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Gender stereotypes: a comparison of U.S. and Taiwanese magazine advertisements

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**GENDER STEREOTYPES: A COMPARISON OF
U.S. AND TAIWANESE MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS**

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of School of Journalism and Mass Communications

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Chia-Wen Chi

August 1999

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ABSTRACT

GENDER STEREOTYPES: A COMPARISON OF U.S. AND TAIWANESE MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS

by Chia-Wen Chi

This study examines how media representations reflect gender stereotypes in U.S. and Taiwanese culture after decades of the women's movement. The research design is a cross-cultural study, using content analysis to code 600 models appearing in magazine advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1988 and 1998.

The results revealed that in the United States and Taiwan, magazine advertisements portrayed males mainly in working roles and females in non-working roles not only in 1988 but in 1998. Men were frequently depicted in high-level business and professional roles, while women were mostly cast in entertainment/sports or mid-level/non-professional roles when working. Men were mainly portrayed in recreational settings and women in decorative roles when depicting the non-working portrayals. It was found more U.S. women than Taiwanese women wore seductive dress. This study concludes that women's stereotypes persist in both cultures and advertising consistently portrays men in superior roles.

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This thesis is dedicated to Dad and Grandma, for a dream comes true, and to my dearest mom and sisters, for all the support and love.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Modern media have great influence over people's daily life. Not only are young kids glued to the television all day long, but adults also rely on newspapers, magazines, or radio for information. Behind the communication, the media potentially play a major role in shaping public attitudes and perceptions because most audiences do not experience everything personally in the world, but instead get much of their information from the media. The effects of media exist in the relationship between an active communicator and a passive receiver; as a matter of fact, there are both functions of education and persuasion in mass communications. For better or for worse, audiences can hardly avoid the impact of the ideologies and images the media produce and convey.

A *stereotype*, the term coined by Walter Lippmann, who adapted it from its original usage in the printing industry, is a generalization that people share. Stereotyping is, in essence, the problem of the difference between the perceptions of outsiders and those of insiders. "Stereotypes can be positive, negative, or mixed" (Rubin, 1988, p. 359). Lazier-Smith (1989) stated that abbreviated communiqués offer an economy of effort because they substitute order for great blooming, buzzing confusion of reality. Consequently, they become the core of our personal tradition, the defense of our position in society because they give an ordered, consistent picture of the world to which our habits, tastes, capabilities, comforts, and hopes have adjusted themselves. Therefore, stereotyping is simply a shorthand way for the media to convey images quickly, and it is a convenient label for the audience to perceive portrayals easily.

Bate (1988) used the term *gender filter* to “refer to unexamined assumptions and expectations about how members of each sex are likely to behave in various communication settings” (p. 10). Having a mental filter makes it easier to predict others’ behavior, and so is an understandable phenomenon, even though its effects are partly negative. In many cases it can be easier to make character judgments when you lack direct knowledge of the person’s situational limitations and individual concerns. This is actually the process of forming stereotypes, depicting persons in terms of their membership in a category rather than in terms of individual characteristics and experiences. In conclusion, stereotypes are nothing more than the ready-made labels, symbols, images, identities, and ideologies used by people who engage in communications to predict and perceive others about whom they lack direct knowledge in the complex, changing world.

Stereotypes save people’s interpretive effort.

Others argue, however, that stereotypes short-circuit or block the capacity for objective and analytic judgment in favor of well-worn, catchall reactions. This leads to the first connection to gender concerns—advertising to U.S. women has consistently been filled with stereotypes (Lazier-Smith, 1989). Female roles are definitely the opposite of male roles in the society as a whole.

Gender roles are global, according to Layng (1995)—regardless of race, class, or culture. Despite the great variety of sex roles from one society to another, there are certain behavior patterns and attitudes that appear to be similar in both traditional and modern societies. For example, men are more promiscuous and independent, and less

nurturing than women are. Chou (1991) also argued that cultural values reflect social trends and potentially teach people the model of sex role-playing.

By analyzing the female self-consciousness, male images appear to be the opposite for forming gender stereotypes in the media. Sorrels (1983) identified four broad stereotypes that summarize cultural views of female roles: homemaker, servant, sex object, and emotional, unintelligent creature. Doyle (1985) also named five male norms, as portrayed in the media, the anti-feminine element, the success element, the aggressive element, the sexual element, and the self-reliant element. In addition, Ferguson (1978) found a general editorial persuasion in women's magazines embracing the three C's of traditional female roles: cooking, cleaning, and caring. As Doyle (1985) found, most people could hardly deny that men are portrayed as already having it all—the *it* being the three P's of power, position, and privilege. In conclusion, from the moment a girl infant is wrapped in a pink blanket and a boy infant in a blue one, gender role development begins (Lindsey, 1995).

Advertising as a mirror of the times is a social guide to our society (Hsu, 1991). Sengupta (1995) suggested that cultures are social settings in which a set of practices produces meanings, while communication refers to the exchange of meanings among members of a culture. Because values lie at the core of culture and advertising is a form of communication, it is logical to expect cultural values to have a significant influence on advertising. According to Miller (1997), the female portrayals in U.S. advertisements have come under heavy scrutiny since the height of the women's movement in the mid-1970s. Three specific areas of concentration in studies of frequently encountered female

representations are leadership roles, work roles, and sex roles. Feminist scholars found that the mass media are vitally important as a major potential tool for shaping people's perceptions of reality. Research regarding female as well as male stereotypes, in essence, stemmed from feminists' concerns about the social status of both genders.

Compared with the long history of U.S. feminism, the history of Taiwanese feminism is no longer than three decades, beginning in the 1970s. However, by the 1980s, a rising trend of studies stemming from feminists' concerns about gender roles in culture has challenged portrayals in the Taiwanese media. Furthermore, after the lifting of martial law in 1987, not only has academia started to emphasize women's studies, but many women's organizations and women's magazines have also appeared (Chou & Jiang, 1989). By the late 1990s, people in Taiwan are facing an overwhelmingly changed society after a decade of social liberalization. Therefore, it is worth examining gender portrayals in the modern media to obtain a deeper understanding of the relationships among the culture, the media, the time, and gender roles.

Problem Statement

Stereotyping makes it fairly easy to mislead and distort reality by oversimplifying and overgeneralizing the true portrayals of individual differences. Stereotypes do not give people the necessary information to understand what is happening or any methods for finding out more about the other person's perspective—but many people count on these labels rather than seeking out clarifications.

In the late 1990s, researchers continue to argue that traditional female roles have not significantly changed despite the challenges from feminism since the 1960s. Most

studies, therefore, begin by criticizing the portrayal of women and disregarding the treatment of men in the media. However, to be fair, studies should focus on both sexes since it comes to a society with both women and men. Not only Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) but the questioned male dominance is worth examining through a comparative study of gender stereotypes in the media, including the time factor and social impacts.

Given the long history of the women's movement in the United States and the shorter history in Taiwan, the basic assumption of this study is that gender portrayals in the U.S. media utilize fewer traditional stereotypes than those in Taiwan. Therefore, a cross-cultural study of male and female portrayals in the U.S. and Taiwanese media and an interpretation of gender roles in these different countries are worth conducting.

Purpose of This Study

The purpose of this study was to examine how media representations reflect gender stereotypes in U.S. and Taiwanese culture after decades of the women's movement. By reviewing long-term challenges from previous researchers, the present study was trying to reexamine how the magazine advertising portrays both genders at the end of 20th century. In addition, a comparison of U.S. and Taiwanese magazine advertisements was performed to measure how culture impacts gender roles in the media. The year 1998 was selected to bring up to date the information on the presence of gender stereotypes in magazine advertisements. The year 1988 was selected to obtain a 10-year range (from 1988 to 1998) in which one could expect changes in both countries. Besides, it is also noteworthy to examine the Taiwanese media in 1988. As Hsu (1991) stated, the late

1980s, from July 1987 to December 1989, is a critical period for studying Taiwan's culture and society because of the lifting of martial law, the boom of women's movements, and the economic liberalization.

Research Design

The research design is a cross-cultural study of gender stereotypes in magazine advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1988 and 1998. Content analysis was used in this cross-cultural study. The selection of magazines from the United States and Taiwan was based on parity of magazine types and target markets in both countries. Three categories of magazines were defined: (a) women's fashion, (b) business, and (c) general interest magazines. The U.S. magazines were *Vogue* (women's fashion), *Fortune* (business), and *Newsweek* (general interest). The Taiwanese magazines were *ViVi* (women's fashion), *Common Wealth* (business), and *Global Views* (general interest). A total sample of 600 male and female models appearing in the advertisements of the 144 magazine issues were randomly selected.

The coding system for the content analysis followed that generated by Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) for working/non-working roles in magazine advertisements; coding criteria for the type of dress worn by women derived from Soley and Kurzbard's (1986) study. Semiotics was also be used to help observe the role playing of men and women in the magazine advertisements.

Hypotheses

In comparing the gender stereotypes, five basic hypotheses were constructed to measure the statistical relationships between coding variables. The information from two

countries, the United States and Taiwan, and two time periods, 1988 and 1998, was specified by each measurement of the data analysis when performing the chi-square test. The hypotheses regarding portrayals in magazine advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1988 and in 1998 were expressed as follows:

1. The sex of the model (male/female) will be related to the type of role (working/non-working) portrayed.
2. There will be a significant relationship between the type of working role portrayed and the sex of the model.
3. There will be a significant relationship between the type of non-working role portrayed and the sex of the model.
4. Comparing cultural differences, there will be a significant relationship between the type of dress worn by women and the country (United States/Taiwan).
5. During a 10-year range, there will be a significant relationship between the type of dress worn by women and the year (1988/1998).

Research Questions

Based on the assumptions and expectations, this study aims to measure gender stereotypes in magazine advertisements in the United States and Taiwan by exploring the 11 research questions that follow:

1. In the United States and Taiwan, what type of role (working/non-working) was depicted more often by males in 1988? By females?
2. In the United States and Taiwan, what type of role (working/non-working) was depicted more often by males in 1998? By females?

3. In the United States and Taiwan, what working role was portrayed most often by males in 1988? By females?
4. In the United States and Taiwan, what working role was portrayed most often by males in 1998? By females?
5. In the United States and Taiwan, were more females portrayed in high-level business roles in 1998 than in 1988?
6. In the United States and Taiwan, what non-working role was portrayed most often by males in 1988? By females?
7. In the United States and Taiwan, what non-working role was portrayed most often by males in 1998? By females?
8. In the United States and Taiwan, were more males portrayed in decorative roles in 1998 than in 1988?
9. In the United States and Taiwan, what type of dress worn by women was shown most often in 1988? In 1998?
10. In 1988 and 1998, were more women wearing seductive dress in the United States than in Taiwan?
11. In the United States and Taiwan, were more women wearing seductive dress in 1998 than in 1988?

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Gender Roles in Culture

Gender roles are global, according to Layng (1995), regardless of race, class, or culture. Men are stereotyped as more promiscuous, more independent, and less nurturing than women are. Despite the great variety of sex roles from one society to another, there are certain behavior patterns and attitudes that appear to be similar in both traditional and modern societies. Chou (1991) argued that cultural values always reflect the social trends and potentially teach people the model of sex role-playing.

Sociologist Lindsey (1995) noted that from the moment a girl infant is wrapped in a pink blanket and a boy infant in a blue one, gender role development begins. The colors of pink and blue are among the first indicators used by Western society to distinguish female from male. As these infants grow, other cultural artifacts will assure that this distinction remains intact. Girls will be given dolls to diaper and tiny stoves with which to cook pretended meals. Boys will construct buildings with miniature tools and wage war with toy guns and tanks. Although both may spend their money on records in the teen and young adult years, girls buy more cosmetics and clothes while boys tend to buy sports equipment and stereo components. The incredible power of gender role socialization is largely responsible for such behavior. Pink and blue merely begin this lifelong process.

Findings of comparisons between female and male stereotypes consequently show ironic opposites. As Friedman (1977) stated, sex role stereotypes in U.S. advertising

proclaim man as the *provider* and woman as the *consumer*. Children learn their roles from the GI Joe action figure and the Barbie doll to the images of father waxing his car while mother waxes her floor. Doyle (1985) also concluded that male TV characters were shown in ambitious, adventuresome, strong, and dominant roles; whereas females were more often cast in dependent, submissive, and weak or auxiliary roles. In the most general sense, male TV characters played either heroes or villains, and females appeared as either adulterers or victims of men's actions (Goff, 1980, as cited in Doyle, 1985).

The media did give different treatments to both genders. Synnott (1988) conducted a content analysis of advertisements in the *New York Times Magazine* and concluded that the most general message of the ads was that youth and beauty were essential for women but not for men. Men were still men when they become old and ugly, but women were not. After all, according to Hsu (1997), old, ugly women have no value in the marketplace. Besides, it was men's role—but not women's—to work and to be physically active. A woman just had to *be*—to be young and beautiful. There was a clear distinction between men as active and women as passive, between men as doing and women as being. "Aristotle would have been proud of the *New York Times*" (Synnott, 1988, p. 440).

