopes to obtain this “ideal” image, even when this image is not physically obtainable (e.g., Botta, 1999; Hargreaves & Tiggeman, 2003; Stice & Shaw, 1994; Turner et al., 1997).

Male-Female Relations.

If the overwhelming number of articles featuring the importance of appearance was not either to classify *Seventeen* as an anti-feminist adolescent-based magazine, the messages within the category “Male-Female Relations” unquestionably reinforces oppressive and patriarchal ideologies. While anti-feminist articles that contained messages on male/female relations were only 10% of the total articles analyzed, all of the articles promoted heterosexual relationships, how to attain popularity among boys, and snag a guy. It should be noted that all articles discussing relationships focused on heterosexual relations only, promoting heterosexism with a hegemonic society.

To be fair, the March issue of *Seventeen* contained an article titled “Hookup shocker! 44% of you think about trying this...” stated that it is completely normal to have sexual feelings and urges towards the same sex and that being gay is okay. This article provided resources for adolescent who have struggling with the concept of being gay, may need additional support, or what some profession advice how coming out. More feminist articles as such need to be integrated throughout *Seventeen*.

Race.

Researchers who critically analyze a magazine's content often avoid acknowledging that this content is read by and affects multiple demographics within a magazine's readership. Statistics by Hearst Magazine Corporation, the publishers of *Seventeen* magazine, show that *Seventeen's* readership is roughly fifty percent White, with the remaining readership falling to Black/African American women (32.87%) and Latino/Hispanic women (18.82%) proving that this particular adolescent magazine does not specify a racial target (Hearst Magazines, 2011). However, *Seventeen* perpetuates messages of thin bodies, beautiful, mostly white women, and fashionable bodies.

While this study did not directly seek to determine if and how women of color were being represented within *Seventeen*, feminist theory is rooted in the acknowledgement and representation of others' standpoints and intersectional identities. Thus, as a feminist researcher, I could not help but to critically analyze the content for white women versus women of color. Not only did the frequency of white women far outnumber women of color—roughly 4 to 1 respectively—the images of women of color portrayed white Western standards of beauty. Often times, women of color had relaxed hair, light complexion, a narrow nose, and extraordinarily thin figure. Rarely did the featured articles providing hair and makeup tips offer suggestions for women with dark complexions or thick, naturally curly hair. In addition, only two issues of *Seventeen* featured celebrity women of color on the cover (i.e., Miranda Cosgrove and Victoria Justice). All of these components reiterate my critiques of *Seventeen* as an anti-feminist magazine.

Feminist Messaging

While a majority of the featured articles analyzed for this study contained anti-feminist messages, it is important to address the feminist messaging within *Seventeen*. As stated in the results section, 23% of the articles analyzed contained feminist messages. The category “Career Development” contained the highest percentage (13%) of feminist messages, over two-thirds of which featured interviews with celebrities regarding their career paths, goals, and successes.

Stunningly, articles categorized under Self-Development and Career Developmental results in alarmingly low numbers. It would seem as though both of these categories would play a larger role in these magazines, seeing that both categories are a vital aspect in young girls’ lives. It would also seem as if editors and writers would think it necessary to include more stories about academics, world related issues, or self-development. By editors and writers failing to emphasize, or even acknowledge, articles focused on Career Development and Self-Development, adolescent girls reading *Seventeen* magazines may conclude that these two categories do not fit into what is considered important for success and happiness in society.

While featured articles served as my sample, I skimmed the magazine in its entirety and found additional articles that held feminist values, yet were not featured as cover stories. The titles of some of these articles include “What I love about my body,” “Support gay teens,” and “Party predators: Safe sex and consent.” For a magazine whose mission is to provide adolescents with the reliable and dependable information, I was shocked that *Seventeen*’s editors left articles such as these off the cover. Instead, *Seventeen* encourages adolescent girls to obtain good looks and charisma at any cost

necessary, even if it hinders the development of their personal, academic, and career interests.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study possesses some limitations which deserve attention. First and most importantly, is the small sample size used for analysis during this study. Due to time and space constraints, only featured articles from one year of *Seventeen* magazine were analyzed. Analyzing one year may not accurately reflect the portrayal of feminist verses anti-feminist messaging in all *Seventeen* magazines. It would be beneficial to expand the sample size to allow for a more accurate analysis. A larger sample size could include the following: (a) expanding analysis beyond featured articles and to all of the magazine's content; (b) analyzing previous years of *Seventeen*; (c) moving beyond *Seventeen* to other adolescent magazines (e.g., *YM*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Teen*). Expanding the sample size to any and all of the above will allow for a more comprehensive representation of anti-feminist messaging within adolescent-based magazines.

