

REPRESENTATIONS OF GENDER IN ADVERTISING: AN EXAMINATION OF
SUPPORT FOR JEAN KILBOURNE'S HYPOTHESES IN ADVERTISEMENTS
OF MAGAZINES TARGETING MAINSTREAM VERSUS LESBIAN,
GAY, BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDER AUDIENCES

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BY

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my great-grandmother Muriel ‘Meiko’ Orr-Ewing, who dared to be queer long before the relative safety I have experienced in my own lifetime.

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ABSTRACT

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REPRESENTATIONS OF GENDER IN ADVERTISING: AN EXAMINATION OF SUPPORT FOR JEAN KILBOURNE'S HYPOTHESES IN ADVERTISEMENTS OF MAGAZINES TARGETING MAINSTREAM VERSUS LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDER AUDIENCES

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The purpose of this study is to compare gender representations in magazine advertisements targeting lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) audiences and in magazine advertisements targeting mainstream audiences utilizing the hypotheses proposed by Jean Kilbourne in the *Killing Us Softly* video series. Kilbourne has put forth various hypotheses about gender representation in print advertising based on a collection of advertisements she has accumulated. Previous work by Conley and Ramsey found limited support for Kilbourne's hypotheses. LGBT individuals are exposed to mainstream gender norms but also appear to hold some gender norms that are different from the mainstream community. The present study posits that the degree of support for Kilbourne's hypotheses will be different in magazine advertisements targeting LGBT versus mainstream audiences. Images from magazines targeting both LGBT and mainstream audiences were coded for the presence or absence of Kilbourne's hypotheses. It was believed that there would be more support for Kilbourne's hypotheses in mainstream magazines than in LGBT-targeted magazines, in magazines targeting specific

genders than in lifestyle or general interest magazines, and in lifestyle magazines than in general interest magazines. Additionally, it was believed that certain of Kilbourne's hypotheses would also apply more to representations of men in LGBT-targeted magazines compared to mainstream magazines. These hypotheses were tested using chi square analyses. Results and discussion of data collected are provided. Although most of Kilbourne's hypotheses were not supported for any magazine genre, support was found for female models being more likely to be posed passively, less likely to be portrayed as active, and more likely than male models to be visibly photoshopped. Further, the only difference between LGBT-targeted and mainstream advertisements was a higher likelihood for female models in mainstream advertisements to be photoshopped. Female models in gender-targeted magazine advertisements were more likely to be posed in passive positions and to be visibly photoshopped than female models in non-gender-targeted magazine advertisements. Implications of the findings of the present study for theory, research, practice, and training are discussed.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Gender norms are those standards by which individuals are judged as appropriately masculine or feminine by society. Individuals are exposed to messages about gender norms from infancy (e.g., Etaugh & Liss, 1992; Wertheim, Mee, & Paxton, 1999) and continue to be inundated by these messages throughout their lifetimes (e.g., Collins, 2011; Malkin, Wornian, & Chisler, 1999; Nichter, 2000). Adherence to or transgression from those gender norms has a multitude of lasting effects on both physical and psychological well-being and relationships with others (e.g., Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Syzmanski & Henning, 2007; Ward, 2002). Because of the numerous repercussions of gender norms, these gender norms are conveyed to be of central importance to health and growth, at both individual and societal levels.

Statement of Problem

Although there are multiple routes for transmission of messages about gender norms, one of the most powerful is the media (Kilbourne, 2000). Media messages are designed to reach a broader target audience than other forms of interpersonal communication and thus affect multiple individuals rather than a few. In the United States, media consumption is at an all-time high (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010); individuals currently spend more time per day engaged with one or more forms of media

than in any other activity except for sleeping. Thus, individuals are inundated with media-generated messages related to gender norms.