This unfairness also exists in Chinese culture. The traditional Chinese family was based on Confucian principles, which gave complete authority to males, and especially to the oldest males. Lindsey (1990) noted that the traditional Chinese family was patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal. A woman's marriage was arranged, she could not normally inherit property, she would move into her husband's household at marriage and

had to survive under the unquestioned authority of her husband, father, and other assorted male relatives (Chang, 1977; Chang, 1995; Gu, 1991; Lay, 1994; Niou, 1981). Women were valued for their domestic work and were not as likely as men to work outside the home for pay. The only real option for women to gain any semblance of prestige was to produce sons. A woman could gain ancestral status only through her husband and sons. Without male descendants, she could have no afterlife to speak of (Lindsey, 1990).

Hsiung (1997) mentioned that Taiwanese culture places great value on Chinese culture, since the Chinese settled it. Compared with the long history of U.S. feminism, the history of Taiwanese feminism is no more than three decades old, beginning in the 1970s. The women's movement was slow to develop in Taiwan, which suggests that currently women in Taiwan are more traditional than women are in the United States. However, the universality of traditional female roles was applicable in Hsiung's (1997) cross-cultural study, which revealed that both U.S. and Taiwanese women were shown more often in non-working than working roles in magazine advertisements.

A total of 665 college students in Taiwan and college students in eastern North Carolina were administered several sex role attitude scales (Chia, Moore, Lam, Chuang, & Cheng, 1994). It was found that males expressed a desire to continue to play the dominant role. On the other hand, in both Chinese and U.S. societies, females expressed a preference for more equal and liberalized attitudes toward women and for more equal and liberalized sex roles in general. The Chinese, furthermore, expressed a more conservative view when compared to their U.S. counterparts.

Even in the late 1990s, according to the psychiatrist Wang (1998), a trend toward "the new, good guys" in gender relationships is just a perfunctory product in reply to Taiwanese feminists' challenges. The new, good guys are more considerate, but they still adopt traditional ideologies, which expect traditional sex role-playing and value a career-oriented lifestyle for themselves but not for women.

Another cross-cultural study comparing women's portrayals in TV commercials from the United States and Japan was conducted by Sengupta (1995). It revealed that the status of women in both cultures was inferior to the status of men. There was a stronger endorsement of the attitude that "a woman's place is in the home" among both men and women in Japan. In addition, women were more likely to appear in a decorative role than men were. In general, women's portrayals in advertising are a reflection of the cultural orientation regarding appropriate roles for women.

In Renn's (1996) text, female portrayals in 10 TV commercials from Hong Kong were analyzed from three perspectives: (a) as sex objects under male desires, (b) as women with no ego in a male-dominated society, and (c) as females in advertising and culture in Hong Kong. The disappointing results showed that women were materialized as products in order to satisfy men's desires. Besides, women depicted as wives and girlfriends had lost their own self-identity in their relationships with men they are attached to. Moreover, portraying women as "shopping fans" also implied that females are vain. This and other studies confirm the universality of gender stereotypes in culture.

Feminism in the United States

Feminism in the United States revived in the early 1960s with a revival of the Equal Rights Movement after the first wave of the movement ended with the winning of women's suffrage in 1920. This revival of feminism was called the second feminist movement. The reawakening of feminism, according to Lindsey (1990), was encouraged by three major events. First, President John Kennedy established the Commission on the Status of Women in 1961, issuing a report documenting the inferior position of women in the United States. Second, in 1963, Betty Friedan published her landmark work, *The Feminine Mystique*, arguing that women are given no road to fulfillment other than as wife and mother. The third event was the founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966, with Betty Friedan serving as its first president. She was one of the firsts to examine the role of women's magazines, which formed attitudes about women.

Whitehurst (1977) noted that in the 1960s, working women, housewives, and students began to question the traditional status quo and to reformulate the feminist ideologies. They agreed on particular issues, including equalizing legal rights, eliminating economic and employment discrimination, granting women's rights to control over their own bodies, and increasing political power.

Feminists found that the mass media were vitally important as a major potential tool in shaping people's perceptions of reality. Hence, they attempted to influence representations in the mass media—newspapers, television, magazines, movies, and books—with the media that women could change specific female stereotypes. For instance, newspapers had contributed to improving attitudes toward women's liberation,

women's issues were being treated more seriously, and "women's pages" were no longer exclusively devoted to wedding announcements, recipes, and sewing hints (Whitehurst, 1977).

Female Stereotypes in the U.S. Media

Traditional female portrayals in the media can be summarized as passive, subordinate, unthinking, and obedient figures, who are always involved in childcare and meal service and seen as sex objects and unintelligent creatures limited in a domestic scope. According to Amundsen, "the image of American womanhood projected in advertising and television is that of a young, pretty, slender creature whose major life concerns are changing her hair color and softening her skin in order to please her American man" (1971, as cited in Friedman, 1977, p. 1). A 1976 Women in Media Seminar, held in London, also concluded that stereotypes in U.S. advertising implied a negative female image, which showed "woman wearing one of three things—an apron, a G string, or a confused look" (Friedman, 1977, p. 54).

Friedman (1977) quoted, predominant advertising themes for female roles by decades since 1910 as (a) mother/cook in the 1910s; (b) fashion plate in the 1920s; (c) cook/housecleaner in the 1930s; (d) beauty in the 1940s; (e) user of appliances in the 1950s; (f) consumer of food, clothing, or beauty in the 1960s; and (g) object of sexual liberation in the 1970s.

Increasing women's representations in the media will probably not reduce media sexism unless the manner in which women are presented also changes. Pingree, Hawkins, Butler, and Paisley (1976) defined a scale of sexism, in which five levels of

female stereotypes in the media were (a) a woman is a two-dimensional, non-thinking decoration; (b) women's place is in the home or in womanly occupations; (c) a woman may be a professional, but her first place is home; (d) women and men must be equals; and (e) women and men are individuals. From a lower level of limiting stereotypes to a higher level of liberating stereotypes, audiences' perceptions about women are likely to be similarly constrained when media portrayals of women are uniformly degrading or limiting, the study concluded.

How had the mass media portrayed female bodies in print advertising? More than a dozen studies in the 1970s showed astonishingly similar messages. A woman's place was in the home and dependent upon men. Women did not make independent and important decisions. They were shown in few occupational roles, and women viewed themselves and were viewed by others as sex objects (Lazier-Smith, 1989). Sorrels (1983), in sum, defined four broad stereotypes that summarized cultural views of female roles including (a) homemaker; (b) servant; (c) sex object; and (d) emotional, unintelligent creature.

Homemaker. Society assigns the role of homemaker to women, and at the same time, it devalues the role. The media usually portray the homemaker as the helpless, giddy woman, whose major concerns in life revolve about her husband's embarrassing ring around the collar, her dull floors, cooking for the family, and buying the right toilet paper. Such female stereotyping, limiting women's assigned role to stay-at-home wife and mother, has shown negative effects. It has limited women's chances of success in the work force (Sorrels, 1983).

Women's magazines portray female images mostly in domestic settings, which present women's career goals as being homemakers and having pleasant characteristics in order to better serve as wives and mothers. Hence, women's identity depends on relationships with men and children rather than on their own occupations. Studies of women's magazine fiction from the 1940s to the 1970s showed that the ideal female goal was to be a homemaker and a mother. According to Basow (1986), women were shown as passive and dependent. Their lives revolved around men, and their activities were limited to the home.

The traditional house-and-garden variety of women's magazines still dominated the market until the rise of the women's movement in the early 1970s (Phillips, 1978). *Family Circle*, the "World's Largest-Selling Women's Magazine" since 1932, exemplified the most traditional homemaker fare. *Ms.*, on the other hand, was born in 1971 when a group of women met in New York City to put together a national monthly—by women, for women. Articles in *Ms.* dealt with world issues, national problems, and women's achievements outside the home. Phillips (1978) conducted a content analysis of female images in *Family Circle* and *Ms.* between 1974 and 1976. The findings showed that representatives of the two ideal women's magazines featured heroines in fairly different ways. The majority of *Family Circle's* women remained tied to homespun activities and a narrow world of self-centered and family concerns, while *Ms.'s* women thought about great issues and participated in social welfare.

However, Steinem (1971/1995), the first editor of *Ms.*, argued that a supportive editorial atmosphere served the advertisers in women's magazines in the 1970s. By the

time suffragists won the vote in 1920, the main function of women's magazines was to create a desire for products, provide instructions for using products, and make products a crucial part of gaining social approval, pleasing a husband, and performing as a homemaker. The truth is, though, women's products, like women's magazines, had never been the subjects of much serious reporting anyway. She quoted one journalist's words, "Oh, women's magazines, everybody knows they are catalogs. But who cares? They have nothing to do with journalism" (Steinem, 1995, p. 316).

Ferguson, Kreshel, and Tinkham's (1990) study examined portrayals of women in the advertising pages of *Ms.* magazine from 1973 to 1987. It showed that even with an explicit commitment to non-stereotypical portrayals of women, substantial levels of sexism were, nevertheless, evident in the advertising content of *Ms.* magazine.

Lindsey (1990) also found that images of women in magazines were reinforced through advertisements testifying to the glories of shining kitchen floors, soft toilet tissue, and antiseptic children. Whether we viewed advertising through TV commercials or through the print media, they were likely to present the sexes in stereotyped modes. As discussed in Friedman (1977), advertisers were the most powerful perpetrators of the *feminine mystique*. They had sent women home and kept them there by glamorizing the role of housewives. Courtney and Whipple noted, extensive research had documented the fact that even with some improvement over time, advertising images of women remain based on traditional gender role norms (1983, as cited in Lindsey, 1990).

According to Rivers' study, in selling their products to women, advertising messages supported two common themes: approval or disapproval. These themes

operated in advertising for products that removed dirt rings from collars, water spots from drinking glasses, and imperceptible household odors from living rooms. The theme of competition and envy traditionally ran in detergent ads for the whitest, brightest, most spotless clothes on the block. Using these themes of guilt and jealousy, TV commercials had molded womanly attitudes (1974, as cited in Friedman, 1977).

Advertising might define a woman as the angel in the house. However, it actually portrayed her less ethereally, as the custodian of consumer goods for whom fulfillment was streak-free windows, odorless armpits, and cavity-less offspring (Friedman, 1977). McArthur and Resko found that female viewers were constantly reminded to stay home by advertising that showed women in the home setting, even while selling non-home-oriented products (1975, as cited in Friedman, 1977). Friedan (1963) concluded that the motivational techniques used by the advertisers to sell household items to women included the guilt of being an inadequate wife or mother, the desire to be creative in the kitchen, and the appeal to teenagers with the "happiness through things" motivation.

Although there have been multidimensional arguments about changing female roles in magazine coverage since the 1970s, covers and photos still emphasized femininity and only suggested the sex-segregated world that the culture presented to females in the educational, occupational, and sporting spheres. Ferguson (1978) stated that traditional women's magazine covers were primarily specialized in a world-of-women market, featuring fashion, dressmaking, or beauty. Besides, there was a general editorial persuasion embracing the three C's of traditional role performance—cooking, cleaning, and caring.

The image of woman as homemaker hit commercial proportions in the 1920s with the advent of canned goods and electrical appliances (Friedman, 1977). These industries, as well as women's magazines and advertising, all depended on keeping women in the home, fulfilling their female roles as consumers. Moreover, Komisar found that advertising projected the image of a woman as a housewife who took laundry instructions from male voice-over authority figures, who presumably had never washed their own clothes (1971, as cited in Friedman, 1977).

Krassner discussed 11 sexist commercials aired during the TV special, *A Woman's Place*, a program whose purpose was to expose the evil of role conditioning. These commercials showed men as doctors and professional chefs, while housewives brewed coffee and did the laundry (1973, as cited in Friedman, 1977). Myers (1983) concluded that, in general, women were stereotyped in similar ways and unified by their common interests in beauty, youth, the family, home, and relationships.

The rise in the number of working women has created a cultural shift in U.S. society during the 1990s. Jaffe and Berger (1994) stated that advertisers created two modern images of women to respond to these changes. The *superwoman image* and the *egalitarian image* portrayed a woman managing both job and home well, with her husband sharing the household chores. Analysis of advertising effectiveness among 140 married adult women revealed that the egalitarian portrayal is the most effective portrayal among many segments of the female market. Klassen, Jasper, and Schwartz (1993) also noted that advertisers who are sensitive to the way men and women are portrayed and

show both men and women in "equality poses" may be more competitive than those who are not sensitive to the issue.

Servant. Female stereotypes had cast women as the servant, whether as the server of food and drink, the store clerk, the housecleaner, the teacher-as-governess, the nurse, the secretary, or the unwilling sex partner. Such concepts of a woman's place restricted horizons for all females. These concepts were so influential that when women worked outside the home, they most often did "lesser-paying women's work" rather than "higher-paying men's work." If an occasional young woman aspired to a nontraditional job such as plumbing or driving a bulldozer, society often succeeded in squelching such an unheard-of and unfeminine aspiration (Sorrels, 1983).

In the studies of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, in 1974, women were shown in only 12% of the advertisements that showed people working. Their typical occupations were clerk, stewardess, entertainer, and teacher (1975, as cited in Friedman, 1977). In addition, popular advertising copy was analyzed in Webb's text as a brief history of capitalism. With the advent of a consumption culture women's function became limited to certain roles: secretary, sexpot, spender, sow, civic actor, and sickie (1970, as cited in Friedman, 1977). Teitz argued that, therefore, active women in powerful or exciting careers were rarely visible in the media. Instead, advertising offered a disproportionate number of ecstatic housewives who "find fulfillment in the sparkle of dishes and the dazzle of linens" (1972, as cited in Friedman, 1977, p. 60). In fact, Foster noted, almost half the female population older than 16 worked in the job market, and yet TV commercials still featured working women only in roles of entertainer, secretary or

waitress, while the 21 million working wives were not reflected realistically (1971, as cited in Friedman, 1977).

A content analysis of 729 magazine ads, by Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) revealed that 45% of the advertisements picturing men and 9% of the advertisements picturing women featured the subjects in working roles. None of the working women were portrayed as a business executive or professional. Women were most often seen in the recreational company of men. In advertisements, women rarely smoked, drank, traveled, drove cars, or used banks unless accompanied by men. Women, without men, were usually decorations, sitting on cars.

Comparing a later 1974 study with Courtney and Lockeretz revealed little change. Advertising's portrayals of women still dealt with personal appearances and household matters, while men still showed concerns with durable goods purchases and complex decisions. Women were conspicuously absent from the professions of lawyers, doctors, engineers, or judges and remained concentrated in kitchens and bathrooms (Friedman, 1977). Belkaoui and Belkaoui's (1976) follow-up study also resulted in the same conclusion—advertising did not keep up with the times in portraying women in the wide variety of roles they played in the world.

The truth is, even after decades, stereotyping had still changed insignificantly. Synnott's (1988) content analysis of advertisements in the *New York Times* found that 91% of women were portrayed as neither working nor as physically active. In fact, although more than 50% of adult women in America worked in the labor force and constituted more than one-third of the labor force, they were almost completely ignored.

Only 2 out of the 32 females in these ads were displayed working. Advertising stereotypes had not changed since the Courtney and Lockeretz's (1971) study.

Sex object. Featuring the sexuality of the woman is a common tactic of media presentations. For example, advertisements feature a woman's panty hose and stockings as she dances and flourishes to expose one of the man's favorite parts of a woman's body—her legs—a move accomplished with short shorts and skirts. Other advertisements featured some of the other favorite parts of a woman's body, using tight sweaters and T-shirts, low-cut dresses and blouses, and tight jeans and slacks (Sorrels, 1983).

Gagnard (1989) examined photos of 1,327 models featured in women's magazine advertisements from the 1950s to the 1980s. The findings showed that the proportion of thin models had increased each decade since the 1950s, reaching a high of 46% in the 1980s. The incidence of overweight and obese models decreased with each decade, from a high of 12% in the 1950s to a low of 3% in the 1980s. It was found that women's magazines had placed increasing emphasis on the desirability of a thin physique in women, who should be considered attractive or successful. Apparently, women's magazine advertising in the 1980s served "a diet of unrealistically thin ideals" (Gagnard, 1989, p. 262). In the case of young women, who constituted the majority of eating disorder victims and had been shown to be media-conscious, advertising's contribution to the sociocultural milieu was not a healthy one.

Evidence suggests that the media portray women in terms of certain features of physical appearance—cues such as thinness and femininity by which females are

identified in society. Synnott's (1988) content analysis of advertisements in the *New York Times* found that the emphasis on female beauty had three essential dimensions—the beauty of the face, the body, and the dress. Women were often portrayed in a state of semi-undress or with a considerable proportion of their body displayed. Images of women in swimsuits, bra and panties, or see-through clothing produced the equation "woman equals body."

Covers and photos in women's magazines often featured young, thin, and charming models—the thinness myth and female sexuality were implied—as attractive and successful women. Watkins (1996) examined 79 women pictured in magazines in positions of authority and responsibility in the workplace. The findings showed that the main factors of these portrayals of successful women were clothing styles and figure. Women wore formal office attire with bright colors. They were not fashion-model thin, but they were certainly not overweight. They were smiling and tended to be fairly young. This study concluded that there was a "common idiom" of visual appearance cues that signified the status of professionally powerful women. Through appearance, they confirmed their self-identity and indicated that they were to be taken seriously.

For a long time, advertising has emphasized female bodies and beauty images. Beauty-care products targeting women have conveyed the beautiful and young features by which women should obey the stereotypical rules universally. In Komisar's text, advertising projected the image of women as sex objects who bought sleek, shining pens in order to feel prettier (1971, as cited in Friedman, 1977). Densmore also argued that the shimmering, magical beauty promised by hypnotic cosmetics advertising did little

more than imprison women in a limited appearance. Women who became mannequin-like objects of beauty were rarely taken seriously because they were too pretty to be smart (1972, as cited in Friedman, 1977).

Researchers have long been accusing the media of presenting young, beautiful females in order to shape people's attitudes. As Sontag found in advertising promotion, the standards of beauty dictated youth as the acceptable age among women (1972, as cited in Friedman, 1977). McGhee found that TV commercials place little emphasis on brains. Men reacted not to reason, but to slinky, sultry, and sexy objects. The objects were women who hid their brains, emphasized their bodies, and encouraged other women to attract men by flashing teeth that glimmer like neon. Although men were sometimes treated as objects in order to sell hair tonic or deodorant, it was women who were most encouraged to worry about appearance (1974, as cited in Friedman, 1977).

Fear and anxiety about getting old and ugly were most used by advertisers to scare women who had been educated to be forever young and charming. A 1971 survey revealed that 11.6% of the advertisements played on women's anxieties about appearance, while only 0.5% showed the same theme for men. Stereotypes had detrimental effects on women by giving them false insecurities about themselves and their abilities (Friedman, 1977).

Sorrels (1983) argued that sales messages epitomized the sex-object status of women. The beautiful, curvaceous, nude or near-nude, dumb blonde, silent, fawning, and serving female appeared in advertisements for products from automobiles and cigars to

radio and beer. Rarely did she play an integral part in the story line. She only appeared to be viewed, a role that deliberately shrouded her humanness, mentality, and character.

As for airline advertising, advertisers tended to emphasize the sexual images of stewardesses as beautiful, exotic females, rather than their professional values. Kane argued that Madison Avenue was credited with having created the flight attendant's geisha girl image of exotic subservience. The sexual invitations implicit in airline advertisements gave male passengers supposed licenses to grab at their bodies and otherwise harass them during the flight (1974, as cited in Friedman, 1977). Similarly, Friedman (1977) criticized the Madison Avenue brand of pimping, suggesting that airline stewardesses were hired to perform the "air strip to make you feel good all over and to be flown" (p. 68). Real stewardesses, however, nursed epileptics, calmed psychotics, and delivered babies more often than they delivered sex.

Research on women in print advertisements has shown that pictures of women's bodies and body parts, depicting *body-isms*, appear more often than pictures of men's bodies. Men's faces portraying *face-isms*, are photographed more often than their bodies. Iijima Hall and Crum's (1994) study confirmed that in TV commercials, the body-isms of women significantly outnumbered the body-isms of men in beer commercials. Women appeared in swimwear more often than men, thus increasing the photo opportunities for body-isms.

Soley and Kurzbard (1986) conducted a content analysis of sexual portrayals in magazine advertisements during 1964 and 1984. The results showed that the percentage of advertisements with sexual content did not increase over the 20-year period, but that

the types of sexual portrayals did. Sexual illustrations became more overt. It was also found that female models were more likely to be portrayed as sexually clad, partially clad, or nude than were males. Female stereotypes as sex objects, furthermore, seem consistent even through decades. It is disappointing to report that advertising portrayals of women in traditional roles or with more attention to sexuality had remained constant from 1975 to 1995 (Miller, 1997).

Emotional, unintelligent creature. A large body of associated communications feature female stereotypes as more emotional and less intelligent than males. In truth, research showed that females and males differ little, if at all, in the emotional and intellectual characteristics that define human beings. Synnott's (1988) content analysis of advertisements in the *New York Times* concluded that 28% of the advertisements displayed women as somehow not normal: "extremely aggressive, crazy, exposing themselves in public or, in a word, upside-down" (p. 442). Besides, in the studies of Unitarian Universalist Association, the monitoring of images of women in TV commercials revealed that when compared to men, women were less likely to be portrayed as self-assured, and more often seen nagging, complaining, or exhibiting foolish behavior (1976, as cited in Friedman, 1977).

Courtney and Whipple's findings of four studies were compared in terms of the sex of voice-overs, sex of product representative, occupations portrayed by sex, and average age per sex. The results indicated that women were not portrayed as autonomous, independent human beings. Advertising's portrayal of women was lagging far behind the real change in women's roles (1974, as cited in Friedman, 1977). Reed (1989) concluded

that women were not featured as whole, well-rounded people. They were either bitchy or child-like; often on the screen women had emotional tantrums to get what they wanted from a man. Women on television were not shown as strong or decisive; rather, the few in strong roles were depicted as cunning.

Furthermore, fear of age, germ phobia, masochism, and sexual insecurity were so exaggerated by advertising that they were no longer considered examples of human insecurity, but had become regarded as typically female neuroses. Further, advertisements raised consciousness as they showed women being judged by appearance and the whiteness of their wash while men were being judged by their brains. Language further insulted women when they were called *chick*, *tomato*, and other endearments of the fruit, vegetable, or animal persuasion. Typical dialogue in commercial films implied that women were brainless, while literature portrayed the female sex as *fallen* (Friedman, 1977). Friedman (1977) even pointed out that the reality gap between advertisers and consumers was proven when studies proved that women were better drivers than men.

A 1971 study conducted by NOW on 1,241 commercials found that in 42.6% of women in these advertisements were involved in household tasks, 37.5% were domestic adjuncts to men, and 16.7% were sex objects, while 0.3% were portrayed as autonomous people leading independent lives. Women were rarely given advertising credibility—89% of authoritative voice-overs were male (Friedman, 1977).

Decades after the fight for women's rights was reinitiated in the 1960s, reality still reveals a disappointing number of high-level positions in society held by women. As covered on the *Spartan Daily*, the 1998 NOW conference held in San Jose claimed,

“When we have a governor who thinks black women are welfare queens... when we have women working in Third World countries for Silicon Valley companies at shameful wages and girls starving themselves to fit some middle-class white men’s idea of beauty... we have not won” (Shaw, 1998, p. 6).

Male Stereotypes in the U.S. Media

Doyle (1985) suggested that most women would argue that men already have it all—the *it* being the three P's of power, position, and privilege. Few people deny that men have the advantage when it comes to many of the elements that women have been working for so fervently for the past hundred years or more. However, according to Sorrels (1983), communication patterns also cast males in stereotypes on the basis of sex, and this unfortunately forms the opposites of the stereotypes for females. Thus, if the woman serves as a homemaker, the man must work outside the home. If the woman acts as a servant and sex object, then the man must be the benefactor of those two states. If the woman works in low-paying jobs, the man must work in high-paying jobs. If the woman exhibits weakness and passivity, the man must exhibit strength and aggressiveness. If the woman follows, the man must lead.

Generalizations, in essence, introduce unfairness to both men and women. The stereotype of the *male chauvinist pig* includes men who are not chauvinistic. The overwhelming list includes sports nuts, automobile buffs, garbage carriers, fix-it people, furniture movers, gun collectors, financial wizards, family burden bearers, tire changers, decision makers, protectors, never-crying rocks of control, stern taskmasters, disciplinarians, virile lovers, heads of households, rugged outdoors people, community

leaders, mechanics, yard workers, winners at all games, competitors, executive types, professionals, mental giants, all-Americans, tall and handsome woman-killers, hunters, well-heeled gift givers, military geniuses, witty entertainers, etc. The sexism of communication roles provides difficulties for men as well as women (Sorrels, 1983; Tao, 1991).

Men star more often on television, sell more records, make more movies, and get greater financial rewards (Lindsey, 1990). But the price of this popularity is that men, too, must succumb to images that are less than realistic. From the media's standpoint, a man is a breadwinner who cheats on his wife, has no idea how to use a vacuum cleaner or an oven, is manipulated by his children, and uses brute force to solve problems.

Brannon intuitively grouped the male's gender norms into four categories:

1. No Sissy Stuff: The stigma of all stereotyped feminine characteristics and qualities, including openness and vulnerability.
2. The Big Wheel: Success, status, and the need to be admired.
3. The Sturdy Oak: A manly air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance.
4. Give Them Hell: The aura of aggression, violence, and daring.

Later on, a fifth element, the sexual element, had been added to Brannon's normative categories (1976, as cited in Doyle, 1985).

Anti-feminine element. Males are admonished never to act in any way that may be interpreted as feminine. Doyle (1985) pointed out that the anti-feminine element is basic to the male's gender norm. If women are considered as too emotional, dependent, or

nonassertive, men must be the opposite to prove them manly or masculine in the ideal sense.

Lindsey (1990) argued that although women have increased their activities outside the home, advertising has assumed that men have not taken on additional family roles. They are still inept in the kitchen and cannot fathom the habits of a newborn infant. Despite a trend that shows more males in other than wage-earning positions, advertisers prefer to associate men with entertainment and sports rather than in the home. Besides, Friedman (1977) also cited that masculinity is defined by Marlboro cigarette advertising, showing an image of the Marlboro Man, whose clothes, habits, and face represent the sculptured, cragged, and rugged environment in which he roams.

Success element. Being number one or the best is another male prescription and is referred to the success element. Males had found that they should prove their manhood by doing better than others do at work, sports, or whatever else men do. Men seemingly strive in countless ways to outdo others and by doing so prove themselves manlier than others. There are many ways a man can show himself to be a success, for example, by having a bigger office, a bigger car, a prettier woman on his arm, or even by being able to out drink another. As Doyle (1985) noted, it is not surprising that many men measure their success in terms of the size of their paychecks. Money or, better yet, the amount of money a man earns seems a convenient, easily quantifiable measure of both his success and his manhood.

Men are mostly in charge of women as bosses (Sorrels, 1983). When compared to women, according to Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976) and Lindsey (1990), men are viewed

as more mature, less foolish, and more successful in prime time TV commercials, particularly since men are primarily shown in prestigious, higher income positions.

Aggressive element. Men are expected to fight for what they consider to be right. Down through the centuries, males have been pictured as naturally more aggressive than females. Research finds that most males prefer to use force as a way of dealing with public disturbances rather than nonviolent, or what many men think of as *feminine*, behavior (Doyle, 1985).

Men are portrayed as tough, aggressive, competitive, and unemotional animal (Sorrels, 1983). Kupers and Letich (1995) quoted that the *male mystique* was spawned in the early days of the modern age. It combined Francis Bacon's idea that "knowledge is power" and Adam Smith's view that the highest good is "the individual exerting himself to his own advantage" (p. 177). Concepts of the survival of the fittest and the ethic of efficiency further solidified this power-oriented, individualistic ideology. The ideal man was no longer the wise farmer, but rather the most successful man-eater in the Darwinian corporate jungle.

The most tragic aspect is, as the male mystique creates the modern power elite, that it destroys male friendship and bonding. The male mystique teaches that the successful man is competitive, uncaring, and unloving. It celebrates the ethic of isolation—it turns men permanently against each other in the tooth-and-claw world of making a living. As the Ivan Boesky type character in the movie *Wall Street* told his young apprentice, "If you need a friend, get a dog" (Kupers & Letich, 1995, p. 177).

Farrell also found that television, radio, and newspapers reinforce and encourage violence as a primary masculine value. The media equates masculinity with conflict power, and ultimately, war, rather than with more positive traits such as human cooperation and care (1974, as cited in Friedman, 1977).

Sexual element. Doyle (1985) noted that sexual conquest is for many males one of the strongest proofs of manhood. Many men see themselves as the initiators of sex; whereas most females define themselves in terms of being objects of sexual advances. For both sexes, sexual knowledge, sexual attitudes, and sexual activities play an integral part in their self-concepts. However, the "male-as-sexual initiator or controller" is a most important norm for males to live up to.

Often times, men are presented in the media as tall, dark, and handsome, with women in awe and available at the snap of a finger (Sorrels, 1983). Goodman argued that the media fantasies of masculinity, particularly in advertising and cinema, involved sexual slogans for after-shave and nearly pornographic packaging of products. The advertising fantasy became personified in movies by John Wayne and James Bond types (1975, as cited in Friedman, 1977). Films did contribute to men being viewed as sex objects, but they were at least shown as more multifaceted than women were. As cited in Lindsey (1990), the hard living, tough guy portrayals of actors like John Wayne, Clint Eastwood, and Charles Bronson are contrasted with "antiheroes and soulful ethics" like Al Pacino, Dustin Hoffman, and Robert DeNiro.

Self-reliant element. Doyle (1985) stated that males must be cool, unflappable, in control, and tough, in other words, self-reliant in most situations. Every male feels the

pressures to be, or rather, to act as if he is in control of himself and of whatever situation he finds himself in. It was found that a visible tattoo, leather, the aloof cowboy, horses, wilderness, and other symbols of masculinity help create a masculine aura in cigarette advertising. Automobile ads project an equally masculine, though slightly less independent image of men. The man who buys cars is more often seen with the burden of responsibility—a dependent woman leans on him. The image of masculinity strengthened by a parasitic wife operates even more blatantly in life insurance ads in which men are responsible for wives even after death (Friedman, 1977).

According to De Voe (1984), advertising restricts men in their identity as human beings. Males are accepted by society if they appear virile and successful and receive contempt if they choose a role that is stereotyped as being female oriented. These male roles create an appearance of aggressiveness, confidence, ambitiousness, and independence to name a few.

In sum, the views of male roles are conceptually defined as male stereotypes, which are revolved in the roles of (a) homeowner and sports lover; (b) boss; (c) sexual initiator; and (d) tough, aggressive animal. For example, magazines aimed at men focus on themes of sexuality: *Playboy*, sports: *Field and Stream*, and daring: *Road and Track* (Basow, 1986).

The media often portray boys playing with footballs and cars, learning to construct a birdhouse, helping daddy change the automobile oil. Men are cast in traditional jobs, coming home from work and being greeted by a wife with the meal on the table (Sorrels,

1983). Advertising defines men as wage earners. He functions as a wage earner in death as in life, hence, the absolute necessity for large insurance premiums (Friedman, 1977).

Cinematic images of masculinity, according to Basow (1986), have held strongly to the gender stereotypes. Whereas the realms of domesticity and sexual allure have been reserved for women, the realms of aggression, as in Westerns, war movies, and gangster movies, and of moral superiority and intelligence, as in detective and mystery movies, have been reserved for men. The overemphasis on violence and the depiction of superficial sexual encounters as the norm have tended to distort men's human characteristics.

Mellen argued that men, like Clint Eastwood and Charles Bronson, in some 1970s films were even more violent and brutal than were their predecessors in older films (1978, as cited in Basow, 1986). Lindsey (1990) concluded from this that films released solely for the sake of violence do exist. Both heroes and villains are violent, and more violence is needed to end the violence. The kill and maim plots of films like *Death Wish*, *Halloween*, or *Friday the Thirteenth* attest to the belief that revenge and violence in a good cause are acceptable. Males who do not agree with this formula are viewed as unfit and are often labeled as wimps or nerds.

Feminism in Taiwan

Modern feminism in Taiwan mainly derived from the *new feminism*, which was advocated by the second wave of the U.S. women's movement in the 1960s. Chou and Jiang (1989) profiled three stages in the development of Taiwanese feminism: (a) government and the women's movement (before 1970), (b) Shiow-Lian Leu and the

women's movement (1970 to 1980), and (c) Yuan-Jen Lee and the women's movement (1982 to 1987). Wong added a fourth stage: feminism after the lifting of martial law in 1987 (1992, as cited in Lay, 1994). In essence, the year 1987 is regarded as a milestone for social movements in Taiwanese history. Feminism in Taiwan had slowly progressed before the lifting of martial law; however, a trend called *woman power* started to arise after 1987 due to a more open-minded society in Taiwan.

Established in 1912, Taiwan, the Republic of China, had in its constitution assigned equal rights to people regardless of gender, age, race, class, or party. However, traditional Chinese Confucianism had taught people that "all Chinese are *men*," and since ancient times had considered the king, the husband, the father, and the son without any mention of the queen, the wife, the mother, and the daughter.

The first stage of feminism in Taiwan, according to Chou and Jiang (1989), was involved in the relationships between the Taiwanese government and the women's movement before 1970. After the defeat of Japanese imperialists in 1945, Taiwan gained its autonomy. The Jeang family, leaders of Taiwan, adopted a top-down method of governing Taiwanese society, forbidding social movements before the lifting of martial law in 1987. Taiwanese governors developed social policies and established the Bureau of Central Women's Work (BCWW) in 1953 as a governmental resource for women. The supervisor of BCWW, Mrs. Jeang, insisted that "*Work* and *movement* are different. Movement is temporary, but work is permanent. Women should contribute to the society by working" (Chou & Jiang, 1989, p. 81). However, these policies were not implemented to raise women's consciousness but to educate women about "the career of homemakers

and assistants" and about the male-dominated ideologies of Chinese Confucianism (Lay, 1994). Therefore, the BCWW is defined as a *traditional* women's organization in Taiwan.

Shiow-Lian Leu was the first feminist to formally initiate modern feminism in Taiwan. She brought the Taiwanese women's movement to a new stage in the 1970s. She received her higher education in the United States and embraced the New Feminism, influenced by the second women's movement in the United States. After returning to Taiwan in 1971, Leu started to publish feminist books and address three main concepts (Chou & Jiang, 1989; Hsu, 1991; Lay, 1994). First, "Be a human being, then, be a man or a woman"; this emphasized that both men and women have equal rights and the same obligations. Second, "Be what you like to be"; this claimed that both men and women should play their roles well. Third, "Contribute to the society by utilizing personal intelligence"; this argued that everybody should compete and develop personal achievements based on human equality.

In fact, Leu's New Feminism essentially stemmed from Taiwanese social movements. Politically, the New Feminism was a countermove to the Jeang's top-down method of social control and the king-husband-only concept in society. On a personal level, the New Feminism was a movement against male dominance and the father-son-only bias in the family. Along with presenting her basic arguments, Leu also held creative events and productive projects to advocate her New Feminism in Taiwan.

Leu's New Feminism promoting gender equality, however, was seen as a taboo in the 1970s because it was part of the political movement called the Trial Formosa (Hsu,

1991). By the 1970s, Taiwanese people were concerned that feminism would ruin the social web and have an impact on the Confucian philosophy—that held that males and females should be treated differently. Besides, the establishment of a formal female organization was not allowed under the regulations of the martial law. In 1979, Leu was arrested in the riot of the Trial Formosa, and the women's movement failed due to the conservative social style, the government's constraints, and internal financial problems (Chou & Jiang, 1989).

Yuan-Jen Lee was the second feminist in Taiwan; she followed Leu's footsteps and promoted the Taiwanese Feminism in the 1980s as a follow-up to the New Feminism. She had personally experienced a divorce and felt strongly about social oppression of traditional women in Taiwan. In 1982, Lee established the *Awakening Magazine* for the purpose of "waking women, supporting women, and achieving sexual equality in society" (Chou & Jiang, 1989, p. 85). In order to avoid political involvement, she adopted a much more conservative way of advocating feminism and focused on localization of the Taiwanese women's movement. Although people were still sensitive about feminism under the martial law, Leu's New Feminism had helped to open up the Taiwanese society and to free women into a fuller consciousness. It was under better conditions, then, that in the 1980s Lee consolidated efforts to raise women's consciousness.

Awakening Foundation, established by Lee in 1987 to promote sexual equality, is a landmark of the women's movement in Taiwan (Chou & Jiang, 1989). Hsu (1991) pointed out that the lifting of martial law on 15 July, 1987 contributed not only to political liberalization but also to cultural and social liberalization in Taiwan—for

example, with the ease of press restriction. On one hand, social-oriented women's organizations, such as Homemaker's Union and Foundation for protecting the environment, Warm Life Association for helping divorced women and widows, and Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation for preventing teenage prostitution and sale, all appeared in 1988. On the other hand, academy-oriented women's groups such as Women's Studies at the Demographic Center (1985) and the Women's Information Center (1989), which provided data on women's studies, were also established (Hsu, 1991). During this stage, women's organizations were concentrating on raising female self-consciousness, holding events such as workshops, seminars, and marches, and developing propaganda in order to achieve their *issue-oriented* missions (Chou & Jiang, 1989; Lay, 1994). This stage showed an effective improvement of women's rights in Taiwan.

By 1985, the National Taiwan University was financially supported by the Asian Association and started the Women's Studies Program at the Demographic Center, which was established to undertake subject-integrated research. Studies regarding women's issues in sociology, psychology, and economics began to increase in number. Through speeches, workshops, summer seminars, and publications, the women's studies program educated the public about "positive knowledge and fair perceptions" toward Taiwanese females, and it also attempted to make suggestions to the legislators about social policies affecting women (Chou & Jiang, 1989).

Feminism started to thrive in Taiwan after the lifting of martial law and the decline of the Jeang family. Publicly, the women's movement had tried hard to put women on the front line of the competitive world; however, career women were still privately

responsible for the entire task of housekeeping. Therefore, after decades of fighting for Taiwanese women's rights, one of the senior feminists, Yuh-Shiow Liou, argued that the major work of modern feminism is to take men and country into account—educating men and country to be responsible for caring and nursing is the objective for the next stage of the women's movement in Taiwan.

In the field of mass media research, women's studies are categorized in terms of advertising, performing arts, and journalism (Chou, 1991). Researchers of cultural studies had worked to decode media messages as reflections of society and had challenged gender roles in culture. After 1985, feminists had also held formal workshops to raise awareness of the New Feminism and women's issues (Chou & Jiang, 1989). In the long run, the women's movement will emphasize civil education as a starting point for promoting sexual equality. Moreover, enhancing professional women's studies and women's involvement in politics will be feminists' major jobs during the next stage of increasing women's power in Taiwan.

Female Stereotypes in Taiwanese Media

Research on women's issues in the media started to appear in Taiwan after the initiation of Leu's New Feminism in 1971. Although feminism did stimulate Taiwanese society and affect women's perceptions about themselves, females in the 1970s were still standing between traditional and modern social values. Chang (1977) conducted a quantitative study, selecting college females as subjects to analyze their communication behavior, habits of media use, and changes in traditional roles. The findings showed that female students would like to be in charge of their relationships and take equal rights in

marriage, but that they still valued the career of homemaker over professional careers. In addition, it was found that print media had more power than did broadcast media to influence women's opinions about marriage, children's education, and marital role playing. Females who read newspapers and magazines embraced more modern values.

Luo (1981) defined the most powerful medium as the newspaper. She analyzed the column "Women's Mailbox" in the *Union Daily* in 1966 and 1980, and found that it reflected changes in female values in society. Analysis of letters to the editor and the columnists' feedback, however, found that the "Women's Mailbox" actually emphasized homemaker issues. The newspaper was accused of stereotyping female images in a traditional scope.

The 1970s and 1980s were a crucial time, in which women's status quo was overwhelmingly changed. Taiwan had made progress in the 30 years after the Second World War. Women started gaining higher education, personal business ownership, financial power, and political status. Niou (1981) selected 45 soap operas and coded 90 portrayals on television to see how the media reflect women's roles in culture. The results ironically showed that women were mostly depicted as passive, obedient, ignorant, and unintelligent creatures. In these portrayals, women were found to rely on men, to work as servants, and to be less than well educated. The media failed to function as a tool to represent actual perceptions for the public.

Advertising as a mirror of the times is a social guide to our society. In 1987, according to Hsu (1991), the seminar on Modern Women's Favorite Advertisements listed five offensive female images as: (a) nude or exposing breast and limbs; (b) vain,

concerned only about physical beauty; (c) stupid, short sighted, tempted by small gains, and often instructed by men; (d) suitable for home; and (e) submissive. However, as Yang (1988) found, advertising in the late 1980s played a role both for enhancing traditional gender images and for leading modern trends. Women lit up for men in cigarette ads; whereas mothers did housekeeping in appliance commercials. In essence, the 1980s showed a key turning point in Taiwanese society, where modern social values were still progressing.

There was a boom of women's studies after the lifting of martial law in 1987, and media research on women's issues also started growing in the 1990s. Tao (1991) claimed that magazine advertisements were the most powerful tool to impact audiences effectively. She conducted a content analysis on gender stereotypes in 1,337 magazine advertisements from 1981 to 1990. It was found that beauties were the favorites of both the advertisers and the audience. Women were less often depicted as homemakers, while the number of women decorated to sell products without having actual functions were increasing year by year. Portraying female nudity and servants in advertising was found to show disrespect. Amazingly, it was women's magazines that most often stereotyped female images and devalued women's roles.

Huang argued that agenda setting in women's magazines simply teaches women the skills of "promoting yourselves to men" (1992, as cited in Lay, 1994, p. 4). Issues like fashion, beauty, celebrity, and shopping had trained women to be consumers; by buying and reading magazines, however, females became objects being consumed by men.

Lay (1994) analyzed the 25-year-old *Women's Magazine* and tried to find the relationships between women's magazines and women's values. It was found that coverage of laws, politics, and society had increased in magazine editorials. Besides, the recent *Women's Magazine* portraying females in a positive way had urged women to develop self-esteem. In general, issues before 1970 still embraced male-dominated ideologies, while the issues after 1971 had brought more diversity.

Gender stereotypes, on the other hand, seemed more traditional in TV commercials. Wang (1991) conducted a content analysis on gender roles in 190 TV commercials and found that both male and female images were heavily stereotyped. Women were younger than men, appeared mostly in home settings, and were presented as lower-level workers. Even the commercials defined as *non-stereotypical* potentially implied that a wife is supposed to be passive, dependent, and obedient as a traditional woman. Namely, TV commercials contributed not to creating new gender roles but to inheriting and consolidating traditional stereotypes.

Gu (1991) analyzed 15 TV commercials for three major types of female portrayals: (a) women with no ego in the male-dominated society, (b) self-limited career women, and (c) women as sex objects of men. These commercials glamorized the role of homemakers by creating the illusion of "a happy family with a perfect couple" (p. 156). Women could only express themselves if they did not jeopardize men's superiority. Moreover, portraying sweet, sexy beauties had put men in the active role as observers, while women were in the passive role, being observed.

Hsu (1997) claimed that airline advertising that presents the female image as pretty, young, charming, and pleasant stewardesses helps sell the company brands. Stewardesses' bodies, in uniforms and high-heels, were presented as *alive advertising* flowing in the airplanes and airports. Stewardesses became products to be promoted and sold by the market, the society, and the culture.

From the journalism perspective, Chou (1991) conducted a case study on the controversial newspaper coverage of Shiao-Dan Hsu's nudity art. In 1988, the dancer Ms. Hsu announced a nude performance to show her passion for art. Later on, she bared her breasts when auditing in the Congress to protest and was arrested. From Chou's (1991) findings, the media covering the controversial agenda of "Hsu's art or erotica" implied that female nudity is illegal, unreasonable, negative, and harmful for the society. And it was the males who held the "sexual authority" to control females' bodies in social behaviors. The truth is, the so-called open, free space of performing arts or politics did not actually release power to women.

Popular culture is an especially big mirror of social values. Ke (1994) decoded the lyrics of Taiwanese popular songs and categorized four romantic relationships: (a) eagerness for love and eagerness to build relationships, (b) break-ups and missing the romantic partner, (c) social critiques on romantic love, and (d) non-romantic relationships. It was found that most popular songs portrayed females as males' sex objects, as obedient, sacrificial women with no ego, or as emotional singles. Apparently, the male-dominated ideologies did exist in popular culture.

A total of 226 Mandarin and 63 Taiwanese music videos were recorded by Wu (1995) during a 2-week period. Analyzing actresses' images in music videos in Taiwan, Wu found that women were portrayed in middle or lower classes, with middle or lower levels of education, and in lower-level jobs. They were portrayed as assistants, clerks, salespersons, or blue-collar workers. In the settings, women were receivers of antisocial behavior and victims of aggression initiated by men. They were young, well dressed, tender, dependent, weak, sad, and blue; they were waiting for men's care.

Male Stereotypes in Taiwanese Media

In Niou's (1981) text, 90 portrayals from 45 soap operas showed that men tended to have higher-level careers such as doctors, architects, engineers, musicians, and managers. Men were portrayed as independent, open, active, tough, and clever. Normally, they had higher education and more authority to take control over their lives and relationships than women did. Compared with stereotypes of females, this showed an apparent model of "Men are superior; women are inferior" (p. 96).

By applying semiotics, Su analyzed male images in cigarette advertising and found heroes and gentlemen are the dream roles of male audiences. The advertisers targeted men's values and created heroes—the perfect ego a man wants to represent (1989, as cited in Renn, 1996). Chang (1991) also noted that identifying audiences' self-awareness with the brand images helps sell products. This is the core of marketing.

Tao's (1991) study found that male stereotypes suggest that men are supposed to be strong, aggressive, handsome, and superior to women. However, men were not born to be like this, according to Wang (1998). It takes a long, complicated process of

socialization to foster a man's masculinity. Magazine advertisements using female bodies to attract males devalued men as slaves to their own satyriasis, men who care about sexuality only (Tao, 1991). The male stereotypes also showed unfair treatment of men in society. Wu (1995) noted that in music videos, men were always depicted as initiators of physical attacks on women, and males were portrayed as somehow possessing the superiority in romantic relationships. The unfair portrayals in media stereotypes had caused barriers to both genders.

Semiotics

Berger (1995) defined semiotics as, literally speaking, the science of signs. The word semiotics comes from the Greek root semeion, or sign, and is used to describe a systematic attempt to understand what signs are and how they function. Semiotics is associated with the work of Charles Sanders Peirce and the semiology of Ferdinand Saussure. As cited in Berger (1995), Peirce defined three kinds of signs—icons, indexes, and symbols. Saussure suggested that signs are made of two parts: a *signifier*, like sound, object, and image, and a *signified* concept.

Semiotics and semiology focus our attention on how people generate meanings—in their use of language, behavior, and creative texts of all kinds (Berger, 1995). What semiotics and semiology do is provide us with more refined and sophisticated ways of interpreting messages—and of sending them. In particular, they provide us with methods of analyzing texts in cultures and analyzing cultures as texts. From a semiotic perspective, stereotyping in the text of media can be seen as a distorted form of synecdoche, in which a part stands for a whole. And it is noteworthy that many

stereotypes are based on visible phenomena and are applied to groups that are distinctive in one way or another and have easily recognizable identities.

Chapter 3

Method

Selection of the Research Approach

Content analysis was used in this cross-cultural study. According to Kerlinger (1986, as cited in Wimmer & Dominick, 1991), content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. Babbie (1998) concluded that content analysis is particularly well suited to answering the classic question of communication research: "Who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect" (p. 309). An increasing number of content analyses have focused on exploring the media images of certain minority or notable groups, such as women, gender roles, and racial groups (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991). Content analysis has also been widely used to measure how culture impacts advertising in mass communication strategies (Hsiung, 1997). In this study, the researcher chose the unit of analysis as male/female models portrayed in magazine advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1988 and 1998. Semiotics was also utilized to examine role-playing.

Selection of the Countries

There were few cross-cultural studies of the United States and Taiwan in mass media research (Hsiung, 1997). Gender stereotypes in the media have been under heavy scrutiny since the U.S. feminism revived in the 1960s. However, the number of studies regarding gender issues in the Taiwanese media was not comparable to U.S. research because women's studies had not matured yet in Taiwan. Comparisons of media

portrayals in the United States and Taiwan were even fewer. Therefore, this cross-cultural study was valuable for literature in media research.

Selection of the Time Periods

The year 1998 was selected to bring up to date the information on the presence of gender stereotypes in magazine advertisements decades after the women's movements began in the 1960s. The year 1988 provided a 10-year range and was chosen to measure changes in gender stereotypes from 1988 to 1998 in both countries.

It is also noteworthy to examine Taiwanese media in 1988. Hsu (1991) stated that the late 1980s, from July 1987 to December 1989, is a critical period for studying Taiwan's culture and society because of the lifting of martial law, the boom of the women's movements, and the economic liberalization.

Selection of the Magazines

Magazines from the United States and Taiwan were selected based on parity of magazine types and target markets in both countries. Three categories of magazines were defined: (a) women's fashion, (b) business, and (c) general interest. The U.S. magazines were *Vogue* (women's fashion), *Fortune* (business), and *Newsweek* (general interest). The Taiwanese magazines were *ViVi* (women's fashion), *Common Wealth* (business), and *Global Views* (general interest).

Vogue and *ViVi* both dealt with women's fashion, targeting females ages 20 to 35. Features of fashion, health, beauty, entertainment, and celebrity news were geared toward working women who were economically independent and pursuing high quality of life.

The business magazines, *Fortune* and *Common Wealth*, targeted males and females ages 25 to 55 or older. Coverage on economic trends, technology, industry, management, and investment provided career people with in-depth business overviews.

Newsweek and *Global Views* covered general interests, such as politics, business, national and international affairs, lifestyle, society, the arts, health, and so on. Target audiences were mainly college-educated males and females ages 25 to 45 or older.

Sampling Methods

Vogue, *ViVi*, *Common Wealth*, and *Global Views* were monthly magazines.

Fortune was biweekly and *Newsweek* was weekly. In order to make them comparable for this study, a random sample of weekly and biweekly issues, equivalent to monthly issues, was made. To create a monthly sample, *Fortune*'s first issue of the month was coded for January, the second issue for February, the first issue for March, and so on. *Newsweek*'s first issue of the month was coded for January, the second issue for February, the third issue for March, and so on. Sample selections were rotated to obtain monthly issues through December 1988 and 1998, to ensure random sampling (De Voe, 1984; Hsiung, 1997). A total of 144 sample issues of magazines in 1988 and 1998 from the United States and Taiwan were collected.

The selected magazine advertisements were one full page or larger, and adult male or female models were clearly visible. Advertisements with cartoons, animated drawings, silhouettes, blurred images, children, teenagers, and fragmented human bodies were not coded (Hsiung, 1997; Miller, 1997; Tao, 1991). It was instructed to collect a random sample of 100 models, including males and females, in advertisements of each

type of magazine from the United States and Taiwan per year. For example, 100 male/female models were randomly selected from the 1998 issues of the business magazines *Fortune* and *Common Wealth*, and 100 male/female models were randomly selected from the 1988 issues of the women's fashion magazines *Vogue* and *ViVi*. By applying the pattern, including duplicate advertisements (Miller, 1997; Sengupta, 1995), a total sample size of 600 subject characters from the six magazines in both countries in 1988 and 1998 were randomly selected from the primary one or two male/female models in each magazine advertisement.

Hypotheses

In comparison of the gender stereotypes, five basic hypotheses were constructed to measure the statistical relationships between coding variables. The information from two countries, the United States and Taiwan, and two time periods, 1988 and 1998, was specified by each measurement of the data analysis when performing the chi-square test. The hypotheses regarding portrayals in magazine advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1988 and in 1998 were as follows:

1. The sex of the model (male/female) will be related to the type of role (working/non-working) portrayed.
2. There will be a significant relationship between the type of working role portrayed and the sex of the model.
3. There will be a significant relationship between the type of non-working role portrayed and the sex of the model.

4. Comparing cultural differences, there will be a significant relationship between the type of dress worn by women and the country (United States/Taiwan).
5. During a 10-year range, there will be a significant relationship between the type of dress worn by women and the year (1988/1998).

Research Questions

Based on the assumptions and expectations, this study aims to measure gender stereotypes in magazine advertisements in the United States and Taiwan by exploring the 11 research questions that follow:

1. In the United States and Taiwan, what type of role (working/non-working) was depicted more often by males in 1988? By females?
2. In the United States and Taiwan, what type of role (working/non-working) was depicted more often by males in 1998? By females?
3. In the United States and Taiwan, what working role was portrayed most often by males in 1988? By females?
4. In the United States and Taiwan, what working role was portrayed most often by males in 1998? By females?
5. In the United States and Taiwan, were more females portrayed in high-level business roles in 1998 than in 1988?
6. In the United States and Taiwan, what non-working role was portrayed most often by males in 1988? By females?
7. In the United States and Taiwan, what non-working role was portrayed most often by males in 1998? By females?

8. In the United States and Taiwan, were more males portrayed in decorative roles in 1998 than in 1988?
9. In the United States and Taiwan, what type of dress worn by women was shown most often in 1988? In 1998?
10. In 1988 and 1998, were more women wearing seductive dress in the United States than in Taiwan?
11. In the United States and Taiwan, were more women wearing seductive dress in 1998 than in 1988?

Category Construction

This study followed Hsiung's research design (1997) and duplicated coding categories derived from the research of Courtney and Lockeretz (1971), Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976), and Soley and Kurzbard (1986). Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) generated two coding categories: (a) working occupations and (b) non-working activities of men and women shown in magazine advertisements. Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976) did a follow-up study and made some changes to these coding systems. Specific definitions about working roles and non-working activities were supplied by De Voe (1984). The researcher adopted the previous studies and defined the models' working roles in magazine advertisements as follows:

1. High Level Business An individual portrayed as a high-ranking official in a business such as a president, vice president, controller, or operations manager.
2. Professional A model who was playing an expert in a field such as a nurse, chef, doctor, dentist, or a newscaster.

3. Entertainment, Sports A famous individual from the performing arts (theater, TV, music) or sports world (tennis, football, baseball) who promotes a product.
4. Middle Level Business A model who was portraying the local grocer, a sales clerk, or an insurance agent.
5. Non Professional White Collar A model representing a service role, such as a secretarial or clerical job.
6. Blue Collar Labor An individual who performed manual labor, such as a ranch hand, a construction worker, or an oil rig worker.
7. Civil Service An individual in public service such as a fire fighter, a police officer, a paramedic, or a representative of the military, etc.

To determine models' non-working activities in magazine advertisements, the researcher adopted suggestions from De Voe (1984) and Sengupta (1995) and added the category *At Home*, which made sense about models' location. The researcher described the models' non-working activities in the magazine advertisements as follows:

1. Family/At Home An individual depicted as a wife/husband, mother/father, grandmother/grandfather, or a daughter/son. The model is at home doing "housewifely tasks" such as cooking, cleaning, childcare, relaxing, and personal beautification.
2. Recreational An individual depicted as participating in fishing, hiking, swimming, jogging, or camping as recreational activities.
3. Decorative An individual appearing only as an adornment to an object. For

example, a person whose main function was to admire a model's outfit was considered to be in a decorative role. The individual had no real function in the advertisement.

4. Other Activities other than the above.

A family member who was depicted in a recreational setting doing housewifely tasks—for example, a mother barbecuing when camping—would be coded under the *Family/At Home* category (De Voe, 1984; Hsiung, 1997).

Soley and Kurzbard (1986) examined sexuality in magazine advertisements and coded types of dress worn by models as *demure*, *suggestively clad*, *partially clad*, and *nude*. Hsiung (1997) changed *demure* into *typical dress*, since *demure* has a much narrower meaning than *typical*. She also added *can't tell* to the coding category and provided explanations for the type of dress worn by women in magazine advertisements. The researcher utilized their categories as follows:

1. Typical Dress Models wearing formal dress, like gowns that do not expose cleavage or back, casual dress like walking shorts, sportswear except swimsuits, loungewear, or company uniforms/work wear/suits.
2. Seductive
Dress Models wearing open blouses or shirts that expose chest areas, mini-skirts, "short shorts," tight clothing that accentuates the figure or middle inseam of trousers, full-length nontranslucent lingerie, evening gowns that expose cleavage or back, "muscle shirts," or hiked-up skirts exposing thighs.
3. Partially Clad Models wearing bathing suits, underapparel, and three-quarter

length or shorter nontranslucent lingerie; models portrayed in “close-up” shots in which the shoulders were bare or in photographs or illustrations of legs that included the thigh but displayed no clothing.

4. Nudity Unclothed bodies, or models wearing translucent underapparel or lingerie; “medium shots” in which the models displayed no clothing or had only a towel over their shoulders, and full shots where the model was unclad except for a towel.
5. Can’t tell It was difficult to tell the dress, as with advertisements depicting models' faces only.

Coding Levels

Models in the advertisements were coded at four levels. First, models were analyzed for the type of role (*working/non-working*) portrayed. Second, *working* models were coded for the seven types of working roles: *high-level business, professional, entertainment/sports, middle-level business, non-professional white-collar, blue-collar labor, and civil service*. Third, the classification scheme for *non-working* roles as *family/at home, recreational, decorative, and other* was used. Fourth, the five types of dress worn by women: *typical dress, seductive dress, partially clad, nudity, and can't tell* were identified with female portrayals. It was found that above 97% of the males were wearing *typical dress* and the clustered data were not valid for analysis; therefore, dress worn by male models was excluded in this study.

The Pilot Study and Intercoder Reliability

A pilot study had been conducted to calculate the intercoder reliability coefficient. Wimmer and Dominick (1991) recommended that a 10% subsample of the data should be analyzed by independent coders. Therefore, the researcher and a colleague who speaks English and Mandarin and has a background in mass communications independently coded 60 out of the total 600 models randomly collected from the magazine advertisements. By applying the Scott's pi formula, 85% of the intercoder reliability was obtained to ensure the consistency and accuracy of the coding process in this study, since most of the published content analyses typically reported a minimum reliability coefficient of about 75% or above when using pi (Wimmer and Dominick, 1991). After pretesting, the two coders discussed disagreements on results, and certain definitions of the coding categories were modified as listed in Appendix B to D for more specific criteria of the content analysis.

Data Analysis

The chi-square test was applied in the study to analyze the results and examine the hypotheses. However, it was found that Type II error might occur because the chi-square distribution was sharply skewed for small samples. It was recommended that adjacent cells be combined to get meaningful data if each category contained less than five observations (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991). After considering the feasibility of this suggestion, the researcher combined the raw data of certain adjacent cells in the coding categories when bigger samples were needed to obtain reasonable statistics. In addition, the 11 research questions and the 5 hypotheses were designed to reinforce each other in order to obtain in-depth findings.

Chapter 4

Results

A total sample of 600 male and female models appearing in the advertisements of the 144 magazine issues were randomly selected from (a) the U.S. magazines *Vogue*, *Fortune*, and *Newsweek*, and (b) the Taiwanese magazines *ViVi*, *Common Wealth*, and *Global Views* in the years of 1988 and 1998. The 600 models included 298 males and 302 females, 322 characters from the United States and 278 from Taiwan, and 300 portrayals per year for both 1988 and 1998. The distributions of males and females from both countries in both years are listed in Table 1. After the coding procedure, the chi-square test was performed on crosstabs for testing the five hypotheses. The results are reported as follows to answer the 11 research questions.

Table 1

The Distributions of Males and Females from the United States and Taiwan for 1988 and 1998

	1988 <i>n</i> = 300		1998 <i>n</i> = 300	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
United States	55.6% (85)	52.4% (77)	51.0% (74)	55.5% (86)
Taiwan	44.4% (68)	47.6% (70)	49.0% (71)	44.5% (69)
Total	100% (153)	100% (147)	100% (145)	100% (155)

Table 2

A Comparison of the Type of Role Portrayals in Advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1988

	United States <i>n</i> = 162		Taiwan <i>n</i> = 138	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Working	69.4% (59)	27.3% (21)	63.2% (43)	34.3% (24)
Non-working	30.6% (26)	72.7% (56)	36.8% (25)	65.7% (46)
Total	100% (85)	100% (77)	100% (68)	100% (70)
Pearson chi-square	$\chi^2(1) = 28.70, p < .05$		$\chi^2(1) = 11.57, p < .05$	

Table 3

A Comparison of the Type of Role Portrayals in Advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1998

	United States <i>n</i> = 160		Taiwan <i>n</i> = 140	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Working	70.3% (52)	25.6% (22)	54.9% (39)	26.1% (18)
Non-working	29.7% (22)	74.4% (64)	45.1% (32)	73.9% (51)
Total	100% (74)	100% (86)	100% (71)	100% (69)
Pearson chi-square	$\chi^2(1) = 31.95, p < .05$		$\chi^2(1) = 12.06, p < .05$	

See Table 2 to answer the first research question: In the United States and Taiwan, what type of role (working/non-working) was depicted more often by males in 1988? By females? Males from both countries were more often depicted in working roles, whereas females from both countries were more often depicted in non-working roles in ads appearing in 1988. More specifically, in U.S. ads for 1988, 69.4% of the males were portrayed in working roles, compared with only 27.3% of the females. In Taiwanese ads for 1988, 63.2% of the males were portrayed in working roles, compared with only 34.3% of the females. Furthermore, males were portrayed in working roles more frequently in the U.S. advertisements (69.4%) than in the Taiwanese advertisements (63.2%). And females were portrayed in non-working roles more frequently in the U.S. advertisements (72.7%) than in the Taiwanese advertisements (65.7%). In the U.S. ads in 1988, relating the sex of the model to the type of role portrayed, working or non-working, was statistically significant ($p < .05$). In the Taiwanese ads for 1988, there was also a significant relationship between the type of role portrayed and the sex of the model ($p < .05$).

Table 3 shows results for the second research question: In the United States and Taiwan, what type of role (working/non-working) was depicted more often by males in 1998? By females? Table 3 indicates that in both countries, males were more often depicted in working roles, whereas females were shown more often in non-working roles. U.S. males had a higher percentage (70.3%) in the working role category, compared with 54.9% of Taiwanese men. However, the U.S. and Taiwanese women had only slightly different percentages in non-working roles, with 74.4% and 73.9% respectively. For the

U.S. ads in 1998, the results showed a significant relationship between the type of role portrayed and the sex of the model ($p < .05$). Relating the sex of the model to the type of role portrayed in Taiwanese ads appearing in 1998 also revealed a statistical significance ($p < .05$).

After identifying the portrayals of *working* or *non-working* roles, the second coding level was implemented to code characters into seven types of *working* categories—*high-level business*, *professional*, *entertainment/sports*, *mid-level business*, *non-professional white-collar*, *blue-collar labor*, and *civil service* (see Appendix B). For example, an individual depicted as a president or a manager was coded in the *high-level business* category. One who was an expert in a field, such as a doctor, an architect, or an engineer, was coded as a *professional*. A celebrity whose fame was used to promote the product was coded in the *entertainment/sports* category. Characters involved in local business, the local grocer or salesperson, for example, were coded in the *mid-level business*. Characters whose jobs involved in services, such as clerks or secretaries, were coded as *non-professional white collars*. Individuals who were portrayed performing manual labor, such as construction workers or cowboys, were coded as *blue-collar laborers*. Characters in public service occupations, such as fire fighters, police officers, and paramedics represented the category of *civil service*. In order to avoid small samples in the cells, certain categories were combined to produce Table 4 and Table 5. The term *ns* stands for a non-significant relationship between the coding variables.

Table 4

A Comparison of Working Role Portrayals in Advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1988

	United States <i>n</i> = 80		Taiwan <i>n</i> = 67	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
High-level business	44.1% (26)	33.3% (7)	27.9% (12)	8.3% (2)
Professional	23.7% (14)	14.3% (3)	39.5% (17)	4.2% (1)
Entertainment/Sports	5.1% (3)	14.3% (3)	4.7% (2)	25.0% (6)
Mid-level business/Non-professional white collar	15.3% (9)	38.1% (8)	20.9% (9)	58.3% (14)
Blue-collar labor/Civil Service	11.9% (7)		7.0% (3)	4.2% (1)
Total	100% (59)	100% (21)	100% (43)	100% (24)
Pearson chi-square	<i>ns</i>		$\chi^2(4) = 21.82, p < .05$	

Table 5

A Comparison of Working Role Portrayals in Advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1998

	United States <i>n</i> = 74		Taiwan <i>n</i> = 57	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
High-level business	25.0% (13)	13.6% (3)	46.2% (18)	11.1% (2)
Professional	19.2% (10)	27.3% (6)	30.8% (12)	27.8% (5)
Entertainment/Sports	3.8% (2)	18.2% (4)	2.6% (1)	33.3% (6)
Mid-level business/Non-professional white collar	34.6% (18)	27.3% (6)	12.8% (5)	27.8% (5)
Blue-collar labor/Civil Service	17.3% (9)	13.6% (3)	7.7% (3)	
Total	100% (52)	100% (22)	100% (39)	100% (18)
Pearson chi-square	<i>ns</i>		<i>ns</i>	

See Table 4 to answer the third research question: In the United States and Taiwan, what working role was portrayed most often by males in 1988? By females? Working males in the U.S. ads were mostly portrayed in high-level business roles, while working men in Taiwan were mostly depicted as professionals. However, working women from both countries in 1988 were mostly shown in mid-level business/non-professional white-collar roles.

In working role portrayals (see Table 4), males appeared more frequently in high-level business roles in the U.S. advertisements (44.1%) than in the Taiwanese

advertisements (27.9%). The percentage of U.S. females portrayed in high-level business roles was slightly more than four times that of Taiwanese women (33.3% and 8.3% respectively). Looking at professional roles, the research found that U.S. men were shown less frequently in professional roles (23.7%) than were Taiwanese men (39.5%), but U.S. women were shown in professional roles more than three times as often (14.3%) as women in Taiwan (4.2%). Examining the mid-level business/non-professional roles showed that Taiwanese men were presented in these roles more frequently (20.9%) than U.S. men were (15.3%), and women in Taiwan had a higher percentage (58.3%) when compared with the U.S. females (38.1%). In entertainment/sports roles, Taiwanese females appeared in these roles more often (25%) than U.S. women (14.3%).

In comparisons between the sexes, a consistent phenomenon was that high-level business, professional, and blue-collar males in both countries for 1988 all showed higher percentages than did females in identical categories (see Table 4). On the other hand, women in advertisements from both countries had much higher percentages than men did in the roles of entertainment/sports and mid-level business/non-professionals. Moreover, in Taiwan, males in high-level business roles were coded more than three times as often as females (27.9% and 8.3% respectively), and males were portrayed in professional roles more than nine times as often as females (39.5% and 4.2% respectively). As for mid-level business roles, U.S. females were depicted more frequently (38.1%) than U.S. males (15.3%), and in Taiwan, women were also portrayed more frequently (58.3%) than men (20.9%). Blue-collar men, however, appeared more often than women in ads appearing

in 1988. Taiwanese portrayals in 1988 revealed a significant relationship between the type of working role and the sex of the model ($p < .05$).

The results listed in Table 5 answer the fourth research question: In the United States and Taiwan, what working role was portrayed most often by males in 1998? By females? As Table 5 indicates, U.S. men were mostly portrayed in mid-level/non-professional roles, while most men in ads from Taiwan were portrayed in high-level business roles. U.S. women were most often portrayed in professional and mid-level/non-professional roles, whereas Taiwanese women were mostly depicted in entertainment/sports roles.

In advertisements from both countries in 1998 (see Table 5), high-level business roles still ranked higher among males than among females, although Taiwanese men were more frequently presented in this category (46.2%) than U.S. males (25%). On the other hand, 34.6% of U.S. men were portrayed in mid-level/non-professional roles, while only 12.8% of Taiwanese men were portrayed in these roles. U.S. women were shown to be just as likely as Taiwanese women to appear in both professional and mid-level/non-professional white-collar roles in 1998. However, 33.3% of women in Taiwanese advertisements were portrayed in entertainment/sports roles, compared with only 18.2% of U.S. females.

As Table 5 shows, men in Taiwan were still shown more frequently in high-level business and professional roles than were women, while U.S. men were shown more often in high-level business roles and less often in professional roles than were U.S. women in 1998. It was found that women in Taiwanese advertisements were portrayed

more frequently in mid-level business roles (27.8%) than were men (12.8%). On the other hand, U.S. females were less often depicted in mid-level roles (27.3%) than were males (34.6%). In both countries, females were more likely to be portrayed in entertainment/sports roles than were males, while blue-collar men appeared more often than blue-collar women in ads appearing in 1998.

See the comparative findings in Table 4 and Table 5 for data regarding the fifth research question: In the United States and Taiwan, were more females portrayed in high-level business roles in 1998 than in 1988? The research showed that the percentage of U.S. females appearing in high-level business roles in 1988, 33.3%, had decreased to 13.6% in 1998, while the percentage of women appearing in high-level business roles in advertisements in Taiwan had increased, from 8.3% in 1988 to 11.1% in 1998. However, the difference between 1988 and 1998 did suggest a trend toward more portrayals of female professionals in both countries. It is worth mentioning that in Taiwan, the percentage of females portrayed in professional roles in 1988 (4.2%) had increased to 27.8% in 1998, with a difference of more than six times. Furthermore, women were portrayed in mid-level/non-professional roles less often in both countries after a decade.

After the role portrayals were coded into *non-working* types, characters were cast in four non-working settings: *family/at home*, *recreational*, *decorative*, and *other* roles. As listed in Appendix C, for example, an individual depicted as a wife/husband, mother/father, or one who was depicted at home doing "housewifely tasks" was coded in the *family/at home* category. A character participating in outdoors activities or exercises was coded in *recreational* setting. The individual who appeared only as an adornment to

an object was coded in a *decorative* role. Portrayals other than the above categories were coded as *other* and suppressed in the performances of Table 6 and Table 7 since the small samples would skew the results.

Table 6

A Comparison of Non-working Role Portrayals in Advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1988

	United States <i>n</i> = 74		Taiwan <i>n</i> = 64	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Family/At home	29.2% (7)	12.0% (6)	36.4% (8)	16.7% (7)
Recreational	54.2% (13)	40.0% (20)	40.9% (9)	33.3% (14)
Decorative	16.7% (4)	48.0% (24)	22.7% (5)	50.0% (21)
Total	100% (24)	100% (50)	100% (22)	100% (42)
Pearson chi-square	$\chi^2(2) = 7.66, p < .05$		<i>ns</i>	

Table 7

A Comparison of Non-working Role Portrayals in Advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1998

	United States <i>n</i> = 84		Taiwan <i>n</i> = 71	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Family/At home	23.8% (5)	9.5% (6)	12.5% (3)	8.5% (4)
Recreational	61.9% (13)	33.3% (21)	54.2% (13)	34.0% (16)
Decorative	14.3% (3)	57.1% (36)	33.3% (8)	57.4% (27)
Total	100% (21)	100% (63)	100% (24)	100% (47)
Pearson chi-square	$\chi^2(2) = 11.86, p < .05$		<i>ns</i>	

See Table 6 for data that answer the sixth research question: In the United States and Taiwan, what non-working role was portrayed most often by males in 1988? By females? It was found that men in both countries were most often presented in recreational settings, while women in both countries were mostly cast in decorative roles. In the category of recreational activity, U.S. males were shown more frequently (54.2%) than men in Taiwan (40.9%). In both countries in 1988, men were also portrayed in recreational settings more often than were women. Regarding decorative roles, Taiwanese women had a slightly higher percentage (50%) than U.S. females (48%). In both countries, women were portrayed in decorative roles more than two times as often as males. Surprisingly, men from both countries were presented more frequently in the

family/at home setting than women were, with percentages more than two times higher. Furthermore, men and women in Taiwanese advertisements were found more often in the home settings than were the U.S. characters. The study revealed a significant relationship between the type of non-working role and the sex of the model for U.S. ads appearing in 1988 ($p < .05$).

See Table 7 to answer the seventh research question: In the United States and Taiwan, what non-working role was portrayed most often by males in 1998? By females? In both countries, men were mostly portrayed in recreational settings, while women were mostly cast in decorative roles. Surprisingly, non-working female characters in advertisements from both countries had barely different percentages in the three identical categories. However, Taiwanese men were shown more frequently in decorative roles (33.3%) than were U.S. males (14.3%). In both the family/at home and the recreational settings, U.S. men were more often portrayed in these settings than were men in Taiwan.

Advertisements from both countries revealed a consistent phenomenon (see Table 7): more men than women were involved in family/at home and recreational activities, while more women than men were portrayed in decorative roles. Surprisingly, U.S. males were portrayed in family settings more than twice as often as women were (23.8% and 9.5% respectively), and Taiwanese men were also presented more often at home (12.5%) than were women in Taiwan (8.5%). In U.S. ads appearing in 1998, the type of non-working activities was significantly related to the sex of the model ($p < .05$).

Compare the findings in Table 6 and Table 7 to answer the eighth research question: In the United States and Taiwan, were more males portrayed in decorative roles in 1998 than in 1988? The data showed a slight decline from 1988 (16.7%) to 1998 (14.3%) among U.S. males, while the percentage of Taiwanese men portrayed in decorative roles in 1988 (22.7%) had risen to 33.3% in 1998. A consistent phenomenon was found in advertisements from both countries: after a decade, not only males but females were shown less and less often in the home settings. In both the United States and Taiwan, nevertheless, it was disappointing that more and more women were portrayed in decorative roles from 1988 to 1998.

The five types of dress worn by women—*typical dress*, *seductive dress*, *partially clad*, *nudity*, and *can't tell*—are specified in Appendix D. Certain cells were combined and suppressed in order to obtain adequate statistics. It was found that above 97% of the males were wearing *typical dress* and the clustered data were not valid for the statistical analysis; therefore, the data for the male dress were excluded.

Table 8

A Comparison of the Type of Women's Dress in Advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1988 and in 1998

	1988 <i>n</i> = 141		1998 <i>n</i> = 152	
	United States	Taiwan	United States	Taiwan
Typical Dress	76.7% (56)	83.8% (57)	70.2% (59)	54.4% (37)
Seductive Dress	17.8% (13)	11.8% (8)	23.8% (20)	17.6% (12)
Partially Clad/Nudity	5.5% (4)	4.4% (3)	6.0% (5)	27.9% (19)
Total	100% (73)	100% (68)	100% (84)	100% (68)
Pearson chi-square	<i>ns</i>		$\chi^2(2) = 13.68, p < .05$	

As Table 8 shows, it was typical dress that was most often worn by women in U.S. and Taiwanese ads appearing in both years. This answers the ninth research question: In the United States and Taiwan, what type of dress worn by women was shown most often in 1988? In 1998? In the 1988 advertisements, 83.8% of Taiwanese women wore typical dress more than the 76.7% of U.S. females wearing typical dress. In the 1998 advertisements, however, only 54.4% of Taiwanese women wore typical dress, less than the 70.2% of U.S. females wearing typical dress. Moreover, the study found a statistically significant relationship between the type of dress worn by women and the country in which the ad appearing in 1998 ($p < .05$).

For both years, U.S. women were portrayed wearing seductive dress more often than Taiwanese women were (see Table 8). This answers the 10th research question: In 1988 and 1998, were more women wearing seductive dress in the United States than in Taiwan? It is also noteworthy that in 1998, 27.9% of women in the Taiwanese advertisements were portrayed as partially clad/nude, a percentage more than four times higher than the 6% of U.S. females. In 1988, however, 5.5% of U.S. females were portrayed as partially clad/nude, more than the 4.4% of women in Taiwan.

Table 9

A Comparison of the Type of Women's Dress in Advertisements from the United States and from Taiwan in 1988 and 1998

	United States <i>n</i> = 157		Taiwan <i>n</i> = 136	
	1988	1998	1988	1998
Typical Dress	76.7% (56)	70.2% (59)	83.8% (57)	54.4% (37)
Seductive Dress	17.8% (13)	23.8% (20)	11.8% (8)	17.6% (12)
Partially Clad/Nudity	5.5% (4)	6.0% (5)	4.4% (3)	27.9% (19)
Total	100% (73)	100% (84)	100% (68)	100% (68)
Pearson chi-square	<i>ns</i>		$\chi^2(2) = 16.69, p < .05$	

As demonstrated in Table 9, the 11th research question could be answered in the affirmative: in the United States and Taiwan, more women were portrayed wearing seductive dress in 1998 than in 1988. Surprisingly, the data showed a sharp increase in

the percentage of Taiwanese women portrayed as partially clad/nude, from 4.4% in 1988 to 27.9% in 1998, while the percentage of U.S. females in the same category only increased from 5.5% to 6%. And in the categories of typical dress worn by women in both countries, percentages decreased after a decade, with a sharper decline among Taiwanese women, almost 30% (from 83.8% to 54.4%), compared with a 6.5% decline among U.S. women (from 76.7% to 70.2%). During this 10-year range, a significant relationship between the type of dress worn by women and the year was found in the Taiwanese ads ($p < .05$).

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

The unit of analysis in the current study was the male and female models portrayed in magazine advertisements from the United States and Taiwan in 1988 and 1998. Since the purpose of this study was to examine how the media representations reflect gender stereotypes in U.S. and Taiwanese culture decades after the women's movement began in the 1960s, previous studies were adopted to discuss and identify the findings. A cross-cultural approach was also applied for the comparisons between these countries to analyze how culture impacts gender stereotypes in the media.

Discussion

As a mirror of the times, advertising is a social guide to our society (Hsu, 1991). Sengupta (1995) defined *cultures* as social settings in which a set of practices produces meanings, while *communication* refers to the exchange of meanings among members of a culture. Because values lie at the core of culture and advertising is a form of communication, it is logical to expect cultural values to have a significant influence on advertising. Beginning with the four coding levels, the researcher synthesized findings from the 11 research questions. These findings will be discussed here.

Working and non-working portrayals. A growing number of women will make up an estimated 47% of the overall work force by 2006 (Sohn, Wicks, Lacy, & Sylvie, 1999). Miller (1997) noted that more women are working today than at any other time in the history of the United States. In 1950, less than 30% of the work force consisted of women; by 1979, it was more than 40%. In 1989, women made up 45.2% of the civilian

labor force, and by 1995, more than 56% of all women were expected to be employed outside the home. Dual earner families are becoming the norm. In Taiwan, women have started to achieve higher levels of education than in the 1970s, and more women own personal businesses and have acquired financial power and political status (Chang, 1977; Lay, 1994; Luo, 1981; Niou, 1981; Tao, 1991). Quoting recent media research, furthermore, Hsu (1998) stated that *woman power* is the most influential trend for the next century in Asia.

However, findings in this study show that advertisements contradict the reality. This study revealed that in the United States and Taiwan, magazine advertisements portrayed males mainly in working roles and females mainly in non-working roles, stereotyping both genders universally, not only in 1988 but in 1998, when at least 65.7% of women in advertisements were depicted as non-working. This trend of working males and non-working females represented in magazine advertisements had remained for almost 30 years, showing no difference from the studies of Courtney and Lockeretz (1971), Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976), Synnott (1988), Tao (1991), and Hsiung (1997). By referring to the chi-square result, the researcher consistently found the significant relationships between the type of role portrayed and the model's gender (all with $p < .05$) in both the United States and Taiwan for both years. Moreover, the U.S. media even had higher percentages of working men and non-working women than Taiwanese media did in 1988 and 1998, lending support to Hsiung's (1997) conclusion. Although leading the media power in the world, the U.S. media did not reflect actual diversity of female roles in modern society.

Working roles. In the working universe, high-level business, professional, and blue-collar roles were the preferences of male portrayals in the magazine advertisements for the United States and Taiwan in 1988 and 1998. On the other hand, women were cast more frequently in entertainment/sports roles and mid-level/non-professional white-collar roles for both countries and both years, corroborating the findings of Courtney and Lockeretz (1971), Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976), and Sengupta (1995).

Although in 1988 mid-level/non-professional women in Taiwan had an approximately 20% difference over the U.S. females, there appeared an interesting trend among working women in 1998: Taiwanese females were as likely as U.S. women to be portrayed in both professional and mid-level/non-professional white-collar roles. Working men portrayed in 1998 U.S. advertisements, however, did bring changes, with fewer high-level business and professional roles and with more mid-level/non-professional white-collar roles when compared with advertisements in Taiwan. In brief, some alternatives of models' working portrayals in the advertisements from both countries had occurred in 1998.

During a 10-year range, the rise in the number of professional women and the decrease in the number of non-professional women had brought an expectation that female images in the U.S. and Taiwanese media should change. It was noteworthy that in Taiwan, the number of female professionals had increased, from 4.2% in 1988 to 27.8% in 1998, an increase of more than six-fold. As for high-level businesswomen, it is disappointing to find a decline among U.S. females from 1988 to 1998, and the

insignificant increase among women in Taiwan from 8.3% to 11.1% also suggests the need for efforts to raise female status in media portrayals.

Overall, Taiwanese magazine advertising has more stereotypical portrayals in models' working roles than advertising in the United States, for 1988 as well as 1998. The chi-square result, moreover, was statistically significant when the type of working roles was related to the model's gender for the 1988 Taiwanese portrayals. The tendency to represent men in high-level business and professional roles while women are portrayed in mid-level business remains three decades after the women's movement in Taiwan started in 1971.

Non-working activities. In portrayals of non-working people in both countries, men were consistently represented more often in recreational settings and women in decorative roles for the years of 1988 and 1998, confirming the findings of Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976), De Voe (1984), and Hsiung (1997). In both years in the United States and Taiwan, decorative females appeared in magazine advertisements much more often than decorative males, reaching the highest variance in 1998, with a 42.8% difference between U.S. males and U.S. females. It was disappointing that in advertisements from both countries, more and more women were portrayed in decorative roles between 1988 and 1998, and the number of decorative males in advertisements from Taiwan also increased.

On the other hand, it was interesting to find that a trend of casting more men than women in the family/at home settings appeared in both years in both the United States and Taiwan. This trend could be due to a rise in the number of advertisements regarding

family insurance and the Internet, which often place men at home—for instance, as fathers teaching their daughters how to use the computer. Certainly, the rising number of people working at home free-lancing and using online services is part of a revolution not only in the contemporary workforce but also in advertising, since the technology facilitates communication. However, this study also revealed a trend in both countries toward fewer and fewer men and women portrayed in home settings, as shown by the decrease in this category between 1988 and 1998. This trend suggests a change in views toward the traditional home-oriented society.

Overall, the two countries were found to be similar when it comes to representations of women in decorative roles during the study decade. Advertisers all over the world continue to stereotype females as *doing nothing* in the late 1990s. In addition, the chi-square results suggest significant relationships between the type of non-working activities and the models' gender for both years in the United States (all with $p < .05$), but there is no significance within Taiwanese categories. Thus, U.S. magazine advertising in both 1988 and 1998 includes more stereotypical portrayals in models' non-working roles than does Taiwanese advertising.

Dress worn by women. Although the typical dress was the type most often worn by woman models in advertisements from both countries in both years, a trend is apparent between 1988 and 1998: more U.S. women than Taiwanese women were wearing seductive dress. This revealed that the U.S. women were more sexually liberated than women in Taiwan. This finding, however, contradicts Hsiung's (1997) conclusion that in 1995, Taiwanese women were shown more often in seductive dress than U.S.

women. It is necessary to point out that different magazines and time periods chosen for the study might have generated different results.

On the other hand, typical dress was found less and less often in advertisements from both countries between 1988 and 1998. The trend toward more U.S. and Taiwanese women wearing seductive dress or depicted as partially clad/nude suggests a more sexually liberated world after a decade, supporting Soley and Kurzbard (1986), Tao (1991), and Hsiung (1997). Surprisingly, 27.9% of female models in the 1998 sample from Taiwan were portrayed as partially clad/nude, showing a 21.9% difference over the 1998 U.S. sample and a 23.5% difference over the 1988 Taiwanese sample. This illustrates a boom of portrayals of sexually liberated females in the Taiwanese media by the late 1990s, including a majority of advertisements regarding body beautification or lingerie. According to Tao (1991) and Sengupta (1995), using seductively dressed women to draw attention to the advertisements may be a common strategy practiced by advertisers around the world.

Overall, the significant relationship between the type of dress worn by women and the country in which the ad appeared in 1998 ($p < .05$) suggests that culture does impact female portrayals in the U.S. and Taiwanese media by the 1990s. The significant relationship between the type of dress worn by women in Taiwan and the year ($p < .05$) also suggests that certain changes of woman portrayals have occurred in Taiwanese media since the lifting of martial law in 1987.

Conclusions

Compared with the long history of U.S. feminism, the history of Taiwanese feminism is no longer than three decades, beginning in the 1970s. However, studies stemming from feminists' concerns about gender roles in culture have challenged gender stereotypes in the Taiwanese media as well as in the United States. It is worth while to compare sex portrayals by using the cross-cultural approach, since the two countries are progressing at different stages.

On the other hand, gender roles are global regardless of race, class, or culture (Layng, 1995). Sorrels (1983) defined four broad stereotypes that summarize cultural views of female roles: homemaker, servant, sex object, and emotional, unintelligent creature. Doyle (1985) also identified five male norms: the anti-feminine element, the success element, the aggressive element, the sexual element, and the self-reliant element. Hence, there are certain behavior patterns and attitudes that appear to be the same in both traditional and modern societies despite the great variety of sex roles from one society to another (Layng, 1995).

In summarizing the comparison between genders, this study concludes that women's status in both cultures is inferior to that of men. By ignoring an increase in female work force universally, the U.S. and Taiwanese media misrepresent female images as non-working in a majority of portrayals in magazine advertisements. Surprisingly, advertising in the United States stereotyped men as working and women as non-working in even higher percentages than in Taiwan. Although it held a position of leadership in the world, the U.S. media did not reflect the actual diversity of female roles in modern society.

This study also concludes that women are depicted as inferior to men in the type of work they do; certain working roles mainly belong to males and other working roles mainly belong to females in both countries. In general, men were frequently portrayed as high-level business and professional people, while women were most likely to be portrayed in entertainment/sports or mid-level/non-professional roles regardless of the country and the year. This confirms the female stereotype as a servant, and it responds to the success element in male identities. For 1998, however, an increase of mid-level/non-professional men in advertisements from the United States and a trend toward more professional women in advertisements from Taiwan represented a nice try in improving working portrayals by the late 1990s. Overall, the U.S. media can reflect a greater variety of gender roles than the Taiwanese media do when it comes to representing the work place in magazine advertisements, since the women's movement has progressed no more than 30 years in Taiwan.

Apparently, the ads were more likely to portray non-working men as mostly involved in recreational settings and more likely to portray non-working women as decorative beings. During the decade of this study, moreover, the increase of women in decorative roles, mainly in apparel advertisements from both countries, is disappointing. Along with the trend toward more and more seductively dressed women in the U.S. and Taiwanese media, this finding leads to the conclusion that the media do stereotype females as sex objects. Advertisers casting women in the role of "doing nothing but admiring one's outfit" have devalued not only women but also men, portraying women as sex objects and men as sexual initiators. In general, the U.S. media's attempts to portray

more sexually liberated women than the Taiwanese media do leads to accusations of stereotypical female images and consignment of women to non-working roles. The truth is, in the future the media universally will portray more and more decorative women wearing fewer and fewer clothes.

In conclusion, gender stereotypes in the media remain consistent even decades after the women's movement began in the 1960s and the 1970s in both countries. Female inferiority and male superiority have caused difficulties for both genders in society. Culture does play a crucial role in the production of stereotypical portrayals in different countries during different stages of the social progress, with the media either reflecting or misrepresenting the real subjects.

Contributions

The current study attempts to add one more cross-cultural study in the field of mass media research because few comparisons have been conducted between the United States and Taiwan. It also contributes to the mass communication literature by applying a broader research approach and providing up-to-date information. This study, in essence, expands the view into different cultures and examines trends during a 10-year range in order to obtain in-depth findings. Besides, as a follow-up study, it critiques changing media portrayals through decades.

Limitations of This Study

The limitation of this study mainly results from the dearth of Taiwanese magazines. It was found that most popular magazines in Taiwan were not published until the 1990s, and many that did begin before the 1990s were no more than 10 years old.

Therefore, data collection among Taiwanese magazines for both 1988 and 1998 generated difficulties. In addition, small samples in certain coding categories could barely perform the chi-square analysis, so that significant results could hardly be acquired. Further, the coding criteria for working and non-working roles needed to be updated after the coming of the Internet, which has blurred the line among demographics and communications.

Suggestions for Future Research

As a quantitative content analysis, this study suggests a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods by which future research could examine gender portrayals in the media. After analyzing the information from statistics, the qualitative approach can provide more comprehensive interpretations from meanings of gender roles in culture, which statistics can hardly acquire. Besides this, expanding subjects from magazines to another type of media could provide the opportunity to compare or contrast findings across media. And teenagers and children can also be taken into account to examine how they reflect the gender stereotypes of adults. A greater variety of magazine types and a bigger sample size can also bring improvements to future research.

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Appendix A

Number_____

Coding Sheet: The Male/Female Portrayals in Magazine AdvertisementsGeneral Information

- a. Gender_____ 1. Male 2. Female
- b. Country_____ 1. U.S. 2. Taiwan
- c. Year_____ 1. 1998 2. 1988

Roles of the Male/Female Models

- a. Role_____ 1. Working 2. Non-working
- b. Working role_____ 1. High-level business 2. Professional 3. Entertainment/Sports 4. Mid-level business 5. Non-professional white collar 6. Blue-collar labor 7. Civil service
- c. Non-working activities_____ 1. Family/At home 2. Recreational 3. Decorative 4. Other
- d. Dress_____ 1. Typical dress 2. Seductive dress 3. Partially clad 4. Nudity 5. Can't tell

Appendix B

Coding Categories: Working Roles

1. High Level

Business | An individual portrayed as a high-ranking official in a business such as a president, vice president, controller, or operations manager. |
| 2. Professional | A model who was playing an expert in a field such as a nurse, chef, doctor, dentist, journalist, architect, judge, artist, engineer, or an athlete. |
| 3. Entertainment,

Sports | A celebrity from the performing arts (theater, TV, music) or sports world (tennis, football, baseball) with fame to promote the product. |
| 4. Middle Level

Business | A model who was portraying the local grocer, a sales clerk, or an insurance agent. |
| 5. Non Professional

White Collar | A model representing a service role, such as a secretarial or clerical job, an assistant, a steward/stewardess, or a waiter/waitress. |
| 6. Blue Collar

Labor | An individual who performed manual labor, such as a ranch hand, a construction worker, a cowboy, a driver, or an oil rig worker. |
| 7. Civil Service | An individual in public service such as a fire fighter, a postman, a police officer, a paramedic, or a representative of the military, etc. |

Appendix C

Coding Categories: Non-working Activities

1. Family/
At Home	An individual depicted as a wife/husband, mother/father, grandmother/grandfather, or a daughter/son. The model is at home doing “housewifely tasks” such as cooking, cleaning, childcare, or personal beautification.
2. Recreational	An individual depicted as participating in outdoors or exercises, such as fishing, hiking, swimming, jogging, walking, picnicking, or camping. Activities of drinking, smoking, relaxing, traveling, having a party, hanging out with friends were also included.
3. Decorative	An individual appearing only as an adornment to an object. For example, a person whose main function was to admire a model’s outfit was considered to be in a decorative role. The individual had no real function in the advertisement.
4. Other	Activities other than the above, such as driving, writing, talking, getting married, or simply doing nothing.

Appendix D

Coding Categories: Type of Dress Worn by Female Models

1. Typical Dress	Models wearing formal dress, like gowns that do not expose cleavage or back, casual dress like walking shorts, sportswear except swimsuits, loungewear, or company uniforms/work wear/suits.
2. Seductive Dress	Models wearing open blouses or shirts that expose chest areas, mini-skirts, “short shorts,” tight clothing that accentuates the figure or middle inseam of trousers, full-length nontranslucent lingerie, evening gowns that expose cleavage or back, “muscle shirts,” or hiked-up skirts exposing thighs.
3. Partially Clad	Models wearing bathing suits, underapparel, and three-quarter length or shorter nontranslucent lingerie; models portrayed in “close-up” shots in which the shoulders were bare or in photographs or illustrations of legs that included the thigh but displayed no clothing.
4. Nudity	Unclothed bodies, or models wearing translucent underapparel or lingerie; “medium shots” in which the models displayed no clothing or had only a towel over their shoulders, and full shots where the model was unclad except for a towel.
5. Can’t tell	It was difficult to tell the dress, as with advertisements depicting models' faces only.