Secondly, while Hearst Magazine Corporation indicated that *Seventeen* maintains a racially diverse readership, it is clear that this magazine is marked toward white, middle to upper-class adolescent girls. Therefore this study is limited in that the results cannot be generalized for magazines marketed towards adolescents of different identities. *Seventeen* fails to acknowledge intersectional identities, including social class, race, ethnicities, and sexual orientation. In doing so, results could indicate if and what significant difference exist between messaging in other magazines

A third recommendation would be to utilize a different coding instrument other than the six categories created by Pierce (1990) and Schlenker et al. (1998) to inquire similar results

Lastly, *Seventeen* is only one small component in the existing world of mass media. *Seventeen* magazine also plays a small role in the socialization and sexualization of adolescent girls. Music videos, movies, advertisements, and so forth perpetuate traditional gender roles and the sexualization of adolescent girls. By expanding the sample to other genres of mass media, feminist researchers can critically analyze anti-feminist messaging in multiple media forms. In addition, adolescents are socialized in every aspect of their lives (i.e. family, friends, and education), not just from the media. Further analysis of other genres of media targeting adolescent girls and other areas of gender socialization and sexualization would possibly provide similar results, thus support for the conclusion of this study.

Appendix A

List of Anti-Feminist Articles

Article Title	Category	Lickert Scale	Month
Free Nail Polish	Appearance	-1	December '10/January '11
Fashion & Beauty Ideas	Appearance	-3	December '10/January '11
Awesome Deals and Shopping Secret To Save \$\$\$!	Appearance	-3	December '10/January '11
Look Pretty at Every Party! Flirty Hair, Fun Makeup & Cute Clothes – For You	Appearance	-3	December '10/January '11
Get Flat Abs & A Great Butt by New Year's Eve!	Appearance	-3	December '10/January '11
Be His Best Kiss Ever: All New Tricks P. 94	Male/Female Relations	-3	December '10/January '11
BONUS! Gifts Under \$20	Appearance	-1	December '10/January '11
Free Perfume (See page 12)	Appearance	-1	February
Look Cute Every Day! 11 Fun Trends That Will Shake Up Your Whole Wardrobe	Appearance	-3	February
The Beauty Issue! 200+ Ways to Get: The Best New Stuff You Need to Try Now!	Appearance	-3	February
Pretty Makeup	Appearance	-3	February
Amazing Hair	Appearance	-3	February
Clean Skin	Appearance	-2	February
Flat Tummy Tips That Work	Appearance	-3	February
BONUS! Guys Confess: How to Flirt With Them – The Right Way!	Male/Female Relations	-2	February
Leighton! The Wild Trick That Got Her Everything She's ever Wanted (p.s. You can do it too)	Career Development	-1	February
Free Lipstick See p. 28	Appearance	-2	March
659 New Ways to Look Cute Now!	Appearance	-3	March

Must-Have Spring Fashion Under \$20	Appearance	-3	March
Avoid Guy Gossip	Male/Female Relations	-1	March
Ultimate Spring Break Gride! Bikinis, Bargains, Hot Guys	Appearance	-3	March
Get Naturally Pretty! Silky Hair and Flawless Skin with Zero Effort!	Appearance	-3	March
Plus: A Free Pair for You!	Appearance	-1	April
Win a \$10,000 Shopping Spree! Enter to Win – P. 26	Appearance	-2	April
Tons of Cute Shoes	Appearance	-2	April
453 Spring Fashion Ideas! The Best Trends for Your Body	Appearance	-3	April
Get Your Dream Hair! Amazing Shine, New Cute, Endless Styles	Appearance	-3	April
BONUS! Love Quiz Blowout!	Male-female relations	-3	April
200+ Swimsuits: Find the Perfect Style for Your Body	Appearance	-3	May
FREE Lip Gloss	Appearance	-1	May
859 ways to get pretty for Summer! Flirty Dresses & Shorts!	Appearance	-3	May
Fashion Haul! Cheap Finds at the Mall	Appearance	-1	May
Easy Hairstyles!	Appearance	-2	May
Look Hot in a Bikini: Get Flat Abs & a Cute Butt Now!	Appearance	-3	May
Tons of Free Stuff Inside	Appearance	-2	June/July
You could win a \$10,000 shopping spree!	Appearance	-1	June/July
200+ Hot Fashion Deals! Under \$20	Appearance	-2	June/July
Perfect Hair All Summer	Appearance	-3	June/July
Get Your Best Body Now	Appearance	-2	June/July
Plus: Facebook trick that will save you even more \$\$\$	Appearance	-1	June/July
OMG! The weird things guys do before they hit the beach.	MF Relations	-2	June/July
Free Jeans! Enter for a Chance to Win on P. 6	Appearance	-1	August
101+ Pairs! Your perfect jeans inside! Fun Trends to Try!	Appearance	-3	August
Hot Styles for Your Body	Appearance	-3	August
The Best Pair Under \$20	Appearance	-1	August

Back-to-School Fashion Preview!	Appearance	-2	August
Look Prettier than Ever! For you 1 st Day of School	Appearance	-3	August
The #1 Move to a Cute Butt" It Hurts, but it Works	Appearance	-3	August
Total dating Confidence: Flirty Lines Guys Can't Resist	Male-female relations	-3	August
1,069 Fall Fashion & Beauty Ideas! Cool Shoes!	Appearance	-2	September
Look Leaner & Taller: Style Trick that will Transform Your Body	Appearance	-3	September
LET'S SHOP! Coupons, Freebies & Bargains Inside!	Appearance	-1	September
Back-to-School Beauty Guide!	Appearance	-2	September
Amazing Makeup!	Appearance	-3	September
7 Day of Perfect Hair: You'll Look Hot in the Hallway	Appearance	-2	September
Mind Blowing Makeouts: How to be a better kisser!	Male-female relations	-3	September
Cute Sweaters!	Appearance	-2	September
WIN concert Tix, DVDs, CDs, & More Inside! Enter Now	Appearance, Self-development	-1	October
Hot Guy Special! Flirt the Right Way! Be His Best Hookup! Make him ask you out!	Male-female relations	-3	October
Clear Skin ASAP! Fast Fixes for Zits, Redness, and Flakes	Appearance, Self-development	-2	October
The Ultimate Hot Guy: Taylor Lautner. FREE Poster!	Male-female relations	-1	October
350+ Fashion Ideas! Cute Updates for School, Date, & Party Under \$20	Appearance	-2	October
101+ Fashion Tricks for Every Body! Petite, Tall, & Curvy	Appearance	-3	November
Bargain Shopping Secrets! Save \$\$\$ at the Mall!	Appearance	-1	November
Look Cute & Confident: Hair & Makeup Ideas that Make You Instantly Prettier!	Appearance	-3	November
Perfect Legs, Butt, & Abs: No Workout Required!	Appearance	-3	November
Get Un-Bored this Weekend: 25 New Things to Do!	Appearance, MF relations, Self-development	-1	November

Win A \$10,000 Fashion & Beauty Haul! Enter to Win p. 18	Appearance	-1	December '11/January '12
200+ Hot Holiday Deals!	Appearance	-3	December '11/January '12
Shoes Under \$20 Jewelry Under \$10 Makeup Under \$5	Appearance	-3	December '11/January '12
BONUS: Style Section! The Best Celeb Fashion of the Year	Appearance	-2	December '11/January '12
Hot Holiday Hair	Appearance	-3	December '11/January '12
Best. Gifts. Ever! What to give, what to get!	Appearance	-2	December '11/January '12
Your Perfect Party Look: Flirty Hair, Cool Bags, and Killer Dresses	Appearance	-3	December '11/January '12