Extensive previous research has shown that messages about gender norms, which are biased against women and enforce normative heterosexuality, continue to be widespread in all forms of media communication (e.g., APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2010; Collins, 2011; Kilbourne, 2000; Nyilasy, King, Reid, & McDonald, 2011; Orenstein, 2011). Exposure to these gender-biased messages has a host of adverse effects on both male and female viewers. Adverse effects of exposure to gender-biased messages for male viewers include body dissatisfaction (e.g., Duggan & McCreary, 2004; Harrison & Cantor, 1997), increased acceptance and commission of violence against women (e.g., Kahlor & Eastin, 2011; Kalof, 1999; Milburn, Mather, & Conrad, 2000), and differential treatment of women in both employment and relational settings (e.g., Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Peter & Valkenburg, 2007; Rudman & Borgida, 1995). Adverse effects of gender-biased messages for female viewers include body dissatisfaction and body shame (e.g., Botta, 1999; Tiggemann & Pickering, 1996), low self-esteem (e.g., Hawkins, Richards, Granley, & Stein, 2004; Martin and Gentry, 1997), eating disorders (e.g., Becker, 2004; Peterson, Paulson, & Williams, 2007), and general mental health difficulties, such as depression (e.g., Heinberg & Thompson, 1995; Lavine, Sweeney, & Wagner, 1999).

One frequently studied source of media-based gender norm messages is print advertising, particularly magazines. There, again, researchers have found consistent evidence both for the presence of gender-biased messages (e.g., Baker, 2005; Bessenoff

& Del Priore, 2007; Paff & Lakner, 1997; Reichert, Lambiase, Morgan, Carstarphen, & Zavoina, 1999; Rudman & Verdi, 1993) and for resulting harmful effects related to viewing those advertisements for both male viewers (e.g., Duggan & McCreary, 2004; Harrison & Cantor, 1997) and female viewers (e.g., Botta, 1999; Jennings, Geis, & Brown, 1980; Martin & Gentry, 1997; Stice & Shaw, 1994). In general, print advertisements feature overly thin and attractive female models, who are disproportionately sexualized and otherwise objectified relative to male models (e.g., Baker, 2005; Rudman & Verdi, 1993; Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008).

Several prominent theorists have discussed the mechanisms by which biased gender messages are transmitted in print advertising; two of the seminal theorists are Erving Goffman and Jean Kilbourne. Erving Goffman (1979) posed the idea that the value of gender roles in a culture can be understood through looking at the advertisements produced by that culture. Goffman identified six common categories of images that he believed illustrated ideal gender norms in the United States, including themes related to the body positioning of models in advertisements and the functions those models are performing. Several researchers (e.g., Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Kang, 1997) have validated the presence of many of Goffman's proposed image categories. Jean Kilbourne has documented evidence for gender bias in magazine advertisements since the 1960s; her *Killing Us Softly* video series is now in its fourth incarnation (Media Education Foundation, 2010). Kilbourne presented a series of 17 hypotheses about ways in which gender-biased messages are transmitted in *Killing Us Softly 3* (Media Education Foundation, 2000), and 14 of the original 17 hypotheses are included in *Killing Us Softly*

4 (Media Education Foundation, 2010). Some of these hypotheses included women presented as objects more often than men, trivialization of eating disorders, and positioning of women as passive more often than men. However, Kilbourne has never validated any of her hypotheses. The one study to date that has attempted to validate Kilbourne's hypotheses (Conley & Ramsey, 2011) found support for some, but not all, of the 17 original hypotheses of *Killing Us Softly 3*, and also noted that some of Kilbourne's hypotheses appeared more true of certain kinds of magazines than others. Conley and Ramsey (2011) also specifically noted that one of the limitations of their study was the utilization of magazines that targeted only the mainstream, and presumably White and heterosexual, population, as well as the utilization of magazines targeting only a specific gender.

Rationale for Study

As noted above, to date only one study (Conley & Ramsey, 2011) has been conducted testing Kilbourne's hypotheses about gender bias in print advertising as put forth in *Killing Us Softly 3* and *Killing Us Softly 4* (Media Education Foundation, 2000, 2010). That study utilized only magazines targeting mainstream (i.e., non-LGBT) women. If Kilbourne's hypotheses are to be more fully validated, their presence or absence must be examined across a broader spectrum of magazine genres and must also be examined with different magazine target audiences. Previous research has supported the idea that the prevalence of gender-biased messages does appear to differ based on magazine genre (e.g., Reichert et al., 1999; Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008).

