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Images of female power in magazine advertising: in 1977 and 1997

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IMAGES OF FEMALE POWER IN MAGAZINE ADVERTISING:
IN 1977 AND 1997

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Journalism
and Mass Communications
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

By

Gina M. Beagles

December 1998

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ABSTRACT

IMAGES OF FEMALE POWER IN MAGAZINE ADVERTISING: IN 1977 AND 1997

by Gina M. Beagles

This study examined the images of female power, or dominance, as portrayed through body language and advertising placement, in bridal and women's general magazine advertisements for 1977 and 1997. The theories of semiotics and symbolic interactionism were used to analyze the results, as well as social construction of reality, social learning theory, and culture as a commodity. Literature discussing women and magazines and women and marriage were also used to establish the appropriate coding structure for analyzing and interpreting the magazine advertisements observed.

The results of this study showed that for the sample of advertisements in 1977 bridal magazines, as well as the advertisement samples from general women's magazines from 1977 and 1997, women were portrayed in power more often than men were. However, in the sample of advertisements from 1977 bridal magazines, men were portrayed more often in power. Overall, the portrayal most coded for was neutral.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Images, symbols, and signs of the mass media educate individuals in society about the values, norms, and ideas of the culture. This mass-mediated cultural education specifically teaches its members about who has power in the society and who does not through images in media texts such as advertisements (Kellner, 1995). Although the mass media does not represent the reality of society—for example, the average family of the 1950s was not like the family on *Leave It To Beaver*—the media portrays what is approved and valued in the society (Tuchman, 1978). With this assumption, the researcher has become interested in the following question: If conventional advertising has been found to display men in more powerful positions than women, whether through occupation or body language, then is there any genre of media content that shows an opposite trend? If so, what values are expressed through these texts? Previous studies have not shown that advertising consistently shows women as more powerful than men, but the researcher believes that an oppositional trend could be evident in bridal advertising. This is based on the fact that women are constantly told that the day they marry is "their big day," and this one role as a bride makes a woman temporarily a

person of status.

Another point of interest for the researcher is that while general women's magazines also have women as their target audience, the roles of women as mothers, wives, and single women have not been found as significantly status-bearing in media texts, and this statement will be supported by cited advertising studies concerning gender in the literature review. It is possible that only one day in a woman's life is considered her most important, and that is the day that she is a bride.

The Purpose of the Study

This research study will follow a theoretical framework based on semiotics, symbolic interactionism, social construction of reality, and social learning theory. The study will use a content analysis to compare the gender role of power in advertising found in bridal magazines with advertising found in general women's magazines. The images of power, or gender dominance, will be coded by the physical placement of women and men in the magazine advertisements selected for observation. It is hypothesized that women, modeled as brides, will have a greater number of images of power because underlying ideologies of society influence this specific media content. Women, it is assumed, gain their status in society through marriage, and they are portrayed as empowered when they have achieved not career or personal success, but when they have attained the love of a man. This assumption will also be explored more carefully in the literature review.

This study further resides on the cultural study assumption that "if advertising provides us insights into the culture where it resides, then the studies of that advertising provide additional, perhaps more subtle, and even more revealing insights into that culture" (Duffy, 1994, p. 5).

This area of study is also important because past studies have shown that advertisers would not lose advertising appeal if they discontinued the perpetuation of stereotypical gender portrayals. A 1987 study found that contemporary women have become more critical of gender stereotypes that are incongruent with their personal lifestyles, and more traditional women are tolerant of contemporary images of women that are incongruent with their own lifestyles (Leigh, Rethans, & Whitney, 1987). A similar 1986 study found that both women and men were attracted to advertisements featuring the sexes in untraditional ways (McCallum, 1986).

Research Questions

In the process of the content analysis, as well as when creating a discussion in the conclusive chapter of this thesis, the researcher will use the basis of theory and research described in the literature review to observe, evaluate, and address the following questions in her study:

1. Do advertisements in bridal magazines present more images of a woman in power than advertisements in general women magazines do? Is this true for both 1977 and 1997?

2. If bridal advertisements present more images of power than advertisements in general audience magazines, what cultural ideologies can be extracted from them (i.e., women gain status through marriage)?

3. Using ideological textual analysis, such as semiotics, what values are portrayed to the mass audience when women in bridal advertising are modeled as more powerful than women in other roles (i.e., a woman may not gain status through being single or being a wife, but through the fleeting transitional role as a bride)?

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

The Cultural Studies Paradigm

The wedding day is an important one in many societies, a ritual that occurs every day and can be recognized by nearly everyone in those societies. The members of a society learn the structure and routine of this event through a socialization process that educates the members of the culture through institutions like religion, art, and the media (Baran & Davis, 1995). Advertisements, in particular, are often credited for cultural education:

Advertising images and messages saturate the fabric of daily life, to the extent that our encounters with them have become routine. The pervasiveness of advertisements in modern consumer culture breeds a familiarity within which we take for granted the deep social assumptions that are embedded in the advertisements. (Budgeon, 1994, p. 55)

The researcher will be studying the imagery surrounding the wedding ritual. To narrow this topic, the researcher will specifically study the images of power, or gender dominance through physical placement, found in bridal advertising. Before undertaking this study, it became necessary to outline the theoretical framework that will be used to explain the future research findings. These theories fall under the cultural studies paradigm and include semiotics, symbolic interactionism, social construction of reality,

and social learning theory. Research that approached culture as a commodity, women and magazines, and women and marriage, is also presented in this literature review.

Cultural Studies

Cultural study rests on the assumption that the mass media provide materials that individuals use to construct their personal identities, as well as perceptions of the world around them (Kellner, 1995). These materials also influence how individuals conduct themselves within the social environment (Baran & Davis, 1995). Through the media, individuals receive symbols that they use to interpret and understand the common culture, and because individuals in our society are exposed to media images and symbols from an early age, these images become a source of education about culture (Kellner, 1995).

Kellner stressed the importance of what individuals learn from the mass media:

The media are forms of pedagogy that teach us how to be men and women; how to dress, look and consume; how to react to members of different social groups; how to be popular and successful and avoid failure; and how to conform to the dominant system of norms, values, practices, and institutions. (p. 5)

Cultural study is involved in understanding, interpreting, and criticizing the images and symbols that the mass media present to the members of society (Kellner, 1995). More specifically, critical cultural study looks at the media from a macroscopic level (Baran & Davis, 1995). It strives to achieve knowledge of media manipulation, believing that individuals within a society can resist the dominant culture when they use critical analysis to study images that are disempowering (Kellner, 1995).

Critical cultural studies also deal greatly with ideology, believing that dominant ideologies in a society emerge in its mass media, educating the audience on who is dominant and who is subordinate in the society, and making the social hierarchy appear natural (Kellner, 1995). This area of study also states that media content can reinforce the patriarchal status quo in society, preventing accurate portrayal of social change (Baran & Davis, 1995). Ideological textual analysis then becomes important (Kellner, 1995) because it can allow individuals to read the dominant ideologies of their society and then struggle for political change if necessary.

Although past cultural studies looked mostly at how the media affected individuals, Baran and Davis (1995) argued that present cultural studies are primarily concerned with the question of what kind of people we have become in a society with a powerful mass media.

Long (1991) found it important for feminists, specifically, to partake in the field of cultural studies:

At a time when hegemonic interests are vested in remapping the relations between public and private, family and work, in redefining dependency and individual responsibility, and in tapping into the wellsprings of terror and desire for dubious purposes of pacification and mobilization, the feminist contribution to critical cultural studies will be critical indeed. (p. 120)

Duffy (1994) added that the critics of female portrayals in advertising, such as feminists, believe that advertising is capable of more accurately portraying real-life, as well as achieving prosocial goals.

Semiotics

The concept of semiotics can be defined as the analysis of how "linguistic and nonlinguistic cultural 'signs' form a widely understood system of meanings" (Kellner, 1995, p. 10). The cultural sign is said to be composed of a signifier and a signified. The signifier represents an image (i.e., a heart), and the signified represents the underlying cultural meaning of this image (i.e., love). An equation then comes into play here: signifier+signified=sign.

The use of semiotics is an important aspect of gender analysis. Feminists are often recognized for using this form of textual analysis to present a strong reading into the portrayal of women in different forms of media texts, including advertising (Kellner, 1995). In his article, "Cultural Studies, Multiculturalism, and Media Culture," Kellner stated that the use of semiotics as an analytical tool can help to extract the cultural signs that may express underlying ideologies in our culture, including hegemony. Goffman (1979) saw these symbols and signs, which he referred to as expressions, as more than an affirmation of the social order. He stated that "these expressions considerably constitute the hierarchy; they are the shadow and the substance" (p. 6). For example, when he discussed gender expressions, he wrote that these expressions do more than reaffirm the position of women in society:

They [gender expressions], like other rituals, can iconically reflect fundamental features of the social structure; but just as easily, these expressions can counterbalance substantive arrangements and compensate for them. If anything, then, [they] are a symptom, not a portrait. For, in fact, whatever the fundamental circumstances of those who happen to be in the same social situation, their behavioral styles can affirm a contrary picture. (p. 8)

When applying semiotics to textual analysis, one must take into consideration the fact that the signified carries a lot of personal identification: the reader's assumptions about the underlying messages are deeply embedded within his or her personal experiences. The signifier is derived directly from the text, as in the images, while the signified is derived from the audience's own perception of the image. Keep in mind that the perceptions of an individual audience member will be tainted with his or her personal preconceptions (Professor J.P. Retzinger, personal communication, November 13, 1995). There is always a multiplicity of media readings taking place, which may distort or filter the messages (Kellner, 1995), and the audience does not always perceive the messages that media producers hope to transmit (Baran & Davis, 1995). However, the producer of these images must have in mind a general message or meaning that a culture has applied to an image. For example, a woman dressed in a wedding gown is assumed to be getting married.

Symbolic Interactionism

To further study the underlying ideologies present in advertisements, the theory of symbolic interactionism can be used. This theory, developed by George Herbert Mead in 1934, is based on the idea that an individual's understanding of reality is affected by a symbolic environment that consists of the mind, body, and self. The mind represents the consciousness, the self represents one's perception of one's self, and society represents the understanding of the culture that one lives in.

Mead (1934) argued that the socialization process depends on the use of symbols that structure the way that humans perceive and understand the world around them. The meanings that a culture assigns to these symbols, then, affects the realities of the people in the culture. These cultural symbols are learned through interaction, and the shared meanings of these symbols allow for a predictability of understanding by members of the culture (Baran & Davis, 1995). Carey (1975) agreed when he wrote that "communication is a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed" (p. 177).

This theory, like semiotics, discusses signs and defines them as an element in the environment used to represent another element in the environment. More specifically, the theory suggests that there exist artificial signs, elements in the environment that represent elements that have been constructed in our society. The image of a bride is an example of an artificial sign. Society has constructed certain meanings that individuals will identify with when they see a bride in an advertisement.

Carey (1975) discussed the ritual view of communication, which observes the "creation, representation, and celebration of shared beliefs" (p. 177). This view is not interested in how the messages reach the audience, but looks at how the messages help shape society: "A ritual view centers on the sacred ceremony which draws persons together in fellowship and commonality" (p. 177).

Williams (1973) felt that popular culture was an important area of study within the field of mass communication and that it had been a big mistake in the past for

communication scientists to shun its study. He discussed three questions that he felt communication scientists should address:

1. What is the significance of living in the world of meanings conveyed by popular art?
2. What is the relationship between the meanings found in popular art and in forms such as science, religion, and ordinary speech?
3. How, in modern times, is experience cast up, interpreted, and congealed into knowledge and understanding?

Social Construction of Reality

This theory was based on the ideas of a man named Alfred Schutz. In 1967, he was interested in how members of a society share meanings within a society. These shared meanings allow the people of a society to function as a whole, as well as maintain society (Carey, 1975). Although this theory assumes that the reality that the media provides the audience is an ongoing social construction that is not simply delivered to a passive audience, Baran & Davis (1995) explained how the use of symbols and signs in society allow for manipulation:

Of course, what media theorists and practitioners, especially advertisers and marketing professionals, now understand is that whoever has the greatest influence over a culture's definitions of its symbols and signs also controls the construction of the typification schemes that individuals use to pattern their interactions with their various social worlds. Why, for example, is one beer more "sophisticated" than another? Are you less likely to serve generic beer to your houseguests than Michelob or Heinekin? Why? (p. 294)

Funkhouser and Shaw (1994) also found the symbolic environment to be dangerous. They believed that the mass media does not mirror reality, instead presenting a distorted synthetic reality to its audience. These distorted images, they contended, generate social discontent when individuals learn that they cannot achieve these unrealistic images. They saw the public's dependence on the media for information to be frightening. The environment of the media presents not only synthetic events, but synthetic experience.