List of Feminist Articles

Article Title	Category	Likert Scale	Month
Style Star of the Year: Taylor Swift You've Heard Only Half The Story... She Spills All Inside	Career Development	1	December '10/January '11
Real-Life Drama: "I Got Plastic Surgery to Stop The Bullying"	Appearance	2	December '10/January '11
LOVE & SEX SECRETS: What No One Tells You About Your First Time	Male/Female Relations	3	February
PSSST... You could Be On the Cover! See P. 36	Political/World Issues, Career Development, Self-Development	1	March
Hookup Shocker! 44% of you think about trying this... page 116	Male/Female Relations	2	March
Miranda Cosgrove: The iCarly star Confesses "I want people to see the real me"	Career Development	2	March
Are you addicted to food? Help is on P. 110	Self-development	1	April

Victoria Justice: Her Real-Life Drama "In high school I felt alone & isolated"	Career Development	3	April
MTV's Teen Mom Exclusive! "I never wanted to be a teen mom!"	Self-development, political/world issue, male-female relations	2	April
EXCLUSIVE! Demi Lovato's Road to Recovery "I basically had a nervous breakdown"	Career development, appearance	3	May
Scream 4's Emma Roberts" The Flirting Trick that Gets Her the Best Guys	Career development, appearance	3	May
Clear Skin - All Over!	Appearance	2	May
Pretty Little Liar's Lucy Hale: he Juice Secret she's been keeping until now.	Career Development	2	June/July
Emma Watson Reveals her Secret Crush on a Happy Potter Costar!	Career Development	1	August
[delete] Digital Drama! You can Stop Bullying	Political/world issues	3	August
Go To college for Free! We'll Pay: Enter for a chance to win \$250,00 p.159	Career-development	2	September
Pretty Little Liars Exclusive! Ashley Benson Reveals Who's Fun, Who's Fake!	Career-development, self-development	2	September
Our 1st Ever Reader Cover Winner	Career Development, Political/World issues	2	October
Glee! Heather Morris Kisses and Tells (Artie! Santana! And Finn?!?)	Career-development	3	November
They called Me the School Slut! How One Girl Fought the Nasty Rumors!	Political/World issue, Self-development	3	November
Breaking Dawn Exclusive! Nikki Reed Finally Opens Up about All the Twilight Drama	Career Development	1	December '11/January '12

List of Neutral Articles

Article Title	Category	Likert Scale	Month
Signs Your BFF is Out to Get You	Self-development	0	February
"I was Secretly Videotaped Topless!" Sketchy Guy Alert	Self-development, MF relations	0	March
Free Body Lotion	Appearance	0	September
Plus: Enter to win tix to his movie	Self-development	0	October

Free Nail Polish Page 29	Appearance	0	December '11/January '12
Plus: Major discounts on everything	Appearance	0	December '11/January '12

Appendix B

Title of Article	Combination of Categories	Anti v. Feminist	Level of Feminism
Clear Skin ASAP! Fast Fixes for Zits, Redness, and Flakes	Appearance, Self-development	Anti-feminist	-2
Get Un-Bored this Weekend: 25 New Things to Do!	Appearance, Male/Female Relations, Self-development	Anti-Feminist	-1
WIN concert Tix, DVDs, CDs, & More Inside! Enter Now	Appearance, Self-development	Anti-feminist	-1
Plus: Enter to win tix to his movie	Self-development, Male/Female Relations	Neutral	0
"I was Secretly Videotaped Topless!" Sketchy Guy Alert	Male/Female Relations, Self-Development	Neutral	0
PSSST... You could Be On the Cover! See P. 36	Self-Development, Career Development, Political/World Issues	Feminist	1
Our 1st Ever Reader Cover Winner	Career Development, Political/World issues	Feminist	2
Pretty Little Liars Exclusive! Ashley Benson Reveals Who's Fun, Who's Fake!	Self-Development, Career Development	Feminist	2
MTV's Teen Mom Exclusive! "I never wanted to be a teen mom!"	Male/Female Relations, Self-Development, Political/World Issues	Feminist	2
They called Me the School Slut! How One Girl Fought the Nasty Rumors!	Self- Development, Political/World issue	Feminist	3
Scream 4's Emma Roberts" The Flirting Trick that Gets Her the Best Guys	Appearance, Career Development	Feminist	3
EXCLUSIVE! Demi Lovato's Road to Recovery "I basically had a nervous breakdown"	Appearance, Career Development	Feminist	3

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