Research to date has been mixed on the degree to which mainstream gender norms are also present in the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) population. Some research has supported the presence of different norms, particularly surrounding female body image (e.g., Bergeron & Senn, 1998; Gettelman & Thompson, 1993; Krakeur & Rose, 2002; LaTorre & Wendenburg, 1983). However, other research has suggested that LGBT individuals still internalize many of the same gender norms as the non-LGBT population (e.g., Cohen & Tannenbaum, 2001, Kozee & Tylka, 2006). Additionally, gay men have appeared to hold more stringent body-related norms for men than do heterosexual men (e.g., Beren, Hayden, Wilfley, & Grilo, 1996; Martins, Tiggemann, & Kirkbride, 2007). However, current research literature on the gender messages of LGBT-themed print advertising is sparse. What literature does exist seems to support the presence of different gender norms being represented in LGBT-targeted publications than in mainstream publications (e.g., Milillo, 2008; Saucier & Caron, 2008).

If, as Goffman (1979) suggested, the gender norms of a culture or subculture are reflected in its advertising, the gender norms in advertising targeting LGBT individuals will reflect LGBT gender norms rather than mainstream gender norms. Further, the different gender norms in the LGBT community suggest that the degree to which Kilbourne's hypotheses are supported in LGBT-targeted advertising may be substantively different than the degree to which those hypotheses are supported in mainstream advertising.

Thus, a current gap exists in the research literature both in terms of the degree to which Kilbourne's hypotheses can be validated in different genres of magazines and in magazines targeting an LGBT audience rather than a mainstream one. The current study proposes to attempt to fill this gap in the literature by examining the support for Kilbourne's hypotheses in different genres of magazines targeting both LGBT and mainstream audiences. If differences in gender representation are found between the different kinds of magazines, this may have important implications for how gender norms are transmitted differently through print advertising to different kinds of audiences. Any differences that are found may prove useful in explaining different psychological outcomes from viewing different media sources as well as providing a potential framework for suggestions on how to reduce gender bias in print advertising.

Statement of Purpose

The current study asks the question: To what extent are Jean Kilbourne's hypotheses about biased representations of gender in print advertising valid for different kinds of magazines targeting an LGBT audience compared to similarly themed magazines targeting a non-LGBT audience? The work of Conley and Ramsey (2011) will be extended by exploring the support for Jean Kilbourne's 17 hypotheses about gender messages as presented in *Killing Us Softly 3* (Media Education Foundation, 2000) in LGBT-targeted magazine advertisements compared to mainstream magazine advertisements. Male and female models will be coded for the presence and absence of Kilbourne's 17 hypothesized forms of gender bias in magazine advertisements; these models will be culled from advertisements representing both LGBT-targeted and

mainstream magazines. It is hypothesized that Kilbourne's 17 hypotheses will be validated for both LGBT-targeted and mainstream-targeted magazines, but that the degree to which the hypotheses are validated will be lesser for LGBT-targeted magazines and magazines that do not target a particular gender. It is also hypothesized that, in accordance with the increased emphasis on the male body found in gay men relative to heterosexual men, some of Kilbourne's hypotheses related to bodily objectification and focus will also be more common for male models in LGBT-targeted publications compared to male models in mainstream publications.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this literature review is to examine previous research germane to the representations of gender in media advertising. Major sections will be devoted to gender norms and how they are developed, research on the representation of gender norms in the media and the ways in which media influences viewers, and research specifically on the representation of gender in print advertising. As there is a large body of literature on each of these topics, summaries of previous research will be presented as often as possible to provide clarity. Studies particularly salient to the topic will be described in more depth. The literature review is organized by first discussing gender norms, then the influence of gender norms in the media in general, and finally the research that has been done on the representation of gender in print advertising. At the end of the literature review, a summary is presented along with the purpose of the current study and its associated research questions.

Gender Norms

Sex is defined as the conglomeration of biological characteristics that make individuals male or female. Mainstream culture in the United States ascribes sex as a binary characteristic in which one is either male or female, and in which ambiguous sex is generally not well tolerated (e.g., Ingrey, 2013). An individual's sex is usually defined at birth based on the presence or absence of external sex characteristics, such as a vulva

or a penis. Although some individuals have an ambiguous sex due to unusual external sex characteristics, most individuals are classified as either male or female based on external sex characteristics. Individuals with a non-normative external sex presentation are called intersex; many of these individuals undergo surgeries in infancy to alter their external sex characteristics for more easy alignment with either male or female status. The controversies regarding such assignment, done before the individual is of an age to consent to such a procedure, are beyond the scope of this paper. However, the fact that such procedures continue to be commonplace underlines the continued emphasis placed on unambiguous and binary sex assignment within many societies, including the United States.

Gender is the conglomeration of psychological characteristics that are ascribed socially and culturally to individuals based on their presumptive sex. For the purposes of this study, girls and women will be defined as those individuals ascribed a feminine gender identity on the basis of their presumed sex. Boys and men will defined as those individuals ascribed a masculine gender identity on the basis of their presumed sex.

Gender norms are those standards of appearance and behavior to which individuals are expected to adhere based on their presumed sex. As there are some differences in gender norms cross-culturally (e.g., Mead, 1935), gender norms appear to be learned rather than innate. According to Bem's gender schema theory (1993, 1998) children learn and internalize the gender norms of the society in which they live; they develop gender schemas to explain gender differences and subsequently interpret images

and experiences they observe through a lens colored by the schemas they have internalized.

Gender norms are complex and elaborate and include rules or standards not only for physical appearance, but also appropriate and inappropriate behavior for each gender and guidelines for interacting with individuals both of the same gender and the other gender. Nichter (2000) has argued that gender norms often contain rules, which are more elaborate for girls and women than for boys and men. As one of the young women Nichter interviewed summarized eloquently,

I think girls need to look more feminine and have a certain look. Guys, a lot of them, just thrown on whatever, and it doesn't matter a lot. There are just so many rules: girls shouldn't sit with their legs crossed, they should sit up straight, eat little salads and stuff like that; they should just overall seem less active, like sit around and talk rather than go out and play football. Girls shouldn't be loud. Girls shouldn't spit a loogey on the sidewalk and run around and act wild. Girls are supposed to eat less. Most people consider a girl should sit down and have a little salad and a soft drink at lunch, and the guys should go and get a big humongous plate of food. (p. 28)

Gender norms are transmitted through a variety of mechanisms. Some of these mechanisms include overt and covert parental instruction, peer socialization, schools, modeling, and media representations (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Martin, 1998; Ricciardelli & McCabe, 2001). Individuals' development of a sense of gender norms

begins in infancy as gender-typed behavior is reinforced selectively based on a child's sex:

As parents, teachers, and social scientists all know, male and female children learn about appropriate 'masculine' and 'feminine' behavior at a very early age. Gender role socialization is a complex process involving an individual's family experience, cultural conditioning, and education. This socialization not only shapes how individuals cognitively assess and create social reality, but also superimposes male-female differences on virtually every aspect of human experience, from modes of dress and social roles to ways of expressing emotion and sexual desire. (Lafky, Duffy, Steinmaus, & Berkowitz, 1996, pp. 379-380)

Early gender socialization and gender norm transmission for children occurs initially through parental instruction, both overt and covert, and reinforcement for behavior that is considered appropriate for the children's sex (e.g., Blakemore, 1998; Levine, Smolak, & Hayden, 1994; Pike & Rodin, 1991; Wertheim et al., 1999). Tenenbaum and Leaper's meta-analytic study (2002) indicated that the consensus of available research shows that the gender schemas of children's parents have a significant effect on the children's gender self-concepts and beliefs about gender roles.

Parents are more likely to designate certain toys, colors, and clothing types as appropriate for one sex or another, and only buy their children items considered appropriate for their assigned sex (e.g., Etaugh & Liss, 1992; Martin, 1998; Orenstein, 2011; Pomerleau, Bolduc, Malcuit, & Cossette, 1990). Toys designed for boys often encourage active play, while toys for girls often encourage nurturing, domestic, or

appearance-related play (e.g., Caldera, Huston, & O'Brien, 1989; Orenstein, 2011).

Similarly, parents are more likely to reinforce their children when their children engage in activities that are considered gender appropriate than when they engage in activities considered more appropriate for the other gender (e.g., Basow, 2008; Caldera et al., 1989; Orenstein, 2011). Further, when parents assign chores to children, girls are more often assigned tasks related to domestic duties, while boys are more often assigned outdoor chores (e.g., Burns & Homel, 1989; Cunningham, 2001; Etaugh & Liss, 1992). Parents' direct and indirect messages about their children's and their own bodies are also powerful messages to their children about gender standards, with messages from same-sex parents being particularly impactful (e.g., McHale, Corneal, Crouter, & Birch, 2001; Nichter, 2000; Pike & Rodin, 1991; Peterson et al., 2007; Streigel-Moore & Kearney-Cooke, 1994).

Peers are also important influences for transmission of gender norms (e.g., Berndt & Perry, 1990; Levine & Smolak, 1992; Levine, Smolak, Moodey, Shuman, & Hessen; 1994; Nichter, 2000; Paxton, Schutz, Wertheim, & Muir; 1999; Ricciardelli & McCabe, 2001). For example, in childhood, peers often police each other by expressing disapproval of behavior seen as gender inconsistent (e.g., Orenstein, 2011). Similarly, peers provide important messages about body image ideals (e.g., Jones & Crawford, 2006; Lawler & Nixon, 2011; Lieberman, Gauvin, Bukowski, & White, 2001; Nichter, 2000; Shomaker & Furman, 2009; Taylor et al., 1998; Vander Wal & Thelen, 2000). Peterson et al. (2007) noted that both male and female high school students reported pressure from peers to be thin and that teenagers who felt more peer pressure were more

likely to develop eating disorders. Eder, Evans, and Parker's longitudinal qualitative study (1995) of middle-school students documented numerous ways in which peers police gender norms, including selective reinforcement, name-calling and other teasing, as well as more overt bullying techniques. Another longitudinal study by Brown and Gilligan (1992) focused on girls between elementary and high school years and yielded similar results about the importance of peers as socialization agents.

Gender norms are further reinforced by teachers and other school personnel (e.g., Martin, 1998; Orenstein, 2011). Martin (1998) found differential treatment of male and female children by teachers as early as preschool. Teachers were more likely to encourage and reinforce quiet behavior in female children and more likely to call on male children in the classroom. Martin also noted that female children were more often encouraged to behave formally by teachers, whereas more relaxed behavior was tolerated in male children.

Modeling, as described extensively in the social learning theories of both Bandura (1977) and Mischel (1973), is the process by which individuals learn by observing and imitating the behavior of others around them, which is either rewarded or punished. According to this theory, children learn and internalize ideas of gender roles by observing the ways in which others are rewarded or punished for adherence to or transgression of various gender-prescribed behaviors. For example, a young girl overhearing another girl being criticized for being overweight will learn that being overweight is bad and will attempt to prevent herself from becoming overweight to avoid being similarly criticized.

Many of the gender norms currently taught and reinforced in the United States are biased and/or sexist. Sexism (Sexism, n.d.) and gender bias (Gender bias, n.d.) are terms that will be used interchangeably in this study in accordance with the common usage of these terms to indicate thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that preference one sex or gender over another, nearly always a preference for men/maleness over women/femaleness, as well as to indicate inaccurate or stereotypic representations of different sexes or genders.

Representations of Attractiveness Over Time

Aspects of what is considered ideal beauty have changed over time, but there has always been an image of what is considered ideal. At various points in time in the United States, women have been expected to be plump, to have tiny corseted waists, to have large breasts, to have small breasts, to be tanned, to be pale, to be voluptuous, and to have minimal curves (e.g., Derenne & Beresin, 2006; Durham, 2008; Mazur, 1986; Orenstein, 2011). Sometimes a prevailing beauty standard endures for long periods of time, but at other times, the standards have changed rapidly. As Mazur (1986, p. 288) noted, “The 1900 Sears catalog showed only wasp waisted corsets that accentuated the bust; the 1923 catalog showed only curveless ones that suppressed the hips.” Currently in the United States, to be seen as an ideal woman, a woman must be attractive, deferential, unaggressive, emotional, nurturing, and focused on people and relationships (e.g., Miller, 1986; Wood, 1999). Men, on the other hand, are expected to be powerful, strong, efficacious, dedicated to work, dominant, and muscled (Kervin, 1990; Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein, & Streigel-Moore, 1986). These messages are transmitted in a variety of

ways, and all individuals are exposed to incessant messages about gender throughout their lives.

Evolutionary psychology and gender norms. Evolutionary psychologists argue that widely held gender norms have a basis in what has been adaptive from an evolutionary perspective (e.g., Buss, 1998, Lueptow, Garovich-Szabo, & Lueptow, 2001). According to this perspective, those traits, both physical and psychological, which have helped humankind survive and progress as a species, continue to be reinforced because it is beneficial for continued survival and growth of the human species to do so. As the human species developed, different traits were beneficial for men and women based on their differential roles and involvement in the production and rearing of offspring.

Notably, the evolutionary psychology perspective assumes normative heterosexuality based on an assumption that offspring production and rearing occurs exclusively or near exclusively within the context of male-female sexual and relational interactions (e.g., Buss & Schmitt, 1993, 2011; Miner & Shackelford, 2010). While a few evolutionary psychology studies are beginning to emerge examining same-sex sexual behavior and relationships from an evolutionary perspective and acknowledging that mating preferences and influences may be different for those seeking same-sex sexual partners (e.g., Dillon & Saleh, 2012; Gobrogge et al., 2007; Harrison, Hughes, Burch, & Gallup, 2008; Smith, Konik, & Tuve, 2011), generally the field has been concerned with traits that promote successful heterosexual mating and offspring production. Even those more recent studies exploring an evolutionary perspective on same-sex attraction have

often tried to equate such attractions to heterosexual relationships by identifying gender in such relationships as similarly dichotomous and complementary, such as assuming that one partner will be more masculine and one will be more feminine (e.g., Bailey, Kim, Hills, & Linsenmeier, 1997; Bassett, Pearcey, & Dabbs, 2001; Singh, Vidaurri, Zambarano, & Dabbs, 1999). As such, the rest of this section will focus on the bulk of the evolutionary psychology literature which has focused on heterosexual mate preferences as normative.

Some physical traits traditionally considered attractive for either women or men have an important biological basis related to fertility. Singh (1993a, 1993b, 1994) has shown that waist-to-hip ratio appears to be a more consistent value in female attractiveness than thinness; while standards for what is considered ideal for women to weigh have varied across time and culture, the near-universal standard for attractiveness cross-culturally appears to be a 0.7:1 waist-to-hip ratio. For example, the waist-to-hip ratio of both *Playboy* centerfolds from 1955 to 1990 and Miss America winners from 1923 to 1987 vary very little from this ideal ratio (Singh, 1994). This preference for a 0.7:1 waist-to-hip ratio appears to have a basis in the physiological likelihood of fertility; women with approximately this waist-to-hip ratio are more likely to be fertile due to ideal estrogen-to-testosterone balance (e.g., de Ridder et al., 1990; Lanska, Lanska, Hartz, & Rimm, 1985). Women with medical conditions that adversely affect fertility, such as polycystic ovarian syndrome, often have higher waist-to-hip ratios (Rebuffe-Scrive, Cullberg, Lundberg, Lindstedt, & Bjorntorp, 1989); higher waist-to-hip ratios in women can also signal other medical difficulties as well, such as diabetes, hypertension, and

gallbladder disease (e.g., Hartz, Rupley, & Rimm, 1984; Lapidus, Helgesson, Merck, & Bjorntorp, 1988). Similarly, after menopause, when women are no longer fertile, women's waist-to-hip ratio generally increases and takes on a waist-to-hip ratio closer to a 0.9:1 ratio (Kirschner & Samojlik, 1991), the ratio more typically associated with men and higher testosterone levels (Jones, Hunt, Brown, & Norgan, 1986). Thus, from an evolutionary perspective, a preference for the 0.7:1 waist-to-hip ratio makes sense for heterosexual men looking for fertile female mates (Singh, 1994). Similarly, heterosexual women tend to prefer men with waist-to-hip ratios closer to 0.9:1, which tends to indicate higher testosterone levels and a higher likelihood of fertility (Singh, 1995).

Similarly, men often express a preference for women with fuller lips.

Biologically, fuller lips indicate the presence of higher estrogen levels in a woman, which in turn are linked to being more fertile (Horgan, 1995). For men, broader chests and increased muscularity, which are the result of higher testosterone levels and increased fertility, typically are considered more attractive by women than narrower chests or less musculature (Wade, 2010). Facial configurations, such as distances between various facial features and the height versus width of facial features, of both men and women exhibiting closer adherence to the so-called golden ratio of 1:1.6 found recurring throughout nature are rated as more attractive by both male and female viewers than facial configurations further from the golden ratio (Prokopakis et al., 2013). Similarly, both men and women with symmetrical features, another sign of fertility, consistently are judged as more attractive by raters than their less symmetrical counterparts (e.g., Buggio et al., 2012; Grammer & Thornhill, 1994; Mealey, Bridgstock, & Townsend, 1999).

Evolutionary psychologists argue that certain psychological traits typically ascribed to each sex also have an evolutionary basis (e.g., Buss, 1998; Lueptow et al., 2001). For example, the social structures and mores by which men have attempted to control women's sexual behavior through various means may have an origin in trying to ensure that any children a woman produced were the children of those men so that the men did not invest resources in children who were not biologically theirs (Buss, 1998). Similarly, women were benefitted by seeking out male partners who had the physical and psychological characteristics necessary to be a good provider, to ensure that their male partner would be able to care for them and their children during the period of time in which the women were invested in raising relatively helpless young offspring. Thus, both men and women evolved psychologically in different ways that maximized their likelihood of reproductive success. Evolutionary psychologists also argue that phenomena, such as rape and men's violence against women, can be traced to evolutionary adaptations by humans attempting to promote maximal reproductive outcomes (Bem, 1993). In one particularly fascinating study, which appears to confirm some innate psychological gender differences, researchers exposed male and female rhesus monkeys to human children's toys, which were designed either for boys, for girls, or were gender neutral (Hassett, Seibert, & Wallen, 2002). Although both male and female monkeys equally played with the gender neutral toys, the male monkeys were more likely to play with the toys designed for boys, while the female monkeys were more likely to play with the toys designed for girls.

The evolutionary psychology perspective is controversial. Many feminist theorists (e.g., Wolf, 1991) argue that in today's society many of the gendered traits, which historically may have been important for humankind's survival, are now irrelevant to our continued growth as a species. These theorists note that humankind has moved beyond a point where biological essentialism and the survival of the species are the most pressing determinants of how sex is transcribed into gender (e.g., Wade & Tavriss, 1998). Thus, the continued propagation of outdated gender traits is considered by some feminists to be irrelevant, or perhaps even harmful. These researchers argue that there is an inherent difference between sex and gender, and that while sex may be biological and less mutable, gender is constructed socially and culturally and is subject to change (Wade & Tavriss, 1998). Indeed, a meta-analysis by Twenge in 1997 found that the rates of psychological traits considered to be masculine or androgynous have increased significantly in women since the 1970s to the point that there is no longer a difference in the occurrence of certain traditionally masculine traits between men and women. Traits, such as being active, independent, self-reliant, ambitious, and assertive, historically considered masculine traits in most Western cultures, are now equally prominent in men and women in those cultures (e.g., Spence & Bucker, 2000; Twenge, 2001). Similarly, anthropological studies of non-Western cultures have demonstrated the presence of significant cross-cultural variation in which personality traits or physical features are considered desirable based on gender (e.g., Durham, 2008; Mead, 1935; Whiting & Edwards, 1973).

Current attractiveness standards. In the United States, a culture of thinness exists in which women are both encouraged to be thin and presented with a standard for thinness that is impossible or nearly impossible for the vast majority of women to obtain (e.g., Wiseman, Gray, Mosimann, & Ahrens, 1992; Wolf, 1991). In the mid-1970s, the average fashion model was 8% thinner than the average U.S. American woman; by the late 1990s, the average fashion model was 23% thinner than the average U.S. American woman (Kilbourne, 2000). Our thin ideals are manifest across all forms of visual media, where the preponderance of women on display are young, tall, and very thin (e.g., Fouts & Burggraf, 1999; Malkin, Wornian, & Chisler, 1999; Wiseman et al., 1992). The most popular toys for girls continue to include Barbies and Bratz dolls, which also replicate a singular ideal female body type (Orenstein, 2011).

In addition to scripts about ideal weight, the relative size and shape of women's body parts are considered important. Multiple researchers have found near universal cross-cultural agreement that a 0.7:1 waist-to-hip ratio for women continues to be considered ideal (e.g., Furnham, Dias, & McClelland, 1998; Singh & Luis, 1995). Even among subcultures with less adherence to the thin ideal, such as the Black community in the United States, men still exhibit a preference for a 0.7:1 waist-to-hip ratio in women (Freedman, Carter, Sbrocco, & Gray, 2004).

For men, the current prevailing ideal body image prioritizes muscularity (Hatoum & Belle, 2004). The ideal male body type is "a mesomorphic build, with a large upper torso featuring well-developed shoulder, arm, and chest muscles, coupled with a slