HOW THE MEDIA ARE PORTRAYED IN PRINT ADVERTISEMENTS;
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS THROUGHOUT
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A Thesis

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents, David and Lynda Burke, for their constant love, encouragement and confidence.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

This study examines the portrayal of media within print advertisements found in *Harper's Magazine* between 1931 and 2000. This study evaluated a number of categories to provide understanding of the role of media within society, specifically the portrayal of gender and media use, how media are used in society and the perceived class within the advertisements featuring media products. The study also looked at the Diffusion of Innovation Theory, which states that a socioeconomic elite group are the first people within a society to adopt new ideas or technologies.

A content analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, of *Harper's Magazine* produced the following results. The portrayal of women has not dramatically changed during the past seventy years and advertisements within *Harper's Magazine* still reflect negative images of women, such as, women as submissive, women as frivolous and women as decorative objects. Many gender stereotypes were evident throughout the study as more advertisements reflected women as wives and mothers than as career women. The exploration of the representation of media within advertising revealed that media were most often represented in a number of ways. The most common included, media use as relaxation, media bringing families together, media as tools of education and media as instruments in career development. The analysis of perceived class within advertisements revealed that some media, especially electronic media such as radio and television, are more often found in an upper class setting.

The study advances our understanding of the Diffusion of Innovation theory by providing information about the portrayal of communication technologies within

advertising. Future studies may further examine the role of this theory by evaluating how

advertising contributes to the Diffusion of Innovation theory by positioning media to

certain target audiences.

CHAPTER I- INTRODUCTION

The last century saw incredible changes in the mass communication industry.

Daily printed accounts of news led to phonetic transmissions then to moving pictures and

now to electronic media that are able to provide instant information on virtually any

subject. The entire communication evolution has gone from the grunts of a cave man to

the electronic technologies of today. Media can manipulate and transmit billions of bytes

of data with instantaneous speed. It is clear that communication is synonymous with

evolution, in that communication is constantly altering the spheres of both society and

technology (Lacy 1996, xi). The communication system within a society not only helps

to establish the society's collective authority, but it also organizes the internal structuring

of power within the society itself (Lacy 1996, xiii).

The power of mass media upon society cannot be underestimated. Stabile (2000)

states that all forms of mass media, from newspapers to radio to television, have long

accepted their position as the precursor of modernity. Mass media act as "world agents in

the production of the present, and to a large extent, as both the alpha and the omega of

massive social changes" (p 2).

This study is designed to explore the development of media throughout the period

1931-2000. It will use the ads found in *Harper's Magazine* as the sample of analysis.

The aim is to highlight the patterns and perpetuity of media use, and to help recognize the

demographics of any one medium's audience. The study evaluates the representation of

media products in *Harper's Magazine* and not the reasons why or how the coinciding

societal transformations occurred. Obviously, it is necessary to consider that there are

many reasons for media revolutions and their consequent ideological shifts within the public, but they are not the concern of the present study. The main focus of this study is the representation of media products within certain magazine print advertisements. The method of evaluation is to gather information from a content analysis of selected magazine advertisements throughout the last seventy years. (The first date that an ad appeared in *Harper's Magazine* was in 1928. In order to evaluate full decades, the period of analysis will be 1931-2000).

This study will attempt to recognize the changes in how the mass communication industry has been reflected in certain advertisements. The study will concentrate on three areas of evaluation. First, it will evaluate the relationship between the portrayal of gender and media use. Second, the social setting within the advertisements will be analyzed in an attempt to establish a relationship between the perceived class status of the audience and type of media. And finally, the study will evaluate how new media products are advertised and the sphere within which they are introduced to the public. Specifically, this research will examine if using a medium is viewed as a leisure activity or a business related need.

This study will be unique for many reasons. Firstly, it will be tightly focused on the representation of just one product category, that of the media. The advantage to confining this study to one product is that the study can then be compared to other studies and different product categories in the future. However, it will be very broad in the cross analysis of gender, the media's own representation in advertising and the media's perceived position in society.

Secondly, the study will help determine if the advertising industry is responsive to the changes in society and if so, how they represent these changes. Through the analysis of the advertisements, it is intended that the patterns within the results will coincide with major societal changes, such as an increase of women's independence after the 1960s. Today's advertising agencies will find the information relevant for a number of reasons. The conclusions drawn from the research may help to guide today's advertising companies in their portrayals of media use and make them more aware of representing an accurate reflection of that medium's audience.

One of the aims of this study is to advance our knowledge and expand understanding of two theories, the Diffusion of Innovation theory and the Knowledge Gap theory. The first theory applicable to this study is the Diffusion of Innovation Theory. This Diffusion of Innovation theory is concerned with the way in which a new media technological idea migrates from creation to use. This reiterates the discussion by Lacy (1996) who states that the sharing of power tends to relate to the sharing of access to information. The Diffusion of Innovation Theory is usually communicated through particular channels, specifically a group that's members are usually better educated and have a higher social status (Clark 1991). This study will explore the portrayal of media within advertisements to evaluate if a new medium is introduced to the public using models or settings that give the impression of the socioeconomic elite that Lacy discussed. It is speculated that as time goes on, the diffusion will spread to the general public and the changes will be reflected in the advertising. The research will attempt to

gather insight into the distribution of media specifically how advertising may influence the way in which media is presented to the public.

Tichenor, Donohue and Olien (1970) describe the Knowledge Gap hypothesis stating that as the "infusion of mass media information into a social system increases, segments of the population with higher socioeconomic status tend to acquire this information at a much faster rate than the lower status segments, that the gap between these segments tends to increase rather than decrease" (p 159).

This theory will be evaluated in this study by analyzing the way in which new media are represented in advertising especially with regard to gender. Mc Quail (1994) describes the Knowledge Gap theory as a consequence of media news and information for the distribution of knowledge as between social groups, with particular reference to different kinds of media sources and to the social origins of variation (p 357).

The Knowledge Gap theory is not actually tested in the study because obviously the study has not collected data on the knowledge of the audience. However, it does serve as a way to analyze the function of advertising. Ads may help to perpetuate or encourage the idea of certain groups receiving mass media information first, thus encouraging a knowledge gap within society.

The way in which advertising may contribute to the Diffusion of Innovation and Knowledge Gap theories is explored within the study. It is hoped that through this research, greater understanding will be gained of the way in which media advertising plays a role in positioning technologies.

In addition to socioeconomic class, this study is concerned with gender portrayals. Previous research in the analysis of gender portrayal in print advertising has shown that women are more often shown in what Brown (1981) categorizes as "home-bound" activities, such as reading, knitting and gardening. However, in Brown's study of images of family life in magazine advertisements, within the period of 1920-1978, he contends that around 1975, advertisements began to reflect the progression of women in more active recreational activities. This, he states, was probably due in part to the feminist movement. This is important because the same pattern in the analysis of the relationship between women and media is expected in this study. The advertisements are expected to show the changing attitudes of women as they become less concerned with being a good housewife and more concerned with becoming an independent career woman. A career woman that needs and uses new media to retrieve hard news for business related activities, rather than using media merely as a form of entertainment. Demarest and Garner (1985) state that past studies have found that women are more often used in advertisements for cooking, cleaning and personal hygiene products. No studies have examined women's relationship to media products.

Belk and Pollay (1985) analyzed the images of life depicted during the period between 1900-1980. Their analysis concluded that, "while there is little evidence found to support some critics' contention that advertising has visually portrayed a gradually, more luxurious and comfortable lifestyle, the themes employed in advertising do lend support to such an assertion," (p 887). The central argument of their study was to evaluate whether advertising presents an escalating view of the good life, in terms of increasing

abundance, luxury and leisure. Belk and Pollay concluded that "advertising did not show an escalating image of the good life, as much as they increasingly employed pleasure, luxury, and terminal materialism to sell their products and services" (p 895). Belk and Pollay revealed a thematic pattern of product representation.

Previous research on the portrayal of leisure-related activities versus business-related activities asserts that due to the abundance of ads portraying leisure, life is depicted as leisure while work is a necessary evil. This study examined how media are represented in social settings, according to the definitions of a leisure-related activity or business-related activity.

This research attempted to gain knowledge about the role of media in society as portrayed within advertising. From this analysis, advertisements are expected to introduce a new medium as a leisure-related activity, rather than as a business-related activity. The study will only look at advertisements that include one of the following media; books, newspapers, magazines, radio, television and computers. The researcher has defined a medium as a form of communication however this study concentrates on the media previously mentioned. A sample of ads within *Harper's Magazine* that contain a medium will be analyzed, regardless of whether the medium is the product advertised or the medium is featured in the background of the ad. The basic and essential starting question of this research project is, the question, How are the media portrayed in the advertisements of *Harper's magazine* throughout the period 1931- 2000? In answering this question this study adds to our understanding of how advertising may contribute to the Diffusion of Innovation theory and the Knowledge Gap theory. It also provides

additional understanding of genders' roles in advertising and how media are presented to

society.

CHAPTER II- LITERATURE REVIEW

This study is unique because there is little research that has focused on the actual portrayal of media in advertisements. However, there have been a number of studies that have been focused on the types of products that appear in advertisements within which media have been mentioned. A study conducted in 1996 by Wiles, Wiles and Tjernlund, looked at the product categories found in magazine ads. The product category most often found in magazine ads in 1996 were personal care/ beauty (26.4%), then clothes (19.6%) and food (16.2%). Wiles et al., (1996) found that media products, such as magazines and books were among the least advertised group.

The following literature review focuses on three key areas of research: 1) Media technologies and society and the diffusion of innovations 2) the strength of using magazine print advertisements as a tool of analysis, 3) the issue of gender and its portrayal in media.

Media Evolution

In order to understand why the portrayal of media use in advertising may have changed during the period 1931-2000, it is necessary to gather a base of knowledge about some of the major societal changes within this period. The transformation of the mass communication industry has been described as a smooth and loquacious transition. However, this is not exactly true, the changes were sporadic and overlapped.

The history of the mass communication industry is often traced from an oral perspective, to written traditions, to print. For the purposes of this study, the media

transformation will start at 1931, with the status of newspapers and conclude with the advances of the Internet, at the onset of the new Millennium.

Hargrove explains that the first twenty-five years of the Twentieth Century were a period of immense change, the United States became urban, industrial, wealthy and electronic. This period saw the birth of, or maturation of the modern telecommunications technologies. The first motion picture theater was built in 1905 and by the 1940s some of the most classic movies ever made, such as "Wizard of Oz," and "Gone with the Wind" had been released.

Gordon (1977) comments that the turn of the century was a magnificent time for print media and set the mold for the growth of modern journalism (p 110). The introduction of photography was an integral part of the newspaper's formation. New technologies and techniques allowed newspapers to provide features, photographs and cartoons to the whole of the United States.

The thirties were an influential decade in the mass communication industry. According to Gordon (1977) radio was a "new and spellbinding medium," hearing voices and listening to music symbolized just about everything for which the technological revolution in mass communication had come to stand (p 154). Radio was not only more pervasive, but it was a much faster way to receive information. It provided entertainment, news, cultural advice and actual live coverage of events, right there, in the comfort of your own home. Radio has been termed as the "herald of the next quarter century, allowing fireside chats to ease the fears of the Great Depression, entertain with "Amos 'n Andy" and warn of the massive global changes during the world wars.

Hargrove states that mass communications had seemed to go as far as they could go in spreading their influences through radio in society: to homes, inside cars, filling leisure hours and providing news that would otherwise not be reported.

Paperback books began to appear in the 1930s. Gordon (1977) asserts that paperback books were popular because not only were they were inexpensive, but also because they could be purchased in more convenient places other than just bookstores. The books were mainly reprints of hardback bestsellers and were not strictly paperbacks, but were fairly sturdy volumes (p 199). These books were an immediate success, especially in the period following the Second World War.

Magazines such as *Harper's Weekly* and *The Nation*, were first introduced early in the nineteenth century. Newsmagazines progressively became more popular throughout the 1920s, especially with the introduction of *Time* magazine. However, as television began to grow and take up advertising budgets from other media, newsmagazines' popularity began to fade. *Reader's Digest* began publishing in 1922, and promised thirty-one articles each month to its readers (Hargrove 2001). In 1933, *Esquire* magazine was introduced.

In 1926, J. L. Baird introduced the transmission of motion pictures namely television, and in 1928 the public were able to receive images in their homes. Gordon (1977) states that by 1940, there were twenty-three television stations on air, and "by 1948, video was definitely a part of the American landscape" (p 238). However, these video miracles were not available to everyone. The television receivers were extremely expensive and so for many, the idea of owning a television set was something of a status symbol, "the rich,

the up-to-date, the young at heart were the first to embrace television" (p 238). Gordon (1977) remarks that the desire to be seen owning a television set was so strong that the sale of antennas far outsold the sale of actual television sets (p 238). In 1935, Alfred Hitchcock released, "The 39 Steps" and in 1938 cartoons first entranced children.

However, television was not a profitable mass communication medium until the 1950s, which has been remembered as the beginning of the age of television. Hargrove states that despite the national disillusionment about the Cold War and conflict in Vietnam, Americans were excited about the joys of home entertainment. Gordon (1977) states that the arrival of the television did not displace much in American life, but, looking back, "it seems as if part of almost every aspect of our culture slid somehow into the television tube" (p 277).

Hargrove comments that the period of 1975-2000 were the years of "dazzling technology, when America became a virtual community." The most influential medium to hit the public since television has been the Internet. In 1976, the prototype for the Apple I was produced, and only five years later, *International Business Machines* introduced its first personal computer.

Leiner et al. (2001) state that "The Internet is at once a world-wide broadcasting capability, a mechanism for information dissemination, and a medium for collaboration and interaction between individuals and their computers without regard for geographic location. First developed in 1968, the Internet has grown from a handful of operational networks to the huge Internet society of today.

Today, the speed and development of new media technologies is astounding. Each year, new products are introduced and equipment marketed that can transmit more information, at a much faster rate to more people. The changes are immensely powerful and this tempo of change makes it very hard for some people to keep up.

Fidler (1997) attempts to figure out the puzzles and to give advice to those who feel threatened by the changes. Fidler (1997) used the phrase "mediamorphosis" to define the massive shift of the media industry, stating that this transformation is "usually brought on by the complex interplay of perceived needs, competitive and political pressures and social and technological innovations" (p xv). Fidler (1997) talks mainly about the Internet, praising " It is wonderful. It gives voices to those who don't have a radio or TV frequency or a printing press" (p xiii).

Communications Technologies and Society

In order to assess the portrayal of media within advertisements, it is necessary to understand the transformation of the mass communication industry and its impact on the American public. The distribution of communication can help determine class segmentation and augment societal discriminations. Lacy (1996) explores the relationship between the introduction of new communication technologies and their impact on society. Lacy explains that the sharing of power tends to correspond to the sharing of access to information. Many people are left unable to receive information, creating a small privileged class. This elite group is made up of people who have the requisite skills and facility to use the new technology. However, as the new medium

12

develops, it becomes more accessible to the general public and its ability to be used broadens, thus closing the knowledge gap.

Mc Quail (1994) states that the most common reference to this theory is to the process of take-up of technological innovations within a given population, often on the basis of advertising or general publicity. The diffusion of innovation can be an unintended as well as an intended effect (p 357).

The Diffusion of Innovation theory has been explored by a number of researchers. Oliver, Marwell, and Texeira (1985) extends the "formal theory of collective action to define and specify the role of the critical mass" (p 522). Critical mass is concerned with the adoption of a new technological advancement. The transition tends to emerge from a group of individuals to the acceptance by a mass audience. Oliver et al. state that "collective action usually depends on a 'critical mass' that behaves differently from typical group members. Sometimes the critical mass provides some level of the good for others who do nothing, while at times the critical mass pays the start up costs and induces widespread collective action" (p 522). Oliver et al. provide a theoretical analysis of the factors that affect critical mass adoption. The dependent variables are the "probability, extent, and effectiveness of group activities of group actions in pursuit of collective goods" (p 523). The independent variables are the form of the production function relating contributions of resources to changes in level of the collective good. The second group of independent variables concerns the diversity of interests and assets within the mass.

The Diffusion of Innovation theory has been explored in other studies, such as Markus' (1987) study, which attempted to describe diffusion and the adoption of interactive media systems, such as telephone, paper mail systems, electronic mail, voice messaging, or computer conferencing, within communities (p 491). Markus states that interactive media have two attributes that are not shared by other innovations; a widespread usage creates universal access, a public good that individuals cannot be prevented from enjoying even if they have not contributed to it. Second, "use of interactive media entails reciprocal interdependence, in which earlier users are influenced by later users as well as vice versa" (p 491).

Markus states that by applying the critical mass theory to interactive media helps to propose conditions under which universal access is more or less likely to occur. First, "use of interactive media by members of a community creates a public good that is independent of the efforts of the individuals who produce it. Once universal access has been achieved, users can derive some benefits that were not possible when the medium permitted access to only a subset of community members" (p 505). Secondly, Markus states that the use of interactive media by the members of a community entails reciprocal interdependence. Namely that the outputs of one user are the inputs to another user and vice versa. If the use of the medium were not exchanged, then the medium would eventually become obsolete.

The Diffusion of Innovation theory leads to further examination of the Knowledge Gap theory, for if new technologies or information is diffused to the elite group within society first, does this contribute to a knowledge gap?

Genova and Greenberg (1979) conducted a study to assess the different components of "interest and knowledge about two well publicized news events" (p 82). The results of the study suggest that "specialized interests in ongoing news events can yield more sensitive expectations about public information gain than such socioeconomic factors as education" (p 88).

Moore (1987) analyzed the gap in knowledge between high and low status voters, in a campaign setting. The results showed that "knowledge gaps did exist at both the beginning and the end of the campaign" (p 187). Obviously, this study did not actually test the Knowledge Gap theory, but used it as a field of reference.

The power of mass media upon society cannot be underestimated. Stabile (2000) states that all forms of mass media, from newspapers to radio to television, have long accepted their position as the precursor of modernity. Mass media act as "world agents in the production of the present, and to a large extent, as both the alpha and the omega of massive social changes" (p 2).

Just looking at our own lives, it is clear that our communities, education and families, to an extent, revolve around the information that we receive from the media. Today, the Internet is an everyday method of communication, but ten years ago it was considered state of the art, and drew clear distinctions between the people who had access to such advanced communication and those who did not.

Slack's (1984) *Communication Technologies and Society: Conceptions of Causality and the Politics of Technological Intervention* focuses on "the critique of technology: that is, the interpretation and evaluation of the place, functions, and effects of

any particular technology in its social and political context" (p x). The author builds on the assumption that technology is a kind of human practice, rather than an external agent that can be manipulated by humans. She states that as a communication technology "emerges, is defined, shaped, and implemented, and has its effects always as one mode of practice among others, then the question of technological critique becomes one of "over-determination of social practices" (p x). This is a relevant argument to this research project. One of the goals of the present study is to evaluate the introduction of new media technologies through advertising. Does advertising associate a new medium with one gender before the new medium has even become a social practice?

Slack (1984) asserts that there is an increasing wealth of knowledge of philosophical reflection and research that is centered on the fundamental role of communication in society (p xii). The media play a crucial role in our daily lives, therefore it is important to understand their power. Communication technologies are given a "transcendental status," "a widely diverse set of practices is subordinated to an imposed identity" and " a particular reduction of the multiple and contradictory subjectivities of human existence is carried out" (p xiii). "Technology does not *cause* society. Nor does society *cause* technology. Rather, technology is developed and used in society, in the complex interplay of social forces that are at the same time both cause and effect" (p xv).

Due to the immense and dramatic changes that are occurring with the communication industry, Slack urges that this is a period when communication's role in society ought to be heavily studied. All communication scholars within the "information

age" would benefit from understanding the relationships between communication technologies and society.

Bell (1975) attempts to define the relationship between technology and society. Bell defines technology as the "instrument ordering human experience within a logic of efficient means" (p 50). Bell tries to explain the power of technological change in society, he states that the developments in technology have brought the world to new levels of technological power and has created a crisis of transformation. However, it is difficult to decipher exactly what has been changed, Bell adds that to simply say "our lives" is an inadequate explanation. Bell states that recent inventions, such as the Internet, that have altered our daily lives may appear phenomenal and exceptional, but how do they compare to changes in the past. This is an extremely interesting point, for today, we think that the Internet is the most powerful and modern media development, but did people have the same thoughts and shocks about television? Bell speculates how we can measure this level of change. It was hoped that the present study would help to show how new media technologies are introduced to the public, and to give us some understanding about the suspected power of the new medium.

Many other articles have been written to confront the concern over the proliferation of new technologies on our daily lives. Winner (1978) acknowledges the belief held by some researchers that "somehow technology has gotten out of control and follows its own course, independent of human direction" (p 13). The author even goes so far as to say that technological innovation has become so "rapid and pervasive that it

threatens to destroy all vestiges of permanence, continuity and security in modern society" (p 47).

Winner (1978) states that modern writers have observed that technical devices extend human capabilities, in that they allow humans to perform actions that they previously had not been able to do and even goes so far as to say that communication technologies "as they expand one's power to see, hear, speak and express oneself over large distances, also allow human individuals to be something that, a kind of being, previously unknown on earth" (p 179). Perhaps, Winner is implying that as a human begins to use a new medium, he/she has communication capabilities that no one else could even comprehend.

In Winner's conclusion, he states that as the technological reconstruction of the world continues, everything to some extent is affected and transformed to fit the social needs of the technical ensemble. This is also a useful consideration when looking at the advertisements, for how do the settings of the advertisements change, as the technology becomes more widespread?

Slack (1984) further explores the relationship between communication technologies and society. There has been much research on the impact of technologies on society, but as Slack indicates, there has been relatively little research on the inventive or management process. Williams (1975) states that technologies are "looked for and developed with certain purposes and practices already in mind" (p 14), some direct some indirect. Slack states that these purposes are direct "as known social needs, purposes and practices to which the technology is not marginal but central" (p 19). If this is true then

the advertisements for new media products will have established a role for the new medium before the public is even aware of the product. The advertisements will show who is intended to use the product and for what purposes it will be used.

Slack states that the focus of research can no longer be the impact of a new object on society, but rather the understanding of the complex of social relations within which a technology emerges (p 19).

One impact of new technology that has been studied is the diffusion of a new product through society. According to Rogers (1971) a new communication technology (such as a new medium) has the effect of widening the knowledge gap in society, because the first to adopt the new medium are the socioeconomic elite who are already information-rich. This relates to the present study because advertising identifies target audiences and tells society who is meant to use a product.

There have been a number of studies that have looked at the way a new technological idea moves from creation to use within a society. According to Clark (1991) there are five stages within which a technological innovation passes: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation and confirmation. Clark states that early knowers are generally more highly educated and have higher social status.

The Importance of Advertising Analysis

Advertising is an exceptionally effective tool for historical analysis and is a powerful form of communication. Schudson (1984) stated that even if it cannot be determined if advertising initiates consumer trends or merely reinforces them, advertisements are a pervasive part of the American aural and visual environment.

19

Schudson also stresses that advertising is a distinctive and central symbolic structure that may shape our sense of values.

Clark and Motley (1995) state that advertisements can be as "informative as the articles that surround them" (p 111). Through advertisement analysis, it is possible to establish the price of goods, the array of goods for sale and their uses. However, in addition to basic information, advertisements can also provide historical records of behaviors, lifestyles, values and roles within culture at that time (p 111).

Advertising is an important historical record. Belk and Pollay (1985) realized the wealth of information that could be gathered from advertising in a study they conducted in 1985. The study's aim was to evaluate the image of life depicted in a content analysis of advertisements appearing in a number of magazines between 1900 and 1980.

The researchers described advertisements as the "family album of society" giving a picture of how life was (p 888). However, just as our family albums show pictures of happy, smiling faces, advertisements also show a biased view. Belk and Pollay assert that advertisements show life as we would like it to be, not only do they present images of an ideal life, but also detailed instructions on how to live our lives.

Holder (1973) believes that the instruction that advertising provides is potentially important to consumers because it provides manners, styles, entertainment, and lifestyles, knowing what is new or popular may be a means of gaining prestige and acceptance (Belk and Pollay 1985, p 888).

This is a significant factor to consider in light of the present analysis; one of the objectives of this study is to evaluate if the advertisements for a new media product imply

that a certain prestige is also bought along with the product. The study attempted to answer if the image of using a new medium implies certain superiority or intellectual predominance.

Kang's (1997) study aimed to evaluate the specific behaviors such as the ones mentioned earlier and to determine what gender behavior patterns have been most prevalent in magazine advertisements in 1979 and 1991. Kang used random samples of print ads and used Goffman's *Gender Advertisements* (1979) study to see how gender images of print advertisements have changed since 1979 (p 979).

Kang (1997) states that magazine advertisements are not meant to serve as social primers enumerating the cultural roles of correct and proper behavior. They are designed to naturalize people and things in such a way as to maximize demand by defining social relations in terms of the consumption of goods and services (p 994).

Klassen, Jasper and Schwartz (1993) analyzed the depiction of men and women's roles in the advertisements found in *Ms*, *Playboy* and *Newsweek* magazines. Klassen et al. (1993) also have their own definition of the meaning behind advertisements and why they used ads as a method of understanding media messages. The researchers state that "The subtle and sometimes blatant messages communicated by advertisements contribute to the definition of what is considered appropriate behavior for men and women in the United States" (P 30). In the present study, Klassen et al.'s definition was used to analyze how the ads portray the models using the new medium.

Wiles, Wiles and Tjernlund (1996) conducted a study to compare the content of 1996 US magazine advertising to that of advertising in the 1970s. The study used a cross-

cultural content analysis that revealed a strong similarity between the United States and the print ads of Sweden. Wiles et al. (1996) believe that the impact of advertising is not limited to the message content about its products or services, but that advertising also "communicates, directly or indirectly, norms, judgements, and values which may have no relationship with the products advertised" (p 57).

Wiles et al. found that the values manifested in American advertising have not changed significantly over the past twenty years. Of particular interest is the fact Wiles et al.'s study found that the ads did reflect the increasing commitment of women to the workforce. Another important finding in the Wiles et al. (1996) study is that due to the abundance of ads portraying leisure, "life is depicted as leisure while work is a necessary evil. In addition, life is depicted as consumption, not activity or work" (p 58). This study looked at the representation of media to evaluate if they are featured more often as forms of leisure or as business-related products.

Wiles et al. (1996) chose magazine advertisements as the medium of the study for many reasons: magazines provide high quality, enduring images and a strong visual impression of the models in their advertising, (p 60). They believe that it is worthwhile to study the content, as opposed to the effects, of magazine advertising. The researchers do recognize that the content has something to do with the effects; and that the content of advertising has relevance to the shaping of general societal values and norms (Wiles et al. 1996, p 63).

Gender

Rakow and Kranich (1991) warn that in order to effectively analyze the representation of gender, it is first necessary to define exactly what is meant by gender, and the connotations that its definition holds. According to Rakow and Kranich (1991), some feminists have stated that gender is a semiotic system, a system of meaning based on difference. To separate one gender from another, one gender is given a certain set of characteristics and the other gender is given the opposite characteristics.

It is also important to establish the relationship between the portrayal of gender in the media as opposed to the reality of gender. Does the portrayal of gender influence the actual reality of gender? According to Cowie (1977), there are two problems with assuming or expecting a direct correspondence between an image and "reality." She states that an image is always an interpretation of reality, which is it-self based on a previous interpretation. This pattern implies that "real" women are as socially constructed as "the product of discursive practices, as the sign "women" in the visual image" (Rakow and Kranich 1991, p 11). Therefore, how is it possible to define the roles that each gender should play in society if the reality of gender difference has already been altered due to media?

Rakow (1986) explores the relationship between biology and culture. Rakow quotes a previous study conducted by Putnam who suggests that gender should be treated as an effect rather than a cause of communication. Sexual differences research, Putnam argues, are limited by the fact that the research rests on the assumption that researchers

know and can recognize the behaviors and traits that are definitely feminine and those that are masculine (Rakow 1986).

Another problem with deciphering gender issues is that as media become more aware of the bias in the portrayal of women, the media outlets become more apt to show what they consider more "realistic" portrayals of independent career women. However, Rakow recognizes the value of Myers (1982) argument, which is that the representations of women are perpetually shifting and need repeated examination. Therefore, how can one role of women be classified as the true and accurate reflection of society?

Rakow (1986) states that sex is a biological difference and gender is a cultural difference, a category of social organization. Frye (1983) states that "gender is both something we do and something we think with, both a set of practices and a system of cultural meanings" (Rakow 1986, p 21). Rakow (1986) quoting Spender writes that if gender is something that is constructed because of our experiences, then the effect of this has been to provide men the opportunity to construct the myth of male superiority (Rakow 1986). This is relevant to the present study because the reflection of male superiority will be assessed with regard to media use.

The struggle over the definition of gender is something that may never be completely resolved. However, it is important to remember that this gender system is accomplished in communication. Rakow states that it takes place at interaction and social practice. Rakow (1986) states that communication creates gender, which creates communication.

Rakow's study is an extremely good place to start the present study. She urges that in order to understand the relationship between gender and communication technologies, it is advised that the study should analyze the "way in which a technology is used to construct us as women and men through the social practices that put it to use" (p 24). Therefore, this study adds to our understanding of media's role in gender creation by analyzing the situation and setting within which a medium is being used, and how these environments contradict or reinforce the characteristics of each gender.

Gender Portrayals within Media

Many scholars have recognized the effectiveness of using print ads to analyze gender. First (1998) states that Goffman's *Gender Advertisements* (1979) "suggest that advertising conveys cultural ideas about each sex, sometimes in a subtle form, at other times more explicitly" (p 1066).

According to Kang (1997), many studies show the images of women to be "of weak, childish, dependent, domestic, irrational, subordinate creatures" (p 981). Friedan (1963) is a pioneer of research conducted to evaluate women's representations in the media. She believes, that having persuaded women that their role in society, regardless of their education or aspirations, was as a housewife, publishers actually began to believe the notion that they had created and subsequently thought of women as lacking intellect (Courtney and Whipple 1983). If this observation is true, then women will be represented as neither interested in media, nor able to effectively use media.

Friedan's work looked at the social definition of women's roles in the pages of women's magazines; and recognized that the portrayals of women there, both in editorial

and advertising, were influential forces in society. Friedan saw print media not only as a documentary tool, which she used to research her theories, but also as a critical moving force in creating for woman, a view of her ideal self (Courtney and Whipple 1983). There has been a massive wealth of research of women's roles and representation in the media that were used as a guide to this study. There is an abundance of research on the portrayal of women in media. Many of the studies concentrate on the portrayal of women as sex objects. Venkatesan and Losco (1975) conducted a comprehensive content analysis of the portrayal of women in magazine advertising during 1959-1971, (p 50). The conclusions that were drawn stated that the number of advertisements portraying women as sex objects has decreased since 1959, but unfortunately many other stereotypes have been maintained.

The coding categories for analysis included; "woman as dependent on man, woman as overachieving housewife, woman as high-living, woman as physically beautiful, woman as sexual object and woman as sexy" (p 52). Venkatesan and Losco (1975) observed the increasing pressure to reflect the changing societal attitudes in their advertising (p 50). The study shows that the pressure has had some effect on magazine advertising. The results from this study are useful to the issue of understanding gender portrayal and are certainly relevant to the present study in particular, the roles of women as portrayed within advertising.

Betterton (1987) recounts some of the studies that explore the relationship between the image of women and social reality. Within the book, Pollock (1987) argues that it is simply not possible to distinguish image from social reality. She states that it

26

would be more effective to look at how such representations work to categorize and reproduce certain definitions of the feminine, by comparing them to the way in which men are represented, instead of comparing unreal images with real women. From this Betterton (1987) argues that advertising does not simply create 'images of women'; it constructs differences between men and women. If this conclusion is true, then perhaps it is worth considering studies that look at men's portrayal in media to gather insight into a possible bias that may occur against the male sex. This study looked at portrayals of both men and women in relation to media use portrayed in print advertisements.

Advertising is not the only unit of measurement, other studies have examined editorial content. Demarest and Garner (1985) analyze the representation of women's roles in women's magazines during the past thirty years. A content analysis of editorial samples from both *Ladies Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping Magazine* were used as the sample between 1954 and 1982. The researchers recorded the amount of articles that depicted women in roles such as wives, mothers and homemakers.

The researchers hypothesized that women's roles depicted in traditional middle-class women's magazines have changed since the middle to late 1960s, to reflect a greater proportion of nontraditional themes. The findings support the hypothesis in that the results do reveal an increase in the articles that include political, social and economic (i.e. non-stereotypical) themes. However, Demarest and Garner (1985) discover that despite the increase of nontraditional themes, traditional sex role models still dominate the content of women's magazines.

The results showed that the least represented theme in *Ladies Home Journal* was career development, and in *Good Housekeeping* the least represented theme was that of personal development. However, articles on career development found in *Ladies Home Journal* did show a dramatic increase in the period of 1965 to 1972. For the purpose of this study, these results are interesting because they show how the representation of gender can change, over a short period of time, as a response to changes in society. However, Demarest and Garner (1985) conclude that even magazines devoted explicitly to women have failed to respond significantly to the reality of changing roles of women.

The fact that the study finds more articles appearing on career development for women would indicate that advertisements portraying media use by women may gradually focus away from media as a leisure activity, and toward media as a more business-related activity. Another valuable conclusion that can be drawn from Demarest and Garners' (1985) study is that magazines with middle class audiences were more responsive to changes in women's roles. This could lead to future studies that evaluate the extent to which class plays a role in the portrayal of women in ads. The study also looked at the advertisements within two women's magazines and found that the product categories mostly consisted of cooking, cleaning and personal hygiene goods. The product categories did not change significantly within the thirty-year period.

The Demarest and Garner (1985) study regards the relationship between magazine editorial decisions and advertising. The magazines in this study tended to remain conservative and maintain traditional social norms, and the authors infer that this is due to the funding from advertisers expectations of the magazine content, and their

desire to limit deviation from traditional sex-roles themes.   This is interesting because if the advertisers are making the decisions regarding gender representation in print media, then the results from the present study will show a more obvious trend of biased gender portrayal.

Busby (1975) looks at the sex-role research executed on the mass media. Busby investigates a three-part study conducted by Stolz et al. in 1974. Stolz et al. (1974) aimed to detect the changes in the status of women's roles before and after the development of the women's movement in America (p 118). The study specifically looked at the modifying occupational roles for women in magazine fiction. The results of this study show a new acceptability of women with careers. Again this study reinforces the hypothesis of the present study, that the advertisements will show an increasing amount of women using media in a business or career related activity.

There has been a vast array of research that has looked at female images in the media, particularly the depiction of women in magazine ads (such as Kang (1997) and Courtney and Lockeretz (1971)). However, Feje (1989) states that some research has used the different sexes as points of comparison and distinct evaluation.

Kolbe and Albanese (1996) conducted a content analysis to look at the images of sole-males in male-audience magazines. The specific objective of their study was to "describe the physical characteristics of the men appearing alone in the ads" (p 1). The research is important because it recognizes that physical attributes of people appearing in ads are an integral part to the understanding of how the advertisers use them to

communicate a message. The results of the study indicated that there is some "uniformity of sole-male images across magazine titles as well as interesting differences" (p 1).

Ford, Vooli, Honeycutt Jr. and Casey (1998) note that not only were women being shown in positive ways as often as men, but also that they were not predominantly found in advertisements for low-priced products, which is a common international stereotype. This stereotype of women being an inferior authority of certain products is relevant to the present study for many reasons. It was interesting to see if women are more often found in advertisements for low-priced media products, such as magazines, and men will be portrayed as the authority in advertisements for high-priced media products, such as televisions.

Klassen, Jasper and Schwartz (1993) analyzed images of men and women and their relationships as portrayed in magazine advertisements. In order to evaluate how men and women were portrayed together, the researchers looked at a number of different magazines for analysis: *Ms., Playboy* and *Newsweek*. The researchers used Goffman's (1976) Analysis of Gender Display, as a framework to observe the more abstruse visual cues in ads regarding the relationship between men and women. Goffman's (1976) analysis examines the depiction of the way people appear in the ads, such as their facial expressions, posture and their relative position within the ad (Klassen et al. 1993, p 31). The study is unique because it only centers on the images of relationships, rather than the roles of women. Klassen et al. (1993) identify some of the advantages of using Goffman's analysis, stating that it offers insight into the relationships between the two sexes and it also allows the exploration of less obvious elements of an ad (p 33).

According to Goffman (1979) there is no consistent way that men and women are positioned together in ads, but he does outline the two most common poses of men and women together that can be used in coding schemes. The "traditional pose" is one where men are viewed as having an executive, directing role with women, and the opposite to this, the "reverse-sex pose" (Klassen et al. 1993). The other pose is the "equality pose", where both men and women neither conform to nor conflict stereotypical understanding (Klassen et al. 1993, p 34).

Within Klassen et al's (1993) study, Goffman's categories are defined. The traditional poses are defined as those that use scenes, characters, relative placement, expressions, identities, and roles that are stereotypically identified with women and men (p 33). According to Kolbe and Albanese (1996), the value of using Goffman's studies relies on the validity of his assumption that advertisers use physical displays to convey information about social identity. Relative size refers to poses in which the authoritative power of one person is expressed by her or his social position relative to the picture. Relative size will be useful to this study to evaluate the relationship between the models within the ad and their association with the medium featured. Within the study it was found that even though women were being shown as competently using a medium, the men often still conveyed a stronger, more authoritative role. Function ranking refers to the evidence showing one person having executive power when performing a collaborative task. Function ranking was useful because it will give insight into the relationship between models of different sexes and their association with the medium featured. For example, it would be assumed that using a new medium such as a computer

would convey certain power or authority over someone who wasn't using the medium. Both function ranking and relative size classifications were useful codes in the analysis. They were used to determine whether the portrayal of an individual using a medium (for example, reading a newspaper) implies that the person has a higher level of intellect than the others in the ad, and thus places them in a more powerful role.

Klassen et al.'s (1993) study was comprised of a stratified random sample of journals, four issues per year (one per season). Depictions of men were classified as either: traditional pose, reverse-sex pose, and equality pose (Klassen et al. 1993, p 34). Conclusions drawn from the Klassen et al. (1993) study indicate that there is a larger proportion of women depicted in traditional roles compared to those portraying men and women as equals. However, the number of equality pose ads is increasing.

Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) conducted a study on women's portrayal in print magazine advertisements. This study analyzed print advertisements to see if the negative stereotypes that female libertarian groups had complained about could be identified. The study paid particular attention to comparing the occupational and non-working roles of women and men as portrayed in advertisements (p 92).

Magazines designed for both sexes were used to look for stereotypes, because they were more likely to show women in a wider variety of roles. The ads were coded to record the product type, number of, and sexes of adults and their occupation or activity. The conclusions of this study showed that women were not often shown in working roles, and were also rarely found out of the home setting. The researchers contended many of the ads portrayed women in a number of stereotypical roles. Stereotypical roles

recognized by Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) included "a woman's place is in the home" and "women do not make important decisions or do important things" (p 94). One finding of particular interest is that the study looked at the type of products advertised by which sex. Men were more often portrayed in advertisements for media products than women were.

Sexton and Haberman (1974) built on the study conducted three years earlier, by Courtney and Lockeretz (1971). Sexton and Haberman's study is more comprehensive in terms of both the time-span and the dimensions used to evaluate the ads (1974). The researchers defined some of the stereotypes that are criticized. Stereotypes defined by Sexton and Haberman (1974) include, "the happy and diligent housewife who strives for whiter wash and shinier floors; the beautiful but dependent social companion, and the girl who wishes to be blond, think or have a characteristic she does not naturally possess" (p 41).

The hypotheses of the Haberman and Sexton (1974) study were that; women would generally be shown in situations where interpersonal relations were paramount-e.g. as housewives, mothers, or social companions and, that the ways in which women were portrayed would over time become more diverse and less traditional (p 43). The results of the study showed that the trends of two decades had not altered from the image of women "as social people appearing in a predictable role" (p 45).

Ferguson, Kreshel, and Tinkham (1990) conducted a study that analyzed just one particular magazine. *Ms Magazine* had a policy to accept advertisements for publication, which are not considered 'harmful' or insulting to women. The Ferguson et al. (1990)

study was initiated to assess if *Ms. Magazine* had indeed kept advertising standard to its policy.

An area of the study examined the functional relationship between role portrayals and product classifications. Ferguson et al. (1990) explain that it is hardly surprising that advertising should be a target for criticism. The reason given is that because advertising is so powerful and has the ability to transmit cultural meaning, the presence of stereotypes is something we all should have concern about. Ferguson et al.'s (1990) study analyzed the advertisements within the first fifteen years of publication, 1973-1987. *Ms. Magazine* established itself as an "institutional prototype for the appropriate conduct of advertising to women." In doing so, it called itself the "magazine of record for women" (p 41). The ads were classified by product category of the sponsor and time period in the history of the magazine.

The results did show that *Ms. Magazine* has in fact been inconsistent with its stated advertising policy and printed advertisements for products that were considered harmful to women. Also, even though the advertisements portraying women as subordinate to men were found to have decreased, there was still an increase in the number of ads portraying women as sex objects (p 40).

Kang's study in 1997 set out to answer the question, "What messages about women have been given to society through magazine advertising?" (p 979). Kang states that today more women are not only gaining ground in workforce participation, but are also filling positions previously once held primarily by men. Kang surmises that if women and society have changed, then surely these developments would be reflected in

advertisements. The new advertisements should show both the "new social status and the new image of the American women" (p 984). For the purpose of Kang's study, gender was defined as "culturally established categories of sex, such as female and male" (p 984). The ads were collected from 1979-1991 women's popular magazines, *Vogue*, *Mademoiselle* and *McCall*'s.

Using Goffman's categories of decoding behavior as a basis to the study, Kang found that the hypothesis that advertising should reflect the positive changes of women in society was unsupported. The results showed that the overall sexism in advertisements had not improved and had actually been maintained portraying the same stereotypical images of women, from 1979 to 1991. This study gives light to the fact that the present study may not reveal dramatic differences between decades of time. However, over the longer period of seventy years the differences should become a lot more obvious.

There are real differences between what genders want from and why they use different media. Today, the new media technology is the Internet. Smith and Whitlark (2001) looked at the Internet and its audience found that there were in fact very distinct differences between what was expected from one gender to the other. It was found that women expect communication media to entertain and educate, however this is changing as more and more women today get on-line to gather information on books, medical information and politics (p 21). The study states that, in comparison, men use the Internet because they are information-hungry and use the web for product comparisons (p 22). This raises the question, is the difference in use suggested to the genders by

advertisements representing the products, in other words, do ads perpetuate the differences?

Summary

A summary of the literature provides background information against which to base this study. There are a number of important concepts and theories attained through previous research that will provide the necessary ground against which this study can be formulated. Therefore, it is first necessary to summarize the key findings and to evaluate their role in this study.

Based on gender research, it is evident that media has failed to respond significantly to the increase of women to the workforce within society (Demarest and Garner 1985). Women are shown in stereotypical roles such as mothers and wives and are also more often portrayed in "home-bound" activities (Brown 1981). And also many ads depict women in traditional poses rather than equality poses (Klassen et al. 1993). The number of ads portraying women as sex objects has decreased (Venkatesan and Losco 1975). And finally, women are not often shown in working environments (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971).

Based on media technology research, it is evident that communication technologies are given a transcendental status within society (Slack 1984). Communication technologies allow humans to be a kind of being previously unknown on earth (Winner, 1978). The developments in technology have brought the world to new levels of technological power and have created a crisis of transformation (Bell, 1975).

From the Diffusion of Innovation theory, it is stated that the distribution of a new technology is usually communicated through particular channels, specifically a group that's members are usually more highly educated and have higher social status (Clark 1991). New media products will be first directed toward a small affluent and elite group that have both the resources and facility to use the new technology. When the media's use becomes more widely available and accessible, the products will be positioned toward the general public (Lacy 1996).

This study looks at the diffusion of innovations, namely new media, through society. The conclusions drawn from this study point to the fact that the Diffusion of Innovations theory could not actually be tested, but that the research does explore the role that advertising might play.

This study will tie together many of the different aspects of representations within advertising against one specific case, that of the representation of media within *Harper's Magazine* between 1931-2000. The culmination of previous studies point to one area that has not yet been explored in mass media research; the portrayal of media within print advertisements. The following research questions and hypotheses will guide the researcher.

Research Questions

1. Will more women models appearing in Harper's Magazine use media as a leisure-related activity than men appearing in the advertisements?

2. As the advertisements become more modern will they reflect the societal changes and show more women using media in a more business-related activity?

3. Will advertisements use a more upper class setting to introduce new media products?

4. Will advertisements introduce a new media product primarily as a more leisure-related activity rather than a business-related activity?

This research will examine the representations of women in advertisements for media products, the representations of class used in the advertisements to introduce a new medium and also the representation of the perceived function of the new media. From this research, four hypotheses are proposed for this study. The year 1970 is used as a benchmark for change, due to the energy of women's rights movement and feminism of the 1960s.

More specifically this study aims to advance our understanding of media portrayal by exploring the following hypotheses.

Hypotheses

H1   Print advertisements before 1970 portray more women than men using media as a leisure-related activity.

H2   Print advertisements after 1970 will increasingly show women using media in a primarily business-related activity.

H3   Print advertisements will use the image of upper class people, rather than the general public, to introduce a new media product.

H4   Print advertisements' will introduce a new medium primarily as a leisure-related activity rather than as a business-related activity.

CHAPTER III- METHODOLOGY

To answer these questions, the researcher used content analysis, both quantitative and qualitative of the seventy years of *Harper's Magazine.* Advertisements were chosen as the tool for analysis for many reasons. Pollay (1985) states that advertisements, particularly print ads, are important because they are visual records of behaviors, values, lifestyles and roles of objects of culture at that time. Kassarjian (1977) also states that the analysis of historical documents, such as advertisements, could lead to conclusions about public opinion, consumer values, or buyer beliefs in an earlier era.

Many researchers have recognized the strength of using ads; Goffman's *Gender Advertisements*, (1979) pays particular attention to the way in which men and women are pictured together in advertisements. Gornick (1979) states that ads are highly manipulated representations of recognizable scenes from "real life," and that Goffman uses ads to speculate on what those ads tell us about ourselves.

The study used *Harper's Magazine* because it is one of only two magazines that has run for over a century, the other magazine is *Atlantic Monthly*. *Harper's Magazine* began publishing in 1850 and *Atlantic Monthly* in 1856. Even though *Atlantic Monthly* has the largest circulation figures, *Harper's Magazine* was chosen because it is the longest running magazine in the United States. Manning (2001) states that even though both magazines have similar content, their readership only overlapped by ten percent, so companies used both magazines as vehicles for their advertising. Being that both magazines have similar editorial content and advertising content, *Harper's Magazine* was also chosen because it has maintained consistency in its audience and circulation.

Manning (2001) gives background information about the two magazines stating that the *Atlantic Monthly*'s claimed circulation of 460, 000 was grossly diluted by cut-rate subscriptions and in the 1970s it was reported that both the business side and the advertising sales force deteriorated within *The Atlantic Monthly*.   Another reason for choosing *Harper's Magazine* was because Louisiana State University library had copies of all the issues dating back to 1850.

Content Analysis

The chosen method of study is content analysis. Analyzing the content of an ad is to study the message itself and not the communicator or audience (Kassarjian 1977). Berelson (1952) defines content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (p 55). To be successfully objective, the study needs to follow formulated rules, paying special attention to the coding system of this study. The research must also be systematic, in that only the relevant data will be recorded. And finally, the study must be quantitative; the extent, emphasis or omission of any given analytic category is critical to its success.

Kolbe (1991) lists the benefits of using content analysis; first, it allows for an "unobtrusive appraisal of communications" (p 244). Secondly, content analysis can assess "the effects of environmental variables and source characteristics on message content, in addition to the effects of different kinds of message content on receiver responses" (p 244). Finally, content analysis provides an "empirical starting point for generating new research evidence about the nature and effect of specific communications" (p 244).

Despite the effectiveness of content analysis, there are some limitations connected to this method of analysis. Kolbe (1991) warns that this method of analysis is susceptible to the bias of the researcher, content analysis studies are constrained in their potential and usually yields categorical data (p 244). To mitigate these problems, qualitative analysis was also used.

The combination of the quantitative and qualitative analysis provided both statistical and descriptive information. Denzin et al. (2000) recognize the importance of combining different forms of analysis. Flick (1998), states that the combination of multiple methods of analysis adds both complexity and richness to any study.

Procedural Outline for Quantitative Content Analysis

The method chosen for this study was content analysis. The study looked at full-page advertisements found in *Harper's Magazine*. It was necessary to have access and photocopying rights to *Harper's Magazine*. A local library had copies of all issues of *Harper's Magazine* dating back as far as 1850. This study looked at the advertisements between 1931 and 2000.

A coding scheme was developed (see Appendix B) and coders were selected. In order to increase coders' familiarity with the coding scheme and operational definitions, they were trained and the necessary pre-tests were initiated. The coders were tested for inter-coder reliability. Fifty random ads formed the sample for the pretest. The total number of ads in the study is 313 ads and fifty ads for the pre-test is more than the recommended 10%. These ads were not used in the results of the study. The ads were individually coded using the coding sheet and the operational definitions (see Appendix

A). The percentage of agreement method was used to determine inter-coder reliability. There were two coders trained to initiate the test. The researcher was not one of the coders in order to secure non-biased information.

All ads that clearly show a medium were analyzed. The study analyzed two magazines per year. Looking at a previous study by Klassen et al. in 1993, a sample of journals was used based on season. Klassen et al. (1993) used four issues (one per season). The sample for this study came from the same system (per season) but confined the study to two magazines per year and the magazines were six months a part. The total sample was made up of data from two hundred magazines from both the months of February and August for each year. These months were chosen to avoid the Christmas period, as the researcher hypothesized that the advertising would be altered to reflect the holidays.

The sample was not randomly selected, as February and August were specifically chosen to avoid the holiday ads. Also, some studies indicate that random sampling is not necessary to a content analysis of this type. Krippendorff (1980) argues that "random selection of content for testing is not necessary" (Riffe et al. 1998, p 124).

The ads were full page and repeated ads were discarded. The data was divided into decades in order to effectively show developments throughout the past seventy years. The ads were coded according to the coding scheme and the results tabulated.

Category reliability is paramount to a study of this nature. The categories must be formulated to present competent definitions that the coders can understand. The variable of class is hard to determine especially over a longitudinal study such as this one, for

what might be a luxurious item to own in 1940 may be a household object in 1960.

Despite these limitations, class will be analyzed and coded as follows; the setting of an ad showing an abundance of luxurious items and clearly showing the appearance of both intellectual and material superiority is labeled as upper class. A household that has basic items for entertainment and owns necessary amenities will represent working class. An example of an advertisement showing each of the class settings was shown to the coders to give a greater understanding of what to look for in the analysis.

A leisure-related activity was defined according to the coding scheme within a previous study conducted by Jhally (1997). A leisure-related activity was described as a form of social relaxation, implying feelings of happiness, excitement, entertainment or satisfaction. In comparison, a business - related activity will be defined as a form of work, showing a lack of entertainment.

Validity and reliability are crucial factors in the analysis. Kassajarian (1977) defines validity as the extent to which an instrument measures what it purports to measure. Close examination of the units of measurement, categories, sampling procedures, and results, the instruments appear valid using some form of content validation or face validity.

Reliability and Validity Tests

Prior to the actual coding of the ads, there were a number of steps followed. First, the coders were trained using the operational definition sheet and by using actual advertisements from *Harper's Magazine* to illustrate examples of both upper class and working class. Second, a pilot test was initiated in order to ensure that the coding scheme

43

was accurate and that there was a high level of inter-coder reliability. Wimmer and Dominick (1991) state that inter-coder reliability "is used to assess the degree to which a result can be achieved or reproduced by other observers" (p 56). Fifty advertisements were coded. The results of the two coders inter-coder reliability test were compared and a 96% of agreement was calculated.

Cohen's Kappa test was used to evaluate whether the coding scheme was reliable. The inter-coder reliability test showed that the coders only had differences within a few of the coding categories. The Cohen's Kappa values were as follows; Medium Featured 1.0, Gender 1.0, Relative Size 1.0, Central Figure 0.93, Credibility 0.96, Function Ranking 0.96, Promotion 1.0, Price 1.0, Location 0.3, Use 1.0 and Class 0.73.

The results showed a Kappa range value of 0.3 to 1.0. Landis and Koch (1977) have suggested that 0.3 is a "fair" result. Although the 0.3 Kappa value is not a high result, Stemler (2001) contends that even a result of K=0 would not be a worthless result, stating that the decisions are no more consistent than we would expect based on chance.

The pilot study indicated that there were a few minor problems with the coding scheme. Specifically that the groups were not exhaustive. For example, within the code for relative size, the researcher added the code "Neither male nor female is using the medium." Also, due to the fact that not all of the ads featured both male and female models, there needed to be a code called "Both genders not featured in the ad." If the advertisements did not feature at least one model of each gender then the relative size code was not appropriate.

Improvements were made to the operational definitions and coding sheet and the changes were clearly explained to the coders. The "No models" code was added to the coding scheme for, central figure. A "No models" code was also added to the function ranking category and the code "Medium featured alone" was also added to the setting/ relationship between models category. A new inter-coder reliability test was initiated to evaluate the changes within the coding scheme and a 99% agreement was recorded.

Kassajarian (1977) states that the validity of the study can be checked if an instrument measures what it purports to measure. Wimmer et al. (1991) warns that "if sampling design is faulty, if categories overlap, or if reliability is low, the results of the study probably possess little validity" (p 175). The researcher used face validity as the technique to check that the study would be sound. Wimmer (1991) states that face validity assumes that "an instrument adequately measures what it purports to measure if the categories are rigidly and satisfactorily defined and if the procedures of the analysis have been adequately conducted" (p 175).

After carefully examining the coding procedure and making the necessary changes, the study appears to be valid. Krippendorff (1981) states that to test validity, "the results of a procedure must match with what is known to be "true" or assumed to be already valid" (p 129). Reliability assures that the analytical results represent something real, validity assures that the analytical results represent what they claim to represent (p 129). Krippendorff (1981) suggests that a form of duplication is essential "A reliable procedure should yield the same results from the same set of phenomena regardless of the

circumstances of application" (p 129). Therefore, in order to assure reliability in this study, a test of stability was applied, under test-retest conditions.

A coder was asked to re-code thirty of the advertisements (which is ten percent of the total ads collected). The researcher checked the results of the coding results from the advertisements that had previously been coded. There were three coding differences, which yielded a 0.83% of disagreement. A less than one- percent difference re-confirms the reliability of the study. The coders spent four weeks coding the advertisements. After the four-week period, the ads were collected and the data from the coding sheets were inputted into a computer database on Microsoft Excel. The data took two weeks to input into the spreadsheets ready for analysis.

A number of assumptions were made during the study, repeated advertisements were discarded after collection by the researcher, the advertisements had to be full page and must visually feature a medium. Most ads in the later decades were full page ads and therefore it was important to maintain continuity throughout the study. However, if the ad featured more than one picture, both pictures were coded only if both pictures visually featured a medium. If more than one medium was found in the ad, the coding reflected this. There were 313 ads, but 317 media featured, as three of the ads contained two media.

The researcher first analyzed the data to look for patterns within the average scores of the coding categories. "Central tendency statistics answer the question, What is a typical score?" (p 204). Wimmer et al. (1991) state that this "method provides information about the grouping of the numbers in a distribution by calculating a single

number that is characteristic of the entire distribution" (p 204). The only appropriate method for this study is to look at the modes for each category, that is the code that appears most frequently (median and mean statistics are not applicable to this study because the coding data is ordinal).

The study was a longitudinal content analysis, which compared ads from different decades. The dependent variables were the groups of *Harper's Magazine* ads that appear in different decades within the past seventy years. The independent variables will be gender, central figure, credibility of central figure, relative size, media product featured, product advertised, promotion of the medium, price of product, function ranking, setting/ relationship between models within the ad, use of medium, and the perceived class within the ad.

Qualitative Analysis

The fact that many of the advertisements do not feature a model means that a purely quantitative analysis of this group of advertisements would not be effective. There is not enough information about these ads to draw any conclusions. This problem was anticipated before the analysis and the researcher previously decided that if the results of the study did not yield the necessary abundance of statistics to ensure an effective analysis, the researcher would qualitatively analyze a sub-set of the advertisements, specifically the group of ads that feature models. The method of inquiry used was textual analysis.

Qualitative research tends to be less precise than quantitative analysis and this makes validity and reliability checks more difficult to calculate. "One reason that

qualitative researchers are less concerned with the precise form of measurement- and therefore cannot distinguish between reliability and validity checks- is that they are concerned more with the content than the form of the observation. What matters is that each additional piece of evidence is consistent with the other observations and not that each observation is identical. This is an important difference between quantitative and qualitative procedures" (p 248).

The qualitative analysis will take the form of interpretive textual analysis. This method of qualitative analysis seeks to look deeper than the denotative meaning and examine more connotative social meanings. The textual analysis approaches often view "culture as a narrative or story-telling process in which particular "texts" or "cultural artifacts" consciously or unconsciously link themselves to larger stories at play in the society" (Washington State University 2002).

Radway (1984) states that "The insights of textual studies may help to remind other qualitative researchers that while data sets hold information, they are, first and foremost, texts, which must be analyzed and interpreted to yield that information" (p 133).

Qualitative researchers work "inductively rather than deductively. They do not begin with a hypothesis; instead they generate hypotheses from their data" (Brewer and Collins 1983, p 229). In this case, hypotheses have been determined prior to the analysis however the qualitative analysis will look openly at the ads for patterns and topics to emerge, and not to purely test the hypotheses.

According to Jenson and Jankowski (1991), there has been a "growing awareness of the complexity of mass communication. A realization that media texts are not carriers of single meanings, let alone a single, dominant ideology; that their "content" is carried, in part, by the mode of address; and that audiences are active in interpreting media, genres, and texts" (p 44).

Textual Analysis Procedure

The researcher looked at the sub-set of advertisements that contain models and wrote a brief description of both the visual and the headline. Although, the researcher was more interested in the visual content of the advertisement, it is difficult to disassociate the headline from the picture. Also, the headline can carry significant information about the aim of the advertisement, which can strengthen the understanding.

The ads were analyzed first by writing a short synopsis and then from this patterns and topics should appear. Jenson and Jankowski, (1991) state that "theoretical statements are to emerge- at least partially- from the area or object of inquiry itself" (p 45).

The researcher evaluated the advertisements by looking for thematic patterns. Boyatzis (1988) states that thematic analysis is a way of seeing, it is a way of seeing something that does not appear to others, even if they are observing the same information, events or situations. Thematic analysis moves the researcher through three phases of inquiry; "recognizing an important moment (seeing) preceded encoding it (seeing it as something), which in turn precedes interpretation" (p 1). Boyatzis states that through thematic analysis researchers are able to perceive a pattern, or theme, in

seemingly random information. After a pattern is recognized, it is important to encode it or classify the description.

In this study, the researcher looked for thematic patterns within the following areas, firstly, the portrayal of gender, such as stereotypes, relative size and function ranking. Secondly, the study looked at how media are portrayed in a social setting, specifically how models are shown when they are using a medium and the perceived class within the ad. And thirdly, the study explored the promotion of the media, particularly if a medium is presented as a form of leisure or if it was featured more often as a business-related activity. The study also looked at the changing societal norms of media use, specifically, if the changing roles of women have led to more ads featuring women using media in a business-related setting.

These themes were generated deductively from prior research, but some thematic analysis can be initially generated inductively from the raw information (Boyatzis 1988, p 4). The third step in thematic analysis is to interpret the data. The ads were looked at with themes already in mind, however through the qualitative analysis further concepts became evident. The researcher recognized patterns within the themes that were not previously thought to have existed, such as the finding that many ads depicted media as tools of education.

Overview

After almost one hundred duplicate advertisements were discarded, the sample size included 313 full-page advertisements. The advertisements were divided into decades, ranging from 1931- 2000.

Controls over which advertisements were selected included the stipulations that 1) the advertisement must be a full-page advertisement and 2) that the advertisement must also visually feature a medium, whether it is a book, newspaper, magazine, television, radio or computer.

The dependent variables within the study are the decades within this seventy-year period and include, 1931-1940, 1941-1950, 1951-1960, 1961-1970, 1971-1980, 1981-1990 and 1991-2000. The independent variables within the study include; gender featured in the advertisement, central figure, relative size, media product featured, product advertised, promotion of media, price of the medium advertised, function ranking, setting/ relationship between the models within the advertisement, use of medium and also perceived class shown within the advertisement.

The execution of the study cost very little. The total cost for the photocopies was sixty dollars. It took three weeks to collect the advertisements. Each volume of *Harper's Magazine* between 1931 and 2000 was collected. The researcher looked at the February and August issues of the magazine. The researcher recorded the number of full-page ads in the issue and the number of full-page advertisements that featured a medium.

CHAPTER IV- RESULTS

Quantitative Analysis

Table 1 shows the breakdown of advertisements into the different decades. All percentages are rounded to nearest whole number. The greatest number and percentage of advertising featuring a medium occurred between 1961-1970.

Table 1: Advertisements containing media by decades.   n= 313

Decade	Number of ads containing a medium.	% of all ads in magazine.
1931-1940	12	14%
1941-1950	21	9%
1951-1960	85	23%
1961-1970	85	32%
1971-1980	46	13%
1981-1990	34	18%
1991-2000	30	14%

By looking at the modes for each category, the wealth of information gathered from the complete set of advertisements is restricted to certain coding categories. To explain more clearly, the results help to determine patterns within categories that do not involve models, but do not help to evaluate other codes that require models in the advertisement. Only 16% of the ads featured a model. The codes for gender, relative size, central figure, and function ranking are only applicable within this group of advertisements.

After carefully examining the results, it becomes evident that the majority of advertisements featuring a medium or advertising a medium do not use models in their advertisements, but merely show the product. The majority of the advertisements were for book clubs.

Table 2: The modes for each coding category divided into decades.
#of ads n=313, #media featured n=317

Decade	Medium Featured	Product advertised	Gender	Promotion of Medium	Price	Setting/ Relation ship	Use	Perceived Class
1931-1940	Book	Book	No Models	Pure product ad	Less than $10	Medium Alone	Not in Use	Tombstone ad
1941-1950	Book	Book	No Models	Sale	Less than $10	Medium Alone	Not in Use	Tombstone ad
1951-1960	Book	Book	No Models	Not advertised	Less than $10	Medium Alone	Not in Use	Tombstone ad
1961-1970	Book	Book	No Models	Sale	Less than $10	Medium Alone	Not in Use	Tombstone ad
1971-1980	Book	Book	No Models	Pure product ad	Less than $10	Other Setting	Not in Use	Tombstone ad
1981-1990	Book	Book	No Models	Pure product ad	$11-99	Medium Alone	Not in Use	Tombstone ad
1991-2000	Book	Other Category	No Models	Pure product ad	$11-99	Medium Alone	Not in Use	Tombstone ad

The complete set of advertisements will be used to quantitatively analyze the results

for patterns within the following areas; medium frequency, gender representation in the

ads, the promotion of the medium and price of product advertised and the setting/

relationship between models within the advertisement including perceived class and

medium use.

The frequency with which each medium was most often featured in the advertisements was broken down into decades. The book was most heavily represented in all decades.

Table 3: The frequency of each medium featured in the advertisements by decade. (percentage) n=313

Decade	Book	Newspaper	Magazine	Radio	Television	Computer
1931-1940	67%	25%	8%	0	0	0
1941-1950	55%	0	0	40%	5%	0
1951-1960	94%	0	0	4%	2%	0
1961-1970	85%	0	2%	7%	5%	1%
1971-1980	70%	7%	19%	2%	2%	0
1981-1990	64%	9%	21%	0	6%	0
1991-2000	46%	7%	14%	18%	4%	11%

In 1931-1940, only print media are found, the book has the highest frequency (67%), then the newspaper (25%) and finally the magazine (8%). In 1941-1950, electronic media become more frequent and radio has a dramatically higher frequency of 40%, television begins to appear but with a relatively low frequency of only 5%. This pattern is continued through both 1951-1960 and 1961-1970. By 1971-1980, the book still has the highest frequency but the other media (except the computer) are all found in the advertisements. The decade of 1981-1990 is interesting because the radio was not found in any of the advertisements. The decade 1991-2000 sees the rise of the computer and the gap between the book and other media begins to close, as all media are represented.

The frequency of the products advertised was looked at to determine if there was a relationship between what type of products or industries tend to feature media in their advertisements. It is important to remember that although media may appear in the ad, it is not always the product advertised, which is why the code "other" was applied.

The majority of advertising that visually features a medium is to advertise that particular media product. The book again becomes the most heavily represented medium in the advertisements. The book category included all book products, such as *Encyclopedia Britannica*, autobiographies, bibles and dictionaries.

Table 4: Product advertised that visually featured a medium in ad. (percentage). n=313

Decade	Book	Newspaper	Magazine	Radio	Television	Computer	Other
1931-1940	58%	8%	8%	0	0	0	26%
1941-1950	47%	0	0	26%	21%	0	6%
1951-1960	85%	1%	1%	5%	1%	0	7%
1961-1970	81%	0	1%	9%	0	1%	8%
1971-1980	56%	6%	23%	3%	3%	0	9%
1981-1990	58%	0	21%	0	0	0	21%
1991-2000	36%	0	14%	14%	0	11%	25%

As seen in Table 5, the advertisements that visually feature a medium for products other than media show that between 1941-1950 and 1951-1960, most of these advertisements were for energy companies such as electric or utility companies. The period 1971-1990 showed that most advertisements containing a medium were in advertisements for cigarettes and from 1991-2000, advertisements for bookshelves were the most common "other" category.

The frequency of which gender is featured in advertisements that contain a medium is crucial to this study. Table 6 shows the frequencies of advertisements that used only males, only females or both genders in advertisements. While the findings show an increase in percentage of women, the small number of ads showing any models makes it impossible to test for significance of this increase.

Table 5: The most frequent "Other" product category advertised. n=313

Decade	Product	% of ads
1931-1940	Telephone	8%
	General Electric	8%
	Credit Card	8%
1941-1950	Electric Company	5%
1951-1960	Utilities	4%
1961-1970	GT Electronics	1.2%
	GM Investing	1.2%
	Telephone Co.	1.2%
	Cigarettes	1.2%
	Trust Safe	1.2%
1971-1980	Cigarettes	4%
1981-1990	Cigarettes	9%
1991-2000	Bookshelves	7%

Table 6: Gender of models within the advertisements. (percentage). n=313

Decade	Only Males	Only Females	Both Genders	No Models
1931-1940	0	8%	17%	75%
1941-1950	6%	6%	11%	77%
1951-1960	5%	3%	5%	87%
1961-1970	16%	4%	8%	72%
1971-1980	5%	0	2%	93%
1981-1990	6%	0	15%	79%
1991-2000	7%	11%	7%	75%

The group of the ads that did not feature a model in the ad had the highest percentage. From these results it becomes evident that in order to gather more in-depth information about the relationship between gender and media, it is necessary to initiate the proposed qualitative analysis.

In 1931-1940, women were more highly represented than men were, but ads featuring both genders together were much more common than either gender alone. The decade 1941-1950 revealed equal representation between both genders, but both genders featured together was still higher. The period 1951-1960, 1961-1970 and 1971-1980 saw this trend

reversed as men alone were more frequently featured than either women featured alone or both genders featured together. From 1971-1980 and 1981-1990 women were not featured alone in any of the advertisements. The decade 1991-2000 is the only other decade (except 1931-1940) in which women featured alone were more frequently found in advertisements than men featured alone. No significance can be tested due to the small number of ads showing models.

After analyzing the representation of gender in the advertisements, it was important to look specifically at the advertisements that contained both genders to see if there was a relationship between which gender was represented more heavily in the advertisements.

Table 7: Gender more heavily represented in advertisements that contain both genders. n=22

Decade	# of Males featured in ad	%	# of Females featured in ad	%
1931-1940	2	40%	3	60%
1941-1950	2	50%	2	50%
1951-1960	26	81%	6	19%
1961-1970	5	56%	4	44%
1971-1980	2	67%	1	33%
1981-1990	17	65%	9	35%
1991-2000	3	50%	3	50%

Within the set of advertisements that contained both genders, females comprised the highest percentage of models in the decade 1931-1940 only. The remaining decades showed that men comprised equal or higher number of models in the advertisements. This is consistent with the results of a study conducted by Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) which found that men were more often portrayed in advertisements for media products than women were.

57

The researcher looked at how the medium is promoted in the advertisement to find patterns of how a medium is presented, specifically whether a medium is introduced as a new product, or promoted as having a new feature, or as a sale item.

Table 8: The frequencies of how media are promoted in the advertisements. (percentage). n=313

Decade	Introduction	New Feature	Sale	Pure Product Advertisement	Not a Medium Advertised
1931-1940	0	8%	8%	17%	67%
1941-1950	0	0	37%	31.5%	31.5%
1951-1960	0	0	1%	43%	56%
1961-1970	6%	9%	54%	6%	25%
1971-1980	0	0	9%	74%	17%
1981-1990	3%	0	69%	0	28%
1991-2000	0	7%	29%	50%	14%

The results from this set of statistics indicate that the majority of the ads promote the medium in a pure product advertisement or that the medium is not even the product advertised. The third highest group revealed that most media were promoted as a sale item. Many of the book club ads had special sales such as three books for a certain price.

The setting/ relationship between the models within the advertisement category gives background information about the use or association of media with day-to-day life. The analysis looked to see if media were featured more often in a family, social, business, impersonal setting or if the ad only featured one model. This category looked at the relationship among the models and the relationship of where media are most often found.

Table 9: The setting of the advertisement and the relationship between the models in which a medium is seen. (percentage). n=313

Decade	Family	Social	Business	Impersonal	Only One Model	Medium Featured Alone	No Models Featured.
1931-1940	8%	8%	0	0	8%	0	76%
1941-1950	11%	0	0	0	11%	0	78%
1951-1960	5%	0	0	0	8%	82%	5%
1961-1970	4%	6%	1%	0	9%	0	80%
1971-1980	0	2%	0	0	2%	89%	7%
1981-1990	3%	6%	3%	0	6%	0	82%
1991-2000	7%	0	4%	0	11%	35%	43%

The group "No Models Featured" had the highest frequency, which means that the majority of the advertisements did not show the medium in either a relationship with models or in any recognizable setting. Again, this is because most ads featured books/ book clubs. These ads showed only the books without context. There were no patterns for those ads that did show a setting. The study also looked at how the media were represented as either a form of relaxation or as a leisure activity in contrast to media being represented as having a business or work related use.

The use of the medium was not always found in the advertisements, particularly due to the fact that most of the advertisements were for book clubs. The medium was most often featured alone and not being used. In the cases that the medium was featured being

used the results show media are most often represented as leisure-related products, which

supports earlier research.

Table 10: Frequency of the type of use associated with the medium.
(percentage). n=313

Decade	Leisure	Business	Medium Not in Use.
1931-1940	17%	0	83%
1941-1950	21%	0	79%
1951-1960	7%	4%	89%
1961-1970	11%	6%	83%
1971-1980	5%	0	95%
1981-1990	16%	0	84%
1991-2000	14%	4%	82%

The study also analyzed the price of the medium advertised in order to see if there

was a relationship between the price of a medium and the gender represented within the

advertisement. More specifically, to analyze whether men or women are more often

found in ads for low-priced products.

Table 11: The price of the advertised medium. (percentage). n=313

Decade	Less than $10	$10-99	$100-999	More than $1000	Price Not Determined in the ad
1931-1940	58%	0	0	0	42%
1941-1950	47%	5%	5%	0	43%
1951-1960	49%	9%	1%	0	41%
1961-1970	64%	4%	1%	0	30%
1971-1980	60%	12%	0	0	28%
1981-1990	22%	47%	0	0	31%
1991-2000	7%	50%	0	4%	39%

The price bracket of "less than $10" had the highest frequency in every decade except 1981-1990 and 1991-2000. Due to the fact that the majority of advertisements were for book clubs, this result is not surprising. During the decades 1981-1990 and 1991-2000, the price bracket $10-99 had the highest frequency.

Due to inflation over the seventy-year period, the price brackets were adjusted to form one standard price code. The researcher used the Consumer Price Indicator (CPI) to calculate the inflation on everyday goods over the past seventy years. The CPI measures inflation experienced by consumers in their day to day living expenses, and is the most popular method to calculate inflation. The inflation prices were calculated from the CPI listed on the web site http://www.stls.frb.org/fred/data/cpi/cpiaucs. The individual prices for each ad were inputted into a worksheet. The average CPI was calculated for each decade (except 1931-1940 because the national CPI has only been recorded since 1947). The new prices after inflation were calculated to find today's price using the CPI of 2002. The price brackets were altered and the results calculated.

The results of the price calculations indicate that in 1941-1950 more advertisements were for higher priced products, this implies that during this period there was a socioeconomic elite that could afford to buy higher priced goods. Another interesting finding is that the rest of the results indicate that prices have stayed relatively consistent. However, the decade 1951-1960 is interesting because it reveals a sharp increase in the percentage of advertisements for goods priced between $10-$99 from the previous decade. This reflects the affect of World War II on the economic welfare of the United

61

States, as the economy began to bounce back in the 1950s after the Depression and the war.

Table 12: Prices altered to 2002 equivalence. n= 301

	Average CPI	Less than $10	$10-$99	$99-999	More than $1000
1931-1940	No CPI	No CPI	No CPI	No CPI	No CPI
1941-1950	23.4	82%	0	0	18%
1951-1960	27.04	5%	83%	11%	1%
1961-1970	32.03	33%	64%	3%	0
1971-1980	52.4	61%	39%	0	0
1981-1990	104.66	23%	77%	0	0
1990-2000	149.92	9%	89%	0	2%

Price within the advertisements that featured a model was analyzed against gender representation to evaluate the claims of Ford et al. (1998), who stated that a common international stereotype is to find women in advertisements for low-priced products. Price against gender representation is shown in the table below.

A price was not given in the majority of advertisements that featured only males. For advertisements featuring only females the same is true, except during 1931-1940 when women were found in advertisements for media products costing "less than $10", which is the lowest price bracket. During 1991-2000, females were found in advertisements for media products costing between $10-99 (second lowest price bracket).

The mode price for advertisements without any models between 1931 and 1980 was "less than $10", and from 1981 to 2000 was "$10-99".

Table 13: Average price of the medium advertised against gender. n=53

Decade	Mode price of medium for ads containing only males	Mode prices of medium for ads containing only females.	Mode prices of medium for ads containing no models.
1931-1940	No Males Featured Alone	Less than $10	Less than $10.
1941-1950	No Price Given	No Price Given	Less than $10.
1951-1960	No Price Given	No Price Given	Less than $10.
1961-1970	No Price Given	No Price Given	Less than $10
1971-1980	No Price Given	No Females Featured Alone	Less than $10
1981-1990	No Price Given	No Females Featured Alone	$10-99
1991-2000	No Price Given	$10-99	$10-99

Finally the perceived class represented in the advertisements was analyzed to see if there is a relationship between the perceived class within the advertisement and the type of medium advertised. This is important because it may indicate that more expensive products are more often associated with an upper class environment than with working class environments.

Table 14: Representation of class within the advertisements. n=313

Decade	Working	Upper	Lower	No class indicated.
1931-1940	8%	8%	0	84%
1941-1950	26%	10%	0	64%
1951-1960	4%	6%	0	90%
1961-1970	6%	6%	0	88%
1971-1980	5%	0	0	95%
1981-1990	0	6%	0	84%
1991-2000	7%	11%	0	82%

The perceived class was most often not determined in the advertisements because the ads showed the medium standing alone. However, looking at the advertisements in which a class could be determined, it becomes evident that lower class was never represented in the advertisements. From 1931-1940, working class and upper class were equally represented. During the decade 1941-1950, working class was more heavily represented. From 1951-1960, upper class was more heavily represented. In 1961-1970 both working class and upper class were equally represented. During the decade 1971-1980, working class was more heavily represented and during 1981-1990 and 1991-2000, upper class was more heavily represented.

Also perceived class was analyzed against which gender was represented in the advertisement. Looking at the advertisements that contain models, there is an interesting pattern, in that advertisements that featured a male model were most often found in a working class setting, as opposed to women who were most often found in an upper class setting.

Table 15: Perceived class by gender. n=53

Decade	Mode Class with Only Male Models	Mode Class with Only Female Models.	Mode Class with Both Genders of Models.
1931-1940	No Ads Featuring Only Males	No class indicated	Working/ Upper
1941-1950	Working	Upper	Working
1951-1960	Working/ Upper	Upper	Working
1961-1970	No class indicated	No class indicated / Upper	Working/ Upper/ No class indicated
1971-1980	Upper	No Ads Featuring Only Females	Missing
1981-1990	Working/ No class indicated	No Ads Featuring Only Females	No class indicated
1991-2000	No class indicated	Upper/ Working/ No class indicated	Working/ Upper

Qualitative Analysis

The second part of the analysis is the qualitative study of the subset of ads that feature models. The advertisements were analyzed and a short synopsis for each advertisement was recorded. The researcher looked at the descriptive results for concepts of interest relevant to the study.

The researcher looked for thematic patterns within the following areas: the portrayal of gender, such as stereotypes, relative size and function ranking; how media are portrayed in a social setting, specifically how models are shown when they are using a medium and the perceived class within the ad; the promotion of the media, particularly if a medium is presented as a form of leisure or as a business-related activity. The study also looked at the changing societal norms and media use, specifically, if the changing roles of women have led to more ads featuring women using media in a business-related setting.

Qualitative Analysis of the Portrayal of Gender and Media Use

<u>Women as Frivolous</u>

The issue of stereotypical roles is explored in the analysis of the group of ads featuring models. The researcher looked to find evidence to support the reasoning that women are more often portrayed using media for entertainment value rather than intellectual benefit. A previous study by Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) found that women were represented as not being able to "make important decisions or do important things" (p 94). One advertisement that shows an interesting dichotomy is from the 1930s and the ad shows a young woman reading a newspaper. The headline reads "Try this

quick pleasant way to be well informed." The advertisement is for *The Christian Science Monitor,* an international daily newspaper. The advertisement is interesting because it breaks away from the stereotypical roles of how women are often portrayed during this period (1931-1940). The woman appears to be concentrating on the content and is most certainly interested in the articles of the newspaper. However the headline pulls directly in the opposite direction, it implies that reading the newspaper is " quick and pleasant" rather than pushing the intellectual or educational value of reading the newspaper. The headline makes the woman appear frivolous rather than intelligent.

Women as Submissive

The ads show that women are regularly seen as submissive and men are seen in more dominant roles. An advertisement that illustrates this relationship shows an older couple sitting on a couch across a coffee table from another gentleman. The interior of the home is well decorated and appears to be upper class. Behind the couple are shelves and shelves of books. The couple is being shown a piece of paper by the other man across the table, who presumably is a representative of the *Boston Safe Deposit and Trust.* The husband looks serious and is certainly in control of the situation. He is the one who is asking the questions, while the wife sits by his side, content to let him do all the talking. The wife is shown sitting beside him, submissive but attractive and smiling.

The finding that women are more often portrayed as submissive supports the statement made by Kang (1997) who asserts that many studies show the images of women to be "of weak, childish, dependent, domestic, irrational, subordinate creatures" (p 981).

Men are more often shown as the central figures within the advertisements. An advertisement for *ITT* from the 1960s shows a number of small pictures of men in different business settings. One of these pictures gives an indication of how women were represented at this time. The picture shows a man leaning over a woman who is typing; the man appears to be in control and is shown giving the woman instruction. The relative size of the man is clearly stronger than the woman as he physically towers over her.

This advertisement is a perfect example of one of the codes used by Klassen et al. (1993) who define the "traditional pose" as one where men are viewed as having an executive, directing role with women and the opposite role, the "reverse-sex pose". Conclusions drawn from this study support the findings of Klassen et al. (1993), the results of that study indicated that there is a larger proportion of women depicted in traditional roles compared to those portraying men and women as equals. Klassen et al. (1993) do contend however, that the number of equality pose ads is increasing.

Another example that explores the relationship of relative size is an advertisement for cigarettes. The ad shows a middle-aged man relaxing at home, he is sitting in a comfortable armchair and on a table next to him, there is a cup of coffee and a few glasses of wine scattered around the room. The man is sitting looking at the newspaper, he is wearing glasses and appears to be pondering over the crossword puzzle. To the right of him there are two younger women, who are both attractive. One of the women is reading a book. All three are smoking a cigarette and look relaxed and happy. The man appears to have greater relative size, because he is physically positioned higher than the women who are seated on the floor. Not only that but the man is made to look like he is

concentrating and thus more intellectual, the women look "giggly" and attractive. The differences are subtle but significant. This supports some of the assertions made by Venkatesan and Losco (1975) who categorized some of the stereotypes of women as, "woman as dependent on man, woman as overachieving housewife, woman as high-living, woman as physically beautiful, woman as sexual object and woman as sexy (p 52).

Women tend not to be shown actually using the medium, but rather they are shown in the company of men who are using a medium. Such is the case in an advertisement from 1941. The main picture shows a mother and son listening to the *Musaphonic* radio, but there is an additional second smaller picture of an older man, who is physically tuning the radio. It is interesting that they do not show the woman tuning the radio, but that the advertisers choose to add a photograph of a man instead.

Mothers and Wives Stereotype

It is noticeable that within the advertisements, women are often shown in roles as mothers and wives. An advertisement shows a mother and son listening to the *Musaphonic* radio. The mother is looking at her son and describing something about the radio to him and she is clearly the central figure in the advertisement. This supports the conclusions found in the study by Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) who stated that women were not often shown in working roles, and were also rarely found out of the home setting (p 94).

<u>Women as Decorative Objects</u>

In the few ads that showed women alone and not in a family setting, tended to portray the women as glamorous and attractive. An example of this is an advertisement that shows an extremely wealthy upper class setting, the large room is beautifully adorned with chandeliers and spectacular furniture. There is a lady sitting on a windowsill, she is wearing an elaborate gown and is very attractive. The advertisement features a beautiful *Musaphonic*, the radio is situated in the center of the room and the headline reads, *"Musaphonic…one of the greatest instruments of all time."*

Another example of advertisers using women purely as decorative objects is an advertisement from the 1940s. The advertisement shows an extremely attractive young woman seated in front of a radio. She is wearing a beautiful strapless ball gown, fine jewelry and she has perfect hair. The headline reads, *"For the world of music – at its finest."* The headline and visual combine to give the impression that the music provided by the Zenith radio is of such a fine quality that the people who listen to it must also be refined.

Another example comes from the 1950s shows a young lady sitting on a beach under a parasol. She is wearing a swimsuit and has her head tipped back enjoying the sunshine. Beside her on a blanket is a newspaper with a bottle of sun tan lotion on top of it.

The fact that many of the advertisements depicted women as both glamorous and sexy supports the finding by Sivulka (1997) who states that the advertisements of the 1950s centered on "the themes of helping the housewife to avoid drudgery and glorifying

her everyday life. They [advertisements] presented glamorous female figures whom women would admire and listen to for advice" (p 253).

Although many of the advertisements began to show women in more positive roles, the women in the advertisements were always beautiful. This supports a finding in a study by Kang (1997) who found that the overall sexism in advertisements had not been improved and had actually been maintained portraying the same stereotypical images of women, from 1979 to 1991.

Non-Stereotypical Roles

Despite all the stereotypical roles that were found in the sub-set of advertisements, there were a handful of advertisements that did not show women in stereotypical roles. An example of this is an advertisement from the 1960s, which shows a picture of a young lady in front of a teaching board. She is obviously a professor at a school and is holding a book while she talks to her class. She is an attractive lady and is made to look intelligent as she is shown wearing glasses and is surrounded by books and a globe. The advertisement is for *General Motors*, and the slogan reads *"…making better things for you."*

However it is important to recognize that although these changes were reflected in the advertisements within this study, the fact is that the majority of the advertisements continued to show women in traditional roles. Thus, supporting the conclusion made by Demarest and Garner (1985) who concluded that "even magazines devoted explicitly to women have failed to respond significantly to the reality of changing roles of women."

<u>Gender Role Reversal</u>

There is an another interesting but extremely subtle change in gender portrayal within the latter decades of the subset of advertisements. During the decade, 1990-2000, there is an increasingly noticeable change in gender role reversal, specifically men begin to be shown as sex objects as well as women. An advertisement for a mattress company shows a man lying on his bed, leaning on a book. The man is laughing and is looking directly at the photographer. The man is handsome and sexy and serves only a decorative function. The once stereotypical role of women as decorative roles has moved also to include men. More men are portrayed as "sexy" in the 1990-2000 ads.

Qualitative Analysis of the Portrayal of Women as "Users" of Media

It is also interesting to note that the majority of the advertisements did not show a model using the medium, but rather the medium standing alone. This does not support the observation about media technologies made by Weber (Weber in Winner 1978) who stated, "one notices that the tools include persons as functioning parts " (p 202).

Gradually, women begin to be shown in more authoritative roles. This becomes apparent as more and more women begin to be shown as "users" of media as opposed to just "decorative" roles within the ads. This is shown in the advertisement for a computer learning system. The main picture is of a well-dressed woman sitting at a computer in a nice office. She is concentrating on the computer screen. There is another picture to the left-hand side of the page and it shows a computer screen covered in data. The headline reads, "Learn Lotus 1-2-3 in just 4 hours. Guaranteed*."*

This finding supports the conclusions made by Wiles et al. (1996) who found that one of the most significant findings of their study was that the advertising did recognize the fact that the ads did reflect the increasing commitment of women to the workforce.

It also supports literature by Sivulka (1998) who stated that as the century progressed working women began to yield new power and that advertising began to show women in two different worlds. "The traditional one, a rerun of the 1950s with stay-at-home moms, and a modern one filled with working women" (p 382).

Qualitative Analysis of How Media are Used in Society

Another interesting concept that arose after looking at the sub-set of advertisements is the actual setting and the relationship between models within the picture of the advertisement. Many of the advertisements were set in the home and these advertisements can be used to evaluate the role that media play in family life.

Media use as Relaxation

A majority of the advertisements that were classified as showing media as a form of entertainment involved people relaxing at home. An advertisement for the *American Telephone Company*, shows a young mother relaxing in a comfortable chair with what appears to be her son beside her. The young boy is standing next to her using the telephone. The mother figure is sat back with a newspaper resting on her knees. This shows the newspaper being used as a form of relaxation within a family setting.

Also, many of the advertisements depicting entertainment show the models in any setting that is not business related, such as an advertisement for *American Express,* which shows an elderly man sitting on a deck chair on the beach. He is sitting under a parasol,

with his trousers rolled up and wearing a sun hat. Next to him on the sand is a newspaper

with his shoes sitting on top of it. The picture implies that the man has been sitting

reading the newspaper whilst relaxing on the beach.

The majority of the advertisements for radios are also set in the home, and usually

show more than one model relaxing together whilst listening to a broadcast. An

advertisement for the *Musaphonic*, shows a young couple, sitting at home listening to

their radio set. They are smiling and appear to be enjoying the broadcast.

<u>Bringing Families Together</u>

After looking at the ads it seems that media serves as a way for a family to spend

time together, either reading a book, listening to a radio broadcast or huddled around a

television. An advertisement from the 1950s shows a picture of media use within a

typical family setting. The room appears to be of a working class environment, with basic

furniture and few luxury items. The mother is pictured sitting in an armchair, with the

father at her side and the son sat on the floor. The family is sitting together enjoying an

evening watching the television, they all look happy.

The fact that all the advertisement show happy smiling children and content

parents supports a statement made by Belk and Pollay (1985). Belk and Pollay

ascertained that advertisements show life as we would like it to be. Not only do

advertisements present images of an ideal life, but they also present detailed instructions

on how to live our lives.

Television is not the only medium that a family is shown enjoying together. In

another advertisement, the main picture is a close up of five books, in front of the books

is another picture and it shows a family huddled around a book. The father is obviously the central figure as he is holding the medium and appears to be reading aloud. Two children sit on either side of him on the couch, smiling and looking at the book. The mother stands behind her husband reading over his shoulders. The whole family is smiling. Everyone is dressed in ordinary clothes and the family looks to be middle class.

From the advertisements, it becomes clear that a medium is often portrayed as a central leisure activity within families. The whole family is frequently shown seated around a television set, or a radio or reading a book together. The relationship within the family is often portrayed the same way, the children sit on either side of parents, the husband is the central figure, and the wife stands behind or to the side.

Media as Educator

Another concept recognized within the subset of advertisements is that much of media are represented as an extension of education. Specifically, media are presented as tools to inform and educate. This is especially true of the advertisements featuring children.

Another advertisement shows a young boy, probably around the age of twelve years old, seated at a desk with a thick book in front of him. The boy is looking up at an odd angle; he appears to be concentrating heavily on what he is reading. The headline reads "Picture of the future being shaped." The picture implies the importance of educating young minds through books. It encourages reading among children and the consequences that this may hold, not only for the individual child but also, for society as a whole.

Another advertisement showing how influential the media are in influencing young minds, shows an up-close picture of a desk piled high with books, a boy sits in the background. The boy is studying and the advertisement appears to be set inside a school building. The headline reads "Tonight he'll KNOW" the advertisement is for *TIME Newsmagazine*. The advertisement emphasizes that knowing facts and being aware of the daily news is very important to developing life long skills. *TIME Newsmagazine* is using education as a way to advertise its publication. Another advertisement from the 1960s shows two boys reading an *Encyclopedia Britannica* and the headline reads, "Cresat scienta; vita excolatur*,"* which means "Let knowledge grow from more to more and this human life be enriched." The advertisement is stating that by reading books and gaining knowledge, the world becomes a better place as more and more people become educated.

However, advertisements that have an educational focus are not purely restricted to advertisements featuring children. An advertisement for a set of *Encyclopedia Britannica*, shows a close up shot of two men facing each other. The man that is the central figure has his finger up to his mouth and looks like he is concentrating intensely on a topic of discussion. The man in view is well dressed in a suit and tie, is relatively handsome and middle-aged. The headline reads, "What is your conversational I.Q.?" The advertisement is implying that buying the set of *Encyclopedia Britannica* will improve an I.Q. and improve conversational skills.

Media as Career Development

Another business-related theme is how media can affect a person's career. An advertisement for *General Motors,* has a before and after picture. In the upper left-hand side of the page, there is a picture of a little boy playing with a radio set. Below the picture reads the headline, "Gene Smith got the radio bug in 1927…. Today he's an electronics analyzer at GM." Below the headline is a larger picture of an older man holding a part of a radio, he is surrounded by wires and machinery. The advertisement is implying that if children use media during childhood, it can help them with their careers further on in life.

Another advertisement that carries the same theme shows a young girl seated on a trunk reading a book. Below the picture reads the headline; "The little girl who lost herself in books…now finds answers to thousands of research questions." Below the headline is a larger picture of a lady in between two tall bookshelves full of books. She is well dressed and is looking up at the camera and is carrying a book. She is holding the pages open as she looks for answers to her research. The advertisement is implying that due to the fact that the girl read books during her childhood, it helped her further on in life to get a good job.

The majority of business-related advertisements showed men alone, such as an advertisement from the 1970s. This advertisement shows a group of men dressed professionally in suits. They are evidently businessmen sharing a drink together after work. They each have a round tumbler glass stretched out into the middle of the circle as one of the men pours scotch whiskey into the glasses. On the table directly below the

glasses there is a brief case and a newspaper. The advertisement is for *Cutty Sark* Scotch Whiskey. The advertisement implies that successful businessmen read newspapers.

Another example showing men using media in a business setting is an ad from the 1960s. Within this advertisement for *ITT*, there are a number of different pictures featured. The main picture is of a table stacked high with papers in an office setting. Down the right hand side of the page, there are a number of smaller pictures depicting men in different office settings. All the men are dressed professionally and look confident and proficient as they read books, look at data and use computers.

However, women are gradually found more frequently in business-related settings in the later decades of this group of advertisements. At first women are featured in business-settings only in ads featuring men too. Such is the case of advertisement that shows a group of six middle-aged people lined up in a row. There are two women and four men. They look professional and all have very serious expressions. The figures represent members of the *First Edition Society.* There is another picture at the bottom of the page, showing someone signing his or her name in a book. The headline reads, "We don't just sign first editions of our newest books for just anyone." The advertisement is for the *First Edition Society.*

Sivulka (1998) reconfirms this assessment and states, "women also took a cue from the civil rights movement and began raising their voices. Relatively quiet since the 1920s, the feminist movement came back to life again in the 1960s. …Women challenged the roles assigned to them in a male-dominated society"(p 321).

As the century progresses women do begin to appear in more business-related settings. Although this particular advertisement is not set in an office, it is interesting because it is definitely a business-related setting. The advertisement shows a man and a woman sitting on an airplane, both are well dressed and look like young professionals traveling to a business meeting. The woman is closer to the photographer and has her legs outstretched, the man next to her, is looking directly at the camera with a cigarette hanging out of his mouth. The man is doing a crossword puzzle in a newspaper and the lady is looking at paperwork. Although the woman is not shown with the medium, she appears intelligent and professional.

Qualitative Analysis of the Perceived Class Within the Ads

Another fascinating area of research is the representation of class. The perceived class within the advertisements showed an almost equal representation between upper and working class settings. In the 1930s, it is more obvious when advertisements show people who are wealthy enjoying media. Such is the case of an advertisement that shows two notably well-dressed women boarding a train. One of the ladies is carrying a newspaper under her arm and the other lady is carrying a book. It is clear from their attire and the fact that they are travelling in such a nice train compartment that they are upper class.

Another advertisement from the 1940s that has an upper class setting shows a young couple sitting in a room with their radio. The man is sitting in the foreground and the wife sits by his side. The lady is very well dressed and extremely attractive. The room looks to be modernly decorated and through the shades in the window, it is possible to

see the lights of a city. The slogan reads, "The quality goes in before the name goes on."

The advertisement uses the upper class standing of the couple to reflect the quality of the

stereo.

Other advertisements imply that the fineness of their product is exclusive for upper

class people. A perfect example of this is the advertisement that shows extremely

attractive young woman seated in front of a radio, she is wearing a beautiful strapless ball

gown, fine jewelry and has perfect hair. The headline reads, "For the world of music – at

its finest."

Qualitative Analysis of the Portrayal of the Technological Advances of Media

A group of advertisements also push the technical advancements of media. The main

picture of this particular advertisement, shows a gigantic television tube. Two men are

measuring the length of the tube. The men are labeled as scientists and look very

professional in their white coats. The headline reads, *"Problem, shrink the television*

tube, but keep the picture big!" The advertisement is highlighting the technical advances

of RCA (*Radio Corporation of America*).

Another advertisement of this nature features a picture of someone cutting a slice

out of a pocket watch. The headline reads, " How to "see" a super fine slice of time!" the

sub-headline reads, "New RCA electron tube "freezes" movements that occur, and are

ended, in millionths of a second!" The advertisement is highlighting the technical

progression of the RCA.

Quantitative Analysis of the Subset of Ads Featuring Models

After looking at the subset of ads that feature models qualitatively, the researcher decided that some useful information could be gathered from the actual coding data of the subset of ads. Specifically, after analyzing the ads it appears that the decade which shows the greatest change in the representation of women, particularly the acceptance of women with careers is within the decade 1961-1970 and not during 1971-1980, which was hypothesized. This could be due to the resurgence of the Women's Right movement and also a consequence of the changing roles of women after World War II. Promoting their acceptance into the workforce.

The fact that there was not a great wealth of ads that featured models to justify a decade by decade analysis of the evolution of societal changes, the data was collapsed into two groups, pre-1960 and post-1960.

The most interesting findings from this table show that males were most often represented as the central figures in both pre-1960 and post-1960 ads. Another interesting point is that media was represented most often as a form of leisure rather than as a business-related activity in both periods. Pre-1960, more men were shown as competently using a medium than any other Function Ranking category.

In the group of ads that feature only males, the most interesting finding is that leisure is the most common use of media within both periods. The most interesting finding from this data is that women are more often portrayed in a working class environment prior to 1960 and in upper class settings after 1960.

Table 16: The most frequent codes for each category for all ads containing models (percentage). n=53

	1931- 1960	%	1961-2000	%
Medium featured	Book	39%	Book	29%
Gender	Both Genders	44%	Male	46%
Relative Size	Relative Size cannot determined	56%	Both genders are not present in ad	69%
Central Figure	Male	44%	Male	63%
Credibility	User	83%	User	60%
Function Ranking	Male is competently using the medium	33%	Competence cannot be determined	23%
Promotion of Medium	Not a medium advertised	50%	Not medium advertised	63%
Price	Price not given	72%	Price not given	69%
Setting/ Relationship between Models	Only one model	56%	Only one model	34%
Use	Leisure	67%	Leisure	54%
Perceived Class	Upper	44%	Tombstone ad	38%

Table 17: The most frequent codes for each category for all ads containing only male models (percentage). n=16

	1931- 1960	%	1961-2000	%
Medium featured	Book	100%	Book	100%
Relative Size	Cannot be determined	67%	Both Genders not present.	100%
Central Figure	Male	100%	Male	100%
Credibility	User	67%	User	100%
Function Ranking	Male is competent	83%	Male is competent	38%
Promotion of Medium	Pure Product ad	50%	Not medium advertised	75%
Price	Price not given	67%	Price not given	75%
Setting/ Relationship between Models	Only one model	100%	Only one model	56%
Use	Leisure	60%	Leisure	50%
Perceived Class	Upper/ Working/ Tombstone ad	33.3% each	Tombstone ad	56%

Table 18: The most frequent codes for each category for all ads containing only female models (percentage). n=9

	1931- 1960	%	1961-2000	%
Medium featured	Radio	50%	Book	60%
Relative Size	Cannot be determined	100%	Both genders not present	100%
Central Figure	Female	100%	Female	100%
Credibility	User	75%	User	100%
Function Ranking	Female is competent	75%	Female is competent	60%
Promotion of Medium	Not a medium advertised	75%	Pure Product ad/ Not medium advertised	40%/40%
Price	Price not given	100%	Price not given	60%
Setting/ Relationship between Models	Only one model	100%	Only one model	60%
Use	Leisure	50%	Leisure/ Not in Use	40%/ 40%
Perceived Class	Working	75%	Upper/ Tombstone ad	40% 40%

CHAPTER V- SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Evaluation of Research Questions and Hypotheses

After looking at the results of both the quantitative and qualitative analyses, it is now necessary to evaluate whether or not the results answered the research questions and did in fact support the hypotheses of the study. The first research question asked, will more women models appearing in *Harper's magazine* use media as a leisure-related activity than men appearing in the advertisements. Looking at the ads, the number of women shown using media in leisure-related activities far outweighs the number of ads where they are using media in a business-related ad. Therefore, the hypothesis, which states that print advertisements before 1970 portray more women using media as a leisure-related activity is supported.

The second research question asks, as the advertisements become more modern will they reflect the societal changes and show more women using media in a more business-related activity? The results from the study show that both ads from before 1960 and post 1960 predominantly showed women using media as a leisure related activity. However, the ads showing women using media as a business-related activity did increase after 1960. There was a definite change in the portrayal of women in the workforce after 1960. Therefore, the study does not entirely support the hypothesis which states, print advertisements after 1970 will increasingly show women using media in a primarily business-related activity. The reason the hypothesis is not supported is because the increase of women in work settings appeared during the 1960s, not the 1970s. Also, the ads do not show the women exclusively in a business setting, because the majority of the

ads actually show women in a leisure related home setting instead. There is however an increase in the representation of women in a business setting after 1960 which reflects the societal changes of that decade. During the 1960s, the women's movement began to take off and feminism grew stronger. Another reason could be due to the acceptance of women to the workforce after World War II.

The third research question asks, will advertisements use a more upper class setting to introduce new media products? The fact that the results showed that none of the ads introduced a new media product makes it impossible to answer this research question. However, it is worth noting that the number of ads that have an upper class setting and those that have a working class setting are relatively equal throughout the period. One noticeable finding from the study is that the number of ads that actually advertise a medium, instead of just featuring it in the ad, are more often set in upper class settings, especially electronic media such as radio and television.

The fourth research question asks, will advertisements introduce a new medium primarily as a more leisure-related activity rather than a business-related activity? Again, the fact that none of the advertisements introduced a new media product makes this research question not applicable to the study.

Conclusions

The following discussion will explain other relevant conclusions derived from the results of the study in order to help determine greater understanding of the relationship between the media and its portrayal within advertising during the period 1931-2000.

It was hoped that the research would reveal that the images of women have changed to reflect a more modern view of women. It was hoped that the ads would show women as career driven and as playing a more equal role to men in society. However, the results just did not show this, in fact the results showed that the images of women had not changed that much at all during the past seventy years. This result, however, is not that surprising. Just watching television commercials today gives a strong indication of how society views women. Women dominate commercials for household cleaning products, goods that involve children and beauty merchandise. Women featured in commercials are most often found in the home setting and playing roles as a wife or mother rather than as professionals.

Another prevalent stereotype of women is their depiction as sex objects. In all the ads, the women were attractive and in many ads they held a purely decorative role and were seen as "glamorous," which supports previous studies such as Venkatesan and Losco (1975).

The study looked at the relationship between both genders within an advertisement featuring a medium and what was most interesting from this analysis was that the way the medium was being used was a method to decipher gender authority. To explain more clearly, more ads featured men actually using a medium than women. Women were more often portrayed in ads playing decorative roles to advertise a product. Men were shown physically using the medium, such as tuning the radio etc. The role of the model was very important in translating issues of power and authority.

Some may be disappointed with the hindered progress of media to reflect a more powerful role of women in today's society, but it could be that the media are just relaying a true reflection of society after all.   It is doubtful that more women today are going out to work instead of raising children, or that the majority of women see themselves first and foremost as a professional. However, there can be no doubt that certainly more women today are career driven than in 1930. The results of the research do show that there is an increasing commitment of women to the workforce, but that women do not entirely escape their roles as wives and mothers. As the decades progressed more and more women began to be shown in increasingly authoritative roles in society. The major turning point in this study were the 1960s, which showed a noticeable increase in the representation of women in career roles. The representation of gender and stereotypes is the most obvious theme in the study and previous assumptions about the roles of women in the advertisements are substantiated in the study.

The focus on stereotypical roles is another interesting area of the study. It appears that stereotypes have not altered much during the past seventy years. Women are more often shown as submissive and men are more often shown taking an authoritarian role in the ads. Stereotypes are extremely fascinating phenomena. It seems that they are always viewed as a negative connotation of the person or group they represent. However, stereotypes must be based on some level of consistent quality for them to even become a typecast. Therefore, this study is useful because it recognizes that stereotypes of women are relatively consistent throughout the Twentieth Century. Some of the stereotypes recognized such as, "women as submissive", "women in decorative roles", and "women

as wives and mothers" have to be substantiated by society. Advertising would not maintain these images of women if they did not have relevancy in society. Women can not be that offended by the images in advertising because there are no protests or boycotts.

However, because the advertising industry cannot completely ignore the fact that increasingly more women are playing authoritarian roles in society, the ads do reflect some quite significant change. Again, looking at other forms of media, it becomes clear that when women are shown in non-stereotypical roles, they are being increasingly featured in media as independent, strong and career driven. In this research there was an increase of women in working roles such as professors and business people.

Therefore, even though the study shows that stereotypical roles of women have not considerably changed during the past seventy years, the findings within this study may be an accurate assessment of the changing view of women's role in society throughout the past seventy years.

Another area of the research looked at how media were being used within society, namely whether media were viewed as a form of entertainment or as a way to retrieve news and information pertinent to business. The findings of the study revealed that media were more often portrayed being used in a family setting than in a business setting, implying that media play a more important role in our personal lives than our careers. Media appear to be growing in importance in our personal lives, as more and more people have computers at home in order to use the Internet. The discussion of both the Diffusion of Innovation theory and the Knowledge Gap theory led to the conclusion that media are

introduced predominantly for knowledge gain. However, from this study it would seem that media play a more important role in leisure or entertainment.

Most of the ads featured media as a way to bring families together, or a form of relaxation or as entertainment. This seems to be a somewhat accurate reflection of the role of media. Books are more often read for enjoyment than they are for research purposes, television is watched as a way to relax rather than as a way to learn and radio is listened to for entertainment rather than as a way to retrieve news.

These findings could also be reflections of the chosen magazine. Ads within a business magazine may show a different view of media. If the ads were for a computer company they would probably be shown in a business setting, however other ads just featuring media may not be altered to the publication. Most advertisements are creatively developed with the product's target audience in mind, not the publications' target audience. The publications are chosen because they are thought to be the best vehicle to attract the product's target audience. Therefore, the ads would not be changed to show media in a business setting unless the magazines' target audience was narrowly defined.

One theme that arose from this study is the finding that many ads featured media as an educational tool. What is most interesting is that these ads were not confined to ads that featured children, but also promoted the notion that media can help adults improve an IQ or conversational skills. This is interesting because it leads to one of the strongest arguments to come from the study. Do people use media to learn or for entertainment? The answer probably lies in the type of medium. For example, more people probably use a newspaper to catch up on current affairs and news rather than for entertainment reasons,

but in comparison, more people watch television for entertainment purposes rather than to just watch news programs.

The study aimed to highlight some of the major societal changes in the United States during the past seventy years. In some respects the study did accomplish this goal. Specifically, the results did support the growing acceptability of women with careers. The fact that a number of the ads portraying women in a business-setting did increase after 1960 reiterates the energy of the feminist movement. The fact is that more women are making steps to developing their careers and the data reflects these societal changes.

Although the study did not directly analyze the Diffusion of Innovation theory entirely, it seems that new media technologies are not often featured in magazine advertising. However it is interesting that some of the ads, particularly ads for electronic media, such as radio or television, used upper class settings to promote their product. Thus, reinforcing the concept of Diffusion of Theory, which states that the socioeconomic elite are the first to use a new medium.

The fact that there were very few ads that were used to introduce new media leads to two areas of interest. Firstly, it may be a reflection of the vehicle used. Magazines may be considered a form of media that is too slow and not pervasive enough to introduce a new technology. A study of television commercials may prove that television is a more beneficial way to introduce a new technological advancement.

Secondly, the finding that magazine advertisements within *Harper's magazine* were not a popular vehicle to introduce a new medium may be a reflection of the magazine's target audience. *Harper's magazine* is said to have a general audience, but

perhaps if the study looked at a business magazine focused toward a professional audience, there would be more ads to introduce new media. This again is interesting in relation to the Diffusion of Innovation theory, because a magazine for professionals would have an audience that is more highly educated and therefore they would be the first group to hear of a new technological advancement.

The Diffusion of Innovation theory could be further analyzed through a study that looks purely at the representation of new media within advertising. Perhaps analyzing the year the medium was introduced, such as 1928, when the television was developed.

Importance of Study

The results of this study are useful to society because they enable us to determine the advances in certain aspects of women's representation. More and more women are beginning to be featured in ads as career women and in business settings. The study also helps to recognize that female stereotypes have not improved much during seventy years. Ferguson et al. (1990) explain that because advertising is so powerful and has the ability to transmit cultural meaning, the presence of stereotypes is something we all should have concern about.

The fact that the majority of the advertisements still featured women in domestic settings, does not imply that the advertising industry is failing to adequately reflect the societal changes. These representations may be a realistic indication that there is still a large population of women today who are mothers and wives or in addition to business people.

The study served to advance theoretical understanding of both the Knowledge Gap theory and the Diffusion of Innovation theory. From this study it appears that advertising does not play a key role in promoting new media, and therefore does not contribute strongly to the Diffusion of Innovation theory.

This research is relevant to academic study because it will serve as a benchmark for future academic investigations in this area. There is no doubt that this study did provide some significant findings, but there is notable potential from a study such as this.

Limitations to Study

There are limitations to this study, which are connected to the confines of the methodology. A content analysis will only record the composition of an advertisement, and cannot analyze the effects of the advertising on the audience. Being an observational analysis, it will not assess the attitudes of the audience.

Another strong consideration of this study that should be considered is that the ads may be reflections of the chosen magazine. Therefore it is recommended that future studies use a more extensive sample of magazines, which could include, a business magazine with a professional targeted audience, a general audience magazine (*Harper's magazine*) and a magazine aimed primarily at women.

Another limitation is connected to the methodology. Kolbe warned that content analyses are constrained in their potential and that they usually yields categorical data (p 244). This warning was grounded, as the data from the quantitative analysis did not provide a wealth of information regarding media use within gender. However, although the findings could have been better supported by a greater number of ads, (by perhaps

choosing a more months to study) it does not negate the findings. The assumption that there would be a greater number of ads portraying more models with media was not proven in this study.

Due to the fact that the quantitative analysis did not yield enough information regarding the relationship between the models and the media, implies that the most advantageous method for a future study such as this would be to collect information purely through qualitative analysis. Specifically targeting those ads that feature both a model and a medium.

Suggestions for Future Studies

Therefore, one recommendation would be that future studies take a more in-depth qualitative approach by analyzing all the issues of *Harper's magazine* for one year per decade for seventy years. In order to get a broader representation of the portrayal of the media throughout the Twentieth Century.

This study was unique because it was tightly focused on the representation of just one product category, that of the media. The advantage to confining this study to one product is that the study can then be compared to other studies and different product categories in the future.

Future studies could also use the data gathered from this study to provide a base of knowledge to determine if the representations in the ads are accurate "mirrors of society". Specifically, if the representations within the ads are true reflections of society at that time.

This study will serve as a benchmark for future historical studies. Clark and Motley (1985) state that Marchand (1985) believes that research can indicate that recurrent statements and images may help establish broad frames of reference, and determine applicable historical documents from popular culture. The Twentieth Century has been a profound period of the progression of women's roles in society. Women are today pushing aside stereotypes of mother and housewife and are making stronger commitments to their independence and their careers.

This research evaluated whether or not print advertisements have adequately reflected the positive changes of women's roles throughout the past seventy years with regard to media use. Are women portrayed in stereotypical roles when using a medium? An example of this could be if women were more often found reading romantic paperbacks and men are more often found reading newspapers.

The Diffusion of Innovation theory could be further analyzed through a study that looks purely at the representation of new media within advertising. Perhaps analyzing the year the medium was introduced, such as 1928 when the television was developed. One finding from this study is that it appears that a magazine is not a popular vehicle to use to introduce a new product to the public.

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APPENDIX A

Operational Definitions

A number of definitions will be used throughout the study within the coding scheme. The coders will need precise information to be provided in order for them to know exactly what to look for in each ad.

Two of the coding definitions will come from Goffman's *Gender Advertisements* (1979); "Relative Size" and "Function Ranking". Relative Size is categorized as the way in which "special weight, power, authority, rank, office, renown- is echoed expressively in social situations is through relative size, especially height.

In social interaction between the sexes, biological dimorphism underlies the probability that the male's usual superiority of status over the female will be expressible in his greater girth and height" (Goffman 1979, p 28).

Function Ranking is described as the way in which when "a man and a woman collaborate face-to-face in an undertaking; the man- it would seem- is likely to perform the executive role, providing only that one can be fashioned"(Goffman 1979, p 32). Competence will be the familiarity of the medium being used by the model. Class will be divided into four groups, "upper" class, "working" class "lower" class and "other". An ad will be shown to the coders, as an example of each class. This will help to illustrate the differences between an upper class setting and a working class setting.

Coding Scheme

1) <u>Gender</u>

1. Shows only men

2. Shows only women

3. Shows both sexes

4. No models.

2) <u>Central Figure/ Superiority</u>

When the focus of the ad is on the body and /or activity of that individual. There can be

no more than 2 central figures (Ford et al. 1998).

1. Male Central Figure

2. Female Central Figure

3. Central Figure cannot be determined

4. No Models in the ad

3) <u>Credibility/ Perceived Importance of Central Figure</u> (Ford et al., 1998).

1. Product user or presenter

2. Product authority

3. Decorative

4. No Models

4) <u>If the ad contains both a male and a female- Relative Size</u>.

1. Male is using the medium and has greater relative size.

2. Female is using the medium and has greater relative size.

3. Male is using the medium, but female has greater relative size.

4. Female is using the medium, but male has greater relative size.

5. Male has greater relative size.

6. Female has greater relative size.

7. Relative size is equal.

8. Relative size cannot be determined.

9. Neither the male nor female is using the medium.

10. Does not feature both genders

5) <u>Media product present in ad.</u>

1. Book

2. Newspaper

3. Magazine

4. Radio

5. Television

6. Computer

7. Other

   * The computer category will include all electronic technology that is able to provide

mass communication. For example, a palm-pilot will be used because it can retrieve

news or information, but a game-boy will not be used because it is purely for

entertainment.

6) <u>Function Ranking</u>

1. Male is competently using the medium, and female does not know how to use it.

2. Female is competently using the medium, and male does not know how to use it.

3. Male is shown alone and is not using medium competently.

4. Female is shown alone and is not using medium competently.

5. Both genders are shown competently using the medium.

6. Male is competently using the medium.

7. Female is competently using the medium.

8. Competence cannot be determined.

9. Neither male nor female is using the medium.

10. No models in the ad.

7) Product Advertised

The products advertised will be listed and categories will be formulated from the results.

8) The Promotion of the Medium.

1. The ad is used to introduce a new medium.

2. The ad is used to highlight a new feature of the medium.

3. The ad is used to highlight a sale of the new medium.

4. A specific purpose of the ad cannot be determined- Pure Product ad.

5. Not a medium product advertised.

9) Price of the medium advertised.

1. Less than $10

2. $10- $99

3. $100- $999

4. More than $1000

5. Price is not given

The results of the price analysis will be adjusted to comply with inflation at that time. The reasoning behind the wide price range is because the advertisements could be for any product at all. This means that the pricing scheme has to be applicable to all products ranging from a newspaper costing fifty cents to vacations costing thousands of dollars. The price-coding scheme had not been previously tested, but by looking at the ads before the analysis, the researcher decided that this coding scheme would effectively include all the ads and give the necessary information for the study.

10) <u>Setting/ Relationship between the models in the ad.</u>

1. Family Context- husband and wife and any relationship between relatives, including children as well as extended family such as aunts/ uncles, grandparents, grandchildren, adopted children, foster children.

2. Social Context- Includes friends or any other two people depicted in a social setting, with the exception of family members depicted in a social context. This category also includes any romantic setting.

3. Business Context- The depiction of members of, or workers in, the same company, those who are employed by the same company. Also, colleagues in the same profession or occupation even though they may be able to be employed by different companies. Any relationship between employees or professionals who work together.

4. Impersonal Context- more than one character appears in the ad, but there is no apparent relationship between the characters.

5. Only one model in the ad- chose this option when only one model appears in

the ad.

6. Other relationship- any relationship other than those listed here.

7. Medium featured alone.

11) <u>Activity Use of Medium</u>

1. Leisure activity- a form of social relaxation

2. Work Waged- professional setting

3. Medium not in use.

12) <u>Perceived class of models in the ad</u>

1. Working Class

2. Upper Class

3. Lower class

4. No class indicated.

VITA

Kathryn Elizabeth Burke was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on March 6th, 1977. Kathryn graduated from Cockermouth High School in Cockermouth, Cumbria, England in 1995. In May of 1995 Kathryn earned her Bachelor of Arts degree in Mass Communication with a concentration in advertising from Louisiana State University. During her years at L.S.U. Kathryn represented the L.S.U Swimming and Diving Team, and was voted team captain in 1999. Kathryn has served as a publicity graduate assistant in the *CHAMPS* (Challenging Athletes Minds for Personal Success) Program within the Academic Center for Athletes for the past three years. In addition, Kathryn has interned at *BBC Radio Cumbria* in England, and at an advertising agency in San Francisco. Currently Kathryn is interning at an advertising agency in New Orleans and is a candidate for the Master of Mass Communication, which will be awarded during May 2002 Commencement.