Funkhouser and Shaw (1994) listed five statements that they believed were evidence of the increased use of synthetic experience in American society:

1. Low tolerance for boredom or inactivity.
2. Heightened expectations of perfection and of high-level performance.
3. Expectations of quick, effective, neat resolutions of problems.
4. Misperceptions of certain classes of physical and social events.
5. Limited contact with, and a superficial view of one's own inhabited environment. (p. 72)

Butler and Paisley (1980) wrote that social perception of reality can teach children what their roles as adults will be, and children and adults alike are continually forming images of what their roles in society should or should not be. They believe that social perception, from an early age, benefits individuals if they follow its lead, and has poor consequences when they do not.

Although they admit that it is a difficult task for researchers to set up studies of this sort, Funkhouser and Shaw (1994) believed that it could be managed through "greater cross-validation of findings and more thorough mutual monitoring among scholars" (p. 72).

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory also addresses the symbolic environment. Bandura (1994) saw symbolic communication as important because of the influential role that the mass media plays in society, allowing for social practices, ideas, and values to permeate society and the world at large. This theory attempts to analyze the cognitive, vicarious, self-regulatory, and self-reflective processes involved in psychosocial learning, finding the use of symbols in society to be important to humans for "comprehending their environment and for creating and regulating environmental events that touch virtually every aspect of their lives" (p. 62). Bandura believed that symbols allow people to process their experiences into models that they use for judgment in future experiences: "Through symbols, people give meaning, form, and continuity to the experiences they have had" (p. 62).

Bandura also stated that people rely on the symbolic environment to fill in gaps of knowledge that they have not learned or experienced. For example, a woman who has not been a bride may relate to the experience through media examples. He felt that individuals vicariously experienced events through symbols, so symbols hold the ability to shape the conceptions of an individual's social reality. "The more people's images of

reality depend on the media's symbolic environment," he wrote, "the greater its social impact" (p. 67). He also felt that stereotypes emerged from the symbolic environment when people depended on these symbols for their constructed reality.

Culture as a Commodity

The media are believed to work as a culture industry, packaging and distributing culture to us in forms of commodities (Baran & Davis, 1995). The elite have control of the media and use folk culture to present media content in a way that promotes consumption. It could be possible to analyze the bridal and wedding industry in this manner, looking at how the wedding as a ritual is packaged through the media into a collection of cultural commodities that promote consumption. Examples of cultural commodities would include wedding gowns, expensive bridal bouquets, and fine wedding china. Baran and Davis (1995) wondered about the effects that could arise from the marketing of culture. They outlined five observations that researchers of cultural studies used to answer this question:

1. When elements of everyday culture are selected for repackaging, only a very limited range are chosen and important elements are overlooked or consciously ignored.
2. The repackaging process involves dramatization of those elements of culture that have been selected.
3. The marketing of cultural commodities is done in a way that maximizes the likelihood that they will intrude into and ultimately disrupt everyday life.

4. The elites who operate the cultural industries generally are ignorant of the consequences of their work.

5. Disruption of everyday life takes many forms. Some are obviously linked to consumption of media content, but some forms of disruption are very subtle and occur over long periods of time. (p. 332)

Baran and Davis (1995) also pointed out how advertising can be seen as a major culprit in creating cultural commodities. The promotion of consumption of specific products is often achieved when the products are linked to a successful personal identity. The interest of the manufacturer of the product could not always be in the best interest of the consumer. And, once again, the media content promoting these cultural commodities can be seen as maintaining the status quo.

Women and Magazines

Some researchers argue that women's magazines in general have not been taken seriously in our society (Steinem, 1995). Advertising plays a key role in the existence of magazines, and advertisers are often allowed to sway editorial content by pulling their advertisements when the content does not promote the desired image. For example, a large seller of engagement rings, De Beers diamond company, demands that its advertisements not run accompanying articles that put love and romance in an unflattering light. Neither the advertiser nor the editor can disagree that images in

advertising are delivered to the reader, attempting to persuade the reader to associate an image with a product. Often, other messages about society in general are also delivered to the reader.

In 1971, Alice Courtney and Sarah Lockeretz observed advertisements in general audience magazines and found that men were more often shown as employed and in higher-status positions. They also found that men were more often displayed in recreational roles, while women were more often displayed in decorative roles. They outlined four stereotypes that ran consistently through the advertisements:

1. A woman's place is in the home.
2. Women do not make important decisions or do important things.
3. Women are dependent and need men's protection.
4. Men regard women primarily as sexual objects; they are not interested in

women as people (Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971).

When Lazier-Smith (1989) conducted a content analysis on the subject, comparing the portrayals of women in 1973 advertisements to 1986 advertisements, she found that there was little difference, even though women had in reality attained a degree of economic and social status. She concluded that the advertisements "reflect the traditional balance of power" (p. 257), and that the sexist advertisements worked to reinforce the dominant ideology of the culture.

In 1976, the Courtney and Lockeretz study was replicated by James Culley and Rex Bennet. Although they found more women in high-level positions, men still outweighed women in their images of success (Cully & Bennet, 1976).

Women's magazines target the female market, so their imagery is important in uncovering cultural ideologies that are transmitted through them as media texts. Ferguson (1978) wrote that these magazines transmit images of what female and male roles are in society. She agreed with Bandura's notion that identification "occurs with those who hold or are the source of power and rewards, not with the competitors of power" (p.102). Therefore, a woman will identify and imitate the symbolic behavior of a model in power.

Lopate (1978) noticed a discrepancy between magazines aimed at lower-classed women and the magazines aimed at middle and upper-classed women. Although the former stressed the issue of mothering, the latter stressed the issue of consumption through images of shopping and attending cultural events.

Lopate (1978) also argued that when a woman is modeled with an air of liberation, then the media text can be misread. Her interpretation was that liberation is only modeled to promote the consumption of the article being advertised. A wedding dress advertisement could demonstrate this deceiving image of women's liberation.

Lee Jolliffe and Terri Catlett (1994) studied the effects of women editors on magazine article content in the "Seven Sisters" magazines: *Good Housekeeping*, *Family*

Circle, Woman's Day, Redbook, McCall's, Ladies' Home Journal, and Better Homes and Gardens. They first looked at past studies of sexism in the media that concluded that women were portrayed with status because they had "mothered, married, or been sired by a man of achievement" (p. 800). On the other hand, men were given status through occupation, experience, and background. Jolliffe and Catlett (1994) wondered how the presence of women editors would affect these portrayals, and their research question became, "Has the presence of women in positions of control altered the content of the women's magazines?" (p. 800)

Their literature review was based on the critical Marxist theory that hegemony is maintained by the elites' shaping of popular consent through ideology. The theory states that in order for one to progress through the hegemony, he or she would need to take part in the elites' ideologies. So, would women working in the media have to continue media sexism in order to be promoted to editorial positions?

The researchers looked at the years 1965 and 1985 because 1965 marked the beginnings of sexism protests against these magazines, and 1985 was believed to show the results of these protests if there were any. The coding concepts for women in the magazine articles were "active mastery," "passive dependency," and "other." Passivity was determined to be present when the woman was in a helping role, or the article content was littered with "shoulds" and "ought to's."

The researchers found that while the "seven sisters" magazines continued to show women in submissive roles, determined through tone of articles and portrayal of female

occupations, positive portrayals of women did increase. They concluded that the continuance of negative portrayals of women may have been influenced by cultural hegemony, but hegemony could not be proved because the ruling elite of the culture had not changed. They did believe, however, that changes of media content towards more positive portrayals of women would require changes in the dominant culture. This agrees with Duffy's (1994) argument that women who create advertising are "imbued with cultural values that are essentially male" (p. 12).

A comparison of women's magazine advertisements for the years 1981 and 1984, which looked at magazines specifically targeted towards working women like *Ms.*, *Working Mother*, and *Working Woman*, also displayed gender stereotypes (Ortiz & Ortiz, 1989).

Women and Marriage

In her book, *Perfect Husbands (And Other Fairy Tales): Demystifying Marriage, Men, and Romance*, Regina Barreca (1995) created a qualitative research study of how cultural conditioning steers women in our society toward the institution of marriage. Barreca noted that heroines portrayed in the media are either married or romantically involved. She believed that women characters on television and in film that are not married or romantically involved are portrayed as bitter or unattractive.

The use of the titles "Miss," "Mrs.," and "Ms." for women, in comparison to solely "Mr." for men, is what Barreca believed to be a cultural statement about women and marriage: "So how can anyone avoid thinking about the impact of marriage when a

woman has not only to check off the box indicating her sex, but then indirectly has to comment on whether she's making use of that sex in lawful matrimony" (p.22).

Other examples that Barreca used include the fact that the wedding ensemble for Barbie has repeatedly been the largest feature in the Barbie fashion booklet, and that traditional First Ladies, as well as many other politician's wives, pride themselves on standing behind their husbands. She cited a quote from Marilyn Quayle at the 1992 Republican Convention: "Women do not wish to be liberated from their essential natures as women." Mrs. Quayle was discussing the damage that would befall our society if men were no longer allowed to "take care" of women and children (Barreca, p.32).

There were also the 1950s and 1960s messages in women's magazines like *Good Housekeeping* that made the thought of being a single woman akin to societal death. She cited a 1953 article that strongly encouraged a woman to marry young, so as to not develop the independence that would frighten a man away.

Barreca concluded that women are accepted into our society through marriage. The married woman will no longer feel unwelcome in the presence of married couples and families, and she will become a societal value with her status as a wife and eventual mother. Although women at the turn of the century most often married to remain within a middle or upper class, women today are taught to marry in order to make their lives useful.

Barreca does not appear to be saying that the media and society have attempted to enculturate women on the idea of marriage to the degree that they have, but instead she

was interested in how the portrayals of marriage in these media and societal texts, as well as in cultural codes, have constructed specific meanings of marriage in women.

Wolf (1995) describes the fantasy world in bridal magazines as "brideland," where brides are dressed like royalty and pampered by their courts of bridesmaids, and men are only present within this world to gaze upon her beauty with awe. Wolf sees brideland as a place where women desire to be, because their sexuality, which is so carelessly exploited in society, is treasured when the woman plays the role of the bride. Her white dress represents virginity, her flowers signify youth and innocence, and the veil represents the hymen, which "veils the innermost feminine self (p.40)." Wolf believed that recognition of the fact that this role and value of female sexuality is transitory would lead women to strive for change:

The dream of the formal wedding, and the culture that surrounds it, demonstrates on some level how barren the world is for women when female sexuality is stripped of its aura. One would not want to go back to the feminine mystique; but perhaps the knowledge that we have lost the sense of the value of female sexuality, and that we are suffering from that as if from a vitamin deficiency, will lead us to find new rituals, new experiences, new ceremonies in which we can announce to the world that we are sexually priceless—and not just for one expensive day. (p.40)

Statement of the Problem

The theories and research in this literature review argue that the mass media present images, symbols, signs, and meanings to society that not only represent, but reaffirm cultural ideologies. They help individuals understand the culture they live in, often creating synthetic realities that can reinforce a hegemonic social order.

This argument stresses the importance of analyzing these images, with the hope that knowledge prevents an individual from accepting media images as reality. Analysis of media texts will not only extract the images displayed in an advertisement, it will help to extract the meanings of these images that arise from culture. It is with this goal that the researcher proposes the following hypotheses to be tested through a content analysis:

Images of female power will be significantly higher in number in bridal advertisements than in general women's magazine advertisements, in both advertisements from 1976 and 1996, because cultural hegemony has allowed women power and societal status through the role of the bride, and this underlying ideology has emerged in media texts like bridal advertisements.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Like Jolliffe and Catlett in their 1994 study of the "seven sisters" magazines, the researcher used a content analysis to examine the theory of sexual imagery in advertising. However, the researcher was focusing on ideologies that place females instead of males into power, and power was coded through body positioning instead of through activity portrayal.

Content analysis was deemed most suitable for this study, as it measures variables to study communication. Kerlinger (1973) believed that a content analysis should analyze communication in three ways:

1. Systematically—Based on a uniformity of coding that uses consistently applied rules.
2. Objectively—There should be no bias on the part of the researcher, so that the study and its results are replicable.
3. Quantitatively—Accurate results allow for a valid interpretation and analysis of the research question.

In order to more firmly test the hypothesis, two time periods were analyzed, coded, and compared. The years 1977 and 1997 were chosen. The year 1977 represented a time when the women's movement and activism against sexism in magazine content was at a peak, as the second wave of feminism was occurring (Jolliffe & Catlett 1994). The year 1997 represented the 20-year settling of this movement. It was believed that if the 1977 outcries were successful, their effects would be noticeable in 1997. Even then, it was hypothesized that the bridal magazines would show a woman more often in a position of power compared to a man.

Two bridal magazines and two women's fashion magazines were analyzed, with the first 100 advertisements, commencing with the randomly selected month of September, of each group fitting the above qualifications being coded for. These two types of magazines were compared because the target markets for both are single women who are at a marriage-considering age. The comparison for the magazines at both time frames are graphed and analyzed in Chapters Four and Five.

The magazines for this content analysis were chosen based on present circulations found in the 1997 Gale Directory of Publications. Two bridal magazines and two women's fashion magazines were chosen, all four representing the highest circulations in their category.

Bridal

Modern Bride

401,983

<i>Brides and Your New Home</i>	383,797
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Women's Fashion

<i>Glamour</i>	2,132,169
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<i>Mademoiselle</i>	1,233,160
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Teen Magazine is second in circulation in the women's fashion magazine category with 1,312,517. It was omitted, however, because its target market is younger than the audience targeted for this study. This study is interested in a female audience that is single yet age-appropriate for considering marriage.

According to the 1997 research by Mediamark Research, Inc., the average female reader of *Bride's and Your New Home Magazine* is 27.7, age 27 for *Modern Bride Magazine*, 30.5 for *Glamour*, and 27.3 for *Mademoiselle*.

Terms and Conditions

The unit of analysis in the advertisements was couples consisting of one man and one woman. For the purpose of comparing the results of the couples in the bridal magazines and the women's fashion magazines, as well as comparing the couples from 1977 and 1997, an Independent-Samples T Test was used, as discussed in Chapter Four. The advertisements as a unit of analysis are the independent variables, and the data from the content analysis serve as the dependent variables.

After examining several hundred bridal and fashion magazine advertisements, the researcher created a table of coding terms for power based on the studies outlined in the literature review of this thesis. To determine whether this was an appropriate coding system, a pilot test was conducted. The researcher educated two coders on the system and had them each code for 20 magazine advertisements. This pilot test proved to be extremely useful, as the terms used for coding were clarified and rearranged according to the coders' suggestions. The following is the resulting coding system for this study:

The following criteria was indicated for each female or male when the person of that sex in the advertisement was doing one of following :

- 1) Looking at the camera while the opposite sex looks at them (see Figure 1).
- 2) Being kissed by the opposite sex. The ad was marked as neutral if the couple was kissing on the lips, because this gesture would more likely portray the man and woman in terms of equality.
- 3) Standing in front of the opposite sex (see Figure 2).
- 4) Elevated above the partner in the photograph (i.e., sitting as opposed to standing, posed on steps. See Figure 3).
- 5) Neutral. Both sexes possessed characteristics defined as powerful in the above four coding characteristics, or neither sex possessed characteristics defined as powerful.

For coding purposes, the Appendix A graph was used. This graph made it possible to count not only which gender had more powerful positioning, but in which type of positioning a man or woman was displayed as more powerful.

Cartoon advertisements with a man and a woman were also coded for this study.

Scott's Pi

In order for the researcher to code for the 400 advertisements alone, intercoder reliability needed to be established beforehand. Intercoder reliability can be determined in several ways, but for the purpose of this study, Scott's Pi was used, a statistical formula based on the pi index:

$$\text{pi} = \frac{\% \text{ observed agreement} - \% \text{ expected agreement}}{1 - \% \text{ expected agreement}}$$

Intercoder reliability tests recommend that 10% to 25% of the study's sample number be coded by two coders. Therefore, 20%, or 80, of this study's sample number of 400 was coded by both the researcher and a second coder. After the count, the category results were distributed in the following way (rounded to nearest whole percent):

Looking at camera while looked at by partner	19%
Kissed by partner	25%
Standing in front of partner	17%
Elevated higher in the photograph than partner	17%
Neutral	22%

The % of expected agreement is the squared percentages of all categories:

$$(.19)(.19) + (.25)(.25) + (.17)(.17) + (.17)(.17) + (.22)(.22) = .2048$$

The % of observed agreement between the researcher and the second coder is 85% (.85).

Therefore, the pi index is

$$\frac{.85-.2048}{1-.2048} = .811 \text{ or } 81\%$$

With results of 75% or above, intercoder reliability can be reported. Thus, intercoder reliability was achieved by the coding system, and the researcher finished the content analysis on her own (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994).

CHAPTER IV

Results

This study examined the portrayal of power in both bridal and conventional magazines. *Modern Bride*, *Brides and Your New Home*, *Glamour*, and *Mademoiselle* magazines were all examined for both 1977 and 1997. The researcher randomly selected the month of September to begin the count for each year, and a total of 800 advertisements were coded, the first 100 of each magazine fitting the criteria discussed in the methodology.

The following months were examined for each publication:

Modern Bride 1977

August/September
October/November
December/January

Modern Bride 1997

August/September
October/November
December/January

Brides and Your New Home 1977

August/September
October/November
December/January

Brides and Your New Home 1997

August/September
 October/November
 December/January

Glamour 1977

September
 November (October issue not available from the Los Angeles Public Library)
 December

Glamour 1997

September
 October
 November
 December
 January 1998
 February 1998

Mademoiselle 1977

September
 October
 November

Mademoiselle 1997

September
 October
 November
 December

The hypothesis described in the literature review for this study and examined in this chapter is the following:

Images of female power will be significantly higher in number in bridal advertisements than in general women's magazine advertisements, in both advertisements from 1976 and 1996, because cultural hegemony has allowed women power and societal status through the role of the bride, and this underlying ideology has emerged in media texts like bridal advertisements.

The following data were acquired through the content analysis. This first chart represents the number of times (out of 100 advertisements) that either sex was coded for power, as well as the number of times that an advertisement was coded as neutral. The charts show that all publications, excluding *Brides and Your New Home* from 1977, had more incidences of women in power than men. Note however, that *Modern Bride* magazine from 1977 had a very narrow difference, with men portrayed in power 25 times and women portrayed in power 29 times. In all cases, a majority of the advertisements were coded as neutral, and in several magazines, this was the most coded answer. This is important to note, as it demonstrates that the overall image impressed upon the reader is a neutral one, where neither gender is portrayed as more powerful than the other.

Table 1

Analysis of Incidences of Power

Magazine	Portrayals of Power		
	Male	Female	Neutral
Modern Bride 1977	25	29	46
Modern Bride 1997	10	55	35
Brides and Your New Home 1977	23	3	74
Brides and Your New Home 1997	6	34	60
Glamour 1977	9	50	41
Glamour 1997	13	44	43
Mademoiselle 1977	15	49	36
Mademoiselle 1997	17	31	52

In order to provide more depth to the content analysis, the researcher not only coded for sex in power, but also coded for the reason that the sex was coded for power. This allowed the researcher to observe and comment on any similarities or differences in the reasons for males or females to be coded for power.

In fact, the reasons for a sex being coded for power differed between males and female, as seen in the following charts (number of times followed by percent of times).

Table 2

Reasons for Power By Gender

Magazine	Reasons for Power				
	Kissed by Partner	In Front of Partner	Elevated	Looking at Camera	Neutral
Modern Bride 1977					
Male	1	17	0	7	46
Female	0	21	0	8	
Modern Bride 1997					
Male	0	4	6	0	35
Female	4	22	15	14	
Brides and Your New Home 1977					
Male	1	8	4	10	74
Female	0	0	1	2	

(table continues)

Table 2 (cont.)

Reasons for Power By Gender

Magazine	Reasons for Power				
	Kissed by Partner	In Front of Partner	Elevated	Looking at Camera	Neutral
Brides and Your New Home 1997					
Male	0	4	1	1	60
Female	4	12	14	4	
Glamour 1977					
Male	0	0	9	0	41
Female	8	22	12	8	
Glamour 1997					
Male	1	7	5	0	43
Female	14	10	11	8	
Mademoiselle 1977					
Male	1	0	13	1	36
Female	8	18	8	15	

(table continues)

Table 2 (cont.)

Reasons for Power By Gender

Magazine	Reasons for Power				
	Kissed by Partner	In Front of Partner	Elevated	Looking at Camera	Neutral
Mademoiselle 1997					
Male	0	2	14	1	52
Female	3	9	12	7	

Overall, the reason most often chosen when coding the male in power was elevation (52), followed by placement in front of partner (42), looking at camera while stared at by partner (20), and kissed by partner (4). The number-one reason for a woman being coded in power was placement in front of partner (114), followed by elevation (73), looking at camera (66), and kissed by partner (41). For both 1977 and 1997, the number-one reason for males coded in power was elevation, and the number-one reason for women coded for power was placement in front of partner.

Table 3

Gender in Power By Reason

Reasons	Gender	
	Female	Male
Neutral	106	182
Kissed by Partner	41	4
In Front of Partner	114	42
Elevated	73	52
Looking at Camera	66	20

Table 3 displays the reasons that males and females were displayed in power overall. The order of reasons why females were coded for power is placement in front of partner (114), elevation (73), looking at camera while stared at by partner (66), and kissed by partner (41). For males, the ranking is as follows: elevated (52), placement in front of partner (42), looking at camera while stared at by partner (20), and kissed by partner (4).

Table 4 points out the differences in reasons for male and female portrayals of power based on the year of the samples. In 1977, the top reason for a male or female to be portrayed in power was placement in front of the other partner (86), followed by looking at camera while looked at by partner (51), elevated (47), and kissed by partner (19). In 1997, the top reason was being elevated in photograph (78), followed by placement in front of partner (70), looking at camera while looked at by partner (35), and kissed by partner (26).

Table 4

Reasons Compared By Year

Reasons	Year	
	1977	1997
Neutral	106	182
Kissed by Partner	41	4
In Front of Partner	114	42
Elevated	73	52
Looking at Camera	66	20

Table 5 shows that for all advertisements coded for 1977, women were coded for power 131 times overall, men coded for power 72 times overall, and neither coded for power, or neutral, 197 times overall. For all advertisements coded for 1997, women were coded for power 163 times, men coded for power 46 times, and neither coded for power, or neutral, 191 times.

Table 5

Gender Compared by Year

Year	Gender		
	Female	Male	Neutral
1977	131	72	197
1997	163	46	191

Independent t-tests

In order to measure the statistical significance of the study's results, independent t-tests were used. The following t-test comparisons were made:

- 1) Male portrayals in 1977 bridal magazines to male portrayals in 1997 bridal magazines.

- 2) Female portrayals in 1977 bridal magazines to females portrayals in 1997 bridal magazines.
- 3) Male portrayals in 1977 general women's magazines to male portrayals in 1997 general women's magazines.
- 4) Female portrayals in 1977 general women's magazines to female portrayals in 1997 general women's magazines.
- 5) Male portrayals in 1977 bridal magazines to male portrayals in 1977 general women's magazines.
- 6) Female portrayals in 1977 bridal magazines to female portrayals in 1977 general women's magazines.
- 7) Male portrayals in 1997 bridal magazines to male portrayals in 1997 general women's magazines.
- 8) Female portrayals in 1997 bridal magazines to female portrayals in 1997 general women's magazines.
- 9) Male portrayals in 1977 bridal magazines to female portrayals in 1977 bridal magazines.
- 10) Male portrayals in 1977 general women's magazines to female portrayals in 1977 general women's magazines.
- 11) Male portrayals in 1997 bridal magazines to female portrayals in 1997 bridal magazines.

- 12) Male portrayals in 1997 general women's magazines to female portrayals in 1997 general women's magazines.

Table 6 shows the t values for each t-test, demonstrating that all comparisons were found to be statistically significant within a significance level of .005. In fact, many of the observations were found to be highly significant, with t-values calculated up to 34.64. However, while the null hypothesis was accepted for 1997, it was rejected for 1977, as more women were shown in power (with statistical significance) in the general women's magazines than the bridal magazines.

Although the t-values did not coincide with the hypothesis that the researcher anticipated, the significance levels of the t-test comparisons demonstrate that the information collected may be utilized as an important resource for discussion in future research.

Table 6

T-test Comparisons

Comparison	Statistics			
	Number of Advertisements	Degrees of Freedom	t-value	Level of Significance
Male Portrayals in 1977 Bridal Magazines to Male Portrayals in 1997 Bridal Magazines	400	398	12.40	.005
Female Portrayals in 1977 Bridal Magazines to Female Portrayals in 1997 Bridal Magazines	400	398	31.80	.005
Male Portrayals in 1977 General Women's Magazines to Male Portrayals in 1997 General Women's Magazines	400	398	23.08	.005
Female Portrayals in 1977 General Women's Magazines to Female Portrayals in 1997 General Women's Magazines	400	398	17.92	.005
Male Portrayals in 1977 Bridal Magazines to Male Portrayals in 1977 General Women's Magazines	400	398	24.83	.005

(table continues)

Table 6 (cont.)

T-test Comparisons

Comparison	Statistics			
	Number of Advertisements	Degrees of Freedom	t-value	Level of Significance
Female Portrayals in 1977 Bridal Magazines to Female Portrayals in 1977 General Women's Magazines	400	398	34.20	.005
Male Portrayals in 1997 Bridal Magazines to Male Portrayals in 1997 General Women's Magazines	400	398	22.80	.005
Female Portrayals in 1997 Bridal Magazines to Female Portrayals in 1997 General Women's Magazines	400	398	32.80	.005
Male Portrayals in 1977 Bridal Magazines to Female Portrayals in 1977 Bridal Magazines	400	398	25.16	.005

(table continues)

Table 6 (cont.)

T-test Comparisons

Comparison	Statistics			
	Number of Advertisements	Degrees of Freedom	t-value	Level of Significance
Male Portrayals in 1977 General Women's Magazines to Female Portrayals in 1977 General Women's Magazines	400	398	34.64	.005
Male Portrayals in 1997 Bridal Magazines to Female Portrayals in 1997 Bridal Magazines	400	398	32.92	.005
Male Portrayals in 1997 General Women's Magazines to Female Portrayals in 1997 General Women's Magazines	400	398	29.12	.005

Therefore, women were portrayed in the advertisements with power more times than men in the bridal publications for 1997 and in general women's magazines for both 1977 and 1997. However, for bridal magazine advertisements in 1977, men were more often portrayed in power. This difference will be discussed in the conclusive chapter of this thesis.

Most obvious, however, is the fact that the portrayal of neutrality was most coded for overall. This means that although the differentiation in gender power is useful to look at, the most observed image by the audiences of these magazines is one that portrays neither sex in more power than the other.

Content Analysis Observations

In the course of conducting the content analysis, the researcher recorded several trends observed. The researcher deemed these observations as relative to the overall hypothesis studied and has included them in this section.

It was observed that there were more men present in general women's advertisements in 1977 than in 1997. It took twice as many 1997 *Glamour* magazines to find 100 advertisements with both a woman and man in them. It also took almost twice as many 1997 *Mademoiselle* magazines to find 100 advertisements with both a man and woman. This fact was observed even though the publications had approximately the same number of pages for both years.

In 1997 bridal magazines, men were more often present towards the back of the magazine in the smaller honeymoon advertisements. These types of advertisements were usually coded as neutral. This trend may indicate that after the role of bride has passed, a woman's gender role returns to a more neutral one.

It was noted that in 1997 several of the advertisements portraying a woman in power in *Mademoiselle* were cigarette advertisements. 1997 issues of *Mademoiselle*

also had more advertisements where women and men were portrayed as mutually playful (i.e., laughing, wrestling). In 1997 *Glamour* magazines, the researcher noted that many advertisements had a woman sitting on a man's shoulders. While these types of body positioning were not specifically coded for, the researcher believes that these observations may initiate future research on this topic.

Chapter V

Conclusions and Discussion

In this chapter, the researcher would like to comment on the observations made in the content analysis, referring to the theories cited in the literature review to discuss these ideas and assumptions. This thesis was based on cultural studies, which rests on the assumption that the mass media takes part in the construction of personal identities, showing who is dominant and who is subordinate in the society (Kellner, 1995).

The researcher noted that the results of the content analysis were significant, yet different, from her earlier hypothesis. The researcher had hypothesized that women would be portrayed as more powerful than men more often in bridal magazines than general women's magazines, both for the years 1977 and 1997. Instead, women were portrayed as more powerful than men in both years for all magazines, except for *Brides and Your New Home* magazine 1977.

In fact, when looking at the categories in terms of years and genre—1977 bridal magazines, 1977 general women's magazines, 1997 bridal magazines, and 1997 general women's magazines—the one genre where men were portrayed as more powerful than women was in bridal magazines from 1977.

The researcher also asked what cultural ideologies could be extracted from the bridal advertisements if they presented more images of power than women's fashion magazines. The content analysis found that women were portrayed as more powerful than men in all magazine categories except for bridal magazines in 1977. These findings do not allow the researcher to make any assumptions regarding the cultural ideologies involved, as the results vary for bridal magazines in 1977 and 1997. The content analysis does show, however, that the societal perception of a bride may have changed after the second wave of feminism, as this role is portrayed as powerful in 1997 and not in 1977.

The third question that the researcher asked in her introduction was what values could be portrayed to a mass audience when women in bridal magazines are modeled as more powerful than women in other roles (i.e., single, married). If this had been found to be the case, then the researcher could make assumptions about these values. Instead, it must be strongly noted that the most counted portrayal within the study was neutral. This shows that the audience of these magazines is most often impressed with the value of equality between a man and a woman. It may be assumed that an underlying ideology within our culture may be gender equality, with this ideology dominantly reflected in media like advertisements.

Although the content analysis did not reflect the researcher's hypothesis, it does allow for a number of assumptions to be made.

Initially, it appears that in 1977, a woman in the role of a bride was portrayed as less powerful than a woman outside of this role. This is concluded because the brides in the bridal magazines were coded for power less often than the women in the fashion magazines. However, in 1997, the observation was reversed, as the role of a bride was portrayed as more powerful than that of a woman not in the role of a bride.

Second, it appears that in both 1977 and 1997, women were portrayed as more powerful than men in general women's magazines. Also noted by the researcher was that more men were present in these magazines in 1977 than in 1997.

These observations are very interesting, suggesting that after the second wave of feminism in 1977, fewer men were portrayed in general women's magazines and that the role of bride was portrayed as more powerful.

Two reasons could explain why the role of bride was portrayed as more powerful in 1997 than 1977:

- 1) Women overall were portrayed as more powerful than men in women's publications after the second wave of feminism.

- 2) The image of a bride received a new societal perception after the second wave of feminism.

As discussed in the literature review, Funkhouser and Shaw (1994) noted that while social construction of reality entails shared meanings that allow members of society

to function as a whole, synthetic realities can be constructed to portray misconceiving notions of power, heightened expectations of perfection, and a superficial view of one's environment. Like the 1997 *Mademoiselle* advertisements that inaccurately portray a woman in power when smoking cigarettes, bridal magazines of 1997 could also portray this unrealistic sense of power.

Referring to the theory of culture as a commodity, it is possible that the feminist movement of the 1970s created an untraditional and more simplified view of the wedding, explaining the more simplified stances of the 1977 bridal magazines. Due to this, the following years may have driven the bridal industry aggressively to push for a return of the more traditional wedding and bride. This push would have resulted in the advertisements from the 1997 bridal magazines.

Semiotics

The researcher asked in the beginning of the study what values, as well as cultural ideologies, that semiotics specifically might expose in the examined advertisements. The researcher then used semiotics to determine what body positions would portray images of power in advertisements. The theory of semiotics, therefore, became an important theoretical tool for the researcher.

To reiterate, the concept of semiotics can be defined as the analysis of how "linguistic and nonlinguistic cultural 'signs' form a widely understood system of

meanings," whereas utilized as an analytical tool, semiotics can help to extract the cultural signs that may express underlying ideologies of a culture (Kellner, 1995, p. 10).

It is through semiotics that a student of media effects can better analyze a media presentation. Through this analysis, cultural signs, or assumptions, can be extracted from the text and examined. It has been the researcher's goal in this thesis to look for the underlying cultural assumptions that can be found in advertisements, especially the advertisements examined in bridal and women's fashion magazines.

While the bridal advertisements of 1977 lacked these images of power, the researcher believes that this was due to the still-present pre-feminist advertising model, where men were portrayed more often as powerful. It was not until the changes associated with the feminist movement, first evident in general women's publications, that a woman was portrayed in power. Even then, the researcher believes that these portrayals were false, attempting to pretend that society had changed, or even needing to promote the role of bride in consequence of the feminist movement.

Directions for Future Research

After the research was completed, the researcher stepped back to evaluate the procedures that were used. The researcher strongly feels that the content analysis was the best way to approach this research topic. The researcher was also quite content with the categories that were set up for coding purposes. However, the researcher did encounter a

few advertisements that were slightly more difficult in coding for power. With these few advertisements the researcher stuck closely and literally to the coding choices, and marked an advertisement neutral if none of the definitions fit well.

Further study into this research topic could prove interesting. An excellent follow-up project would include a content analysis of magazine advertisements targeting the same age group, but with a male and female, or mainly male audience. Such mainstream magazines could include popular publications like *T.V. Guide*, *People* magazine, and *Newsweek*. It is expected that these media types would more likely show men in power. Content analysis would once again serve as a useful research method to continue study of this topic.

It would have also been interesting to have the researcher approach the study in a qualitative manner as well. By selecting a number of advertisements from the study, the researcher could use semiotics to dissect and analyze the possible cultural ideologies underlying them. This qualitative approach could then be compared to the overall content analysis constructed in this study.

Yet another study focused on social construction of reality could compare the reactions of women who religiously read bridal magazines before their wedding to women who did not. Would the women who had read them possess the characteristics that Funkhouser and Shaw (1994) described: boredom, heightened expectations of perfection, expectations of neat resolutions, misperceptions of social events, and a superficial view of their environment?

Conclusive Statement

Reflecting back on the literature review, the researcher has concluded that the ideological messages that may be emerging from these specific advertisements could be ones of neutrality, or equality, between men and women. While it may seem positive that the portrayal of women as brides in power increased from 1977 to 1997, this may be misleading, determined by whether one sees the role of bride as inherently submissive or not.

The research did indicate, however, that there was a statistically significant difference in the portrayal of brides from 1977 to 1997, leaning towards the idea that the role of bride may have changed for the culture. It is also possible that the Feminist Movement affected the general portrayal of women, in turn affecting the portrayal of women's roles, including the role of a bride.

If semiotics were to be applied to the findings of this study, the coding shows that the majority of signs portrayed are signs of equality. These images of equality may then possibly affirm the position of women and men in society (Goffman, 1979).

The researcher is not able to determine what the producers of these advertisements were attempting to portray, therefore the researcher is not able to estimate whether the messages attempted are congruent or distorted from the messages perceived (Kellner, 1995). However, the researcher's study suggests that the producers of the 1997

bridal advertisements were more determined to portray images of gender equality than the media producers of the 1977 bridal advertisements.

Because the publications examined are geared towards a female audience, the researcher is to believe that the images portrayed in these publications educate women only. This study did not touch on whether these images of gender equality are prominent in publications geared towards primarily male audiences. In fact, it is unclear to the researcher as to what and where the media educates men on their role in a wedding. If, as Bandura (1994) noted, people rely on the symbolic environment (i.e., advertisements) to fill in gaps of culture that they have not personally experienced, then what media presentations are filling these gaps concerning wedding roles for men?

Unlike the magazine advertising studies conducted by Lazier-Smith (1989) and Courtney and Lockeretz (1971), this study did not find men outweighing women in images of power, or success. This difference alone marks this study as one of interest for researchers of gender roles in magazine advertising.

Like Jolliffe and Catlett (1994), the researcher found that over a period of twenty years, that positive portrayals of women did increase, although submissive roles of women were still portrayed in some advertisements. The researcher agrees with Jolliffe and Catlett's notion that increased positive portrayals of women may be the result of changes in the dominant culture. The timeframe of the advertisements observed in this study demonstrates that a change in the dominant culture may have coincided with the experience of the Women's Movement.

This content analysis provided the researcher with interesting findings that she believes would most likely occur again in similar studies. The coding system worked quite efficiently and could be fine-tuned for future research, especially research looking to compare a qualitative outlook to a quantitative one. While the results gained from this study were not what the researcher had hypothesized or expected, the results are useful, providing a new outlook on the comparison between bridal and general women's magazines.

Research within the topic of gender roles in media presentations will further help our culture understand the way that the media reflects, or distorts, the underlying ideologies of the culture.

It is the researcher's hope that the information gained in this study adds to the this important field of mass communications.

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Appendix A. Content Analysis Graph

[illegible]

Figure 1. Example of a woman looking at the camera while looked at by a man.

**You're not
like all the
others.**

Your wedding
shouldn't be either.

Every wedding is special. We'd like to help you create one that's unique. Consider a Hornblower Dining Yacht. Fine china, white linens, live music and splendid views create a wonderfully moving experience.

Call now to reserve your special day, then relax as our personal wedding coordinator attends to your every detail.

HORNBLOWER
DINING YACHTS

For more information, call: (415) 788-8866 ext. 6

Figure 2. Example of a woman positioned in front of a man in an advertisement.

"Word in camp is Secret anti-perspirant is strong enough for a man."

"That's right. But it's made for a woman. Sorry, Jack."

Face it, ladies, we need an anti-perspirant that's strong. Just like our be-men friends do. That's why there's Secret Roll-On. You can't buy a more effective roll-on. Secret is strong enough for even the toughest guy, but it has a gentle, feminine fragrance that's pure woman. Secret. Strong enough for a man, but made just for you.

Secret

Figure 3. Example of a woman positioned higher than a man in an advertisement.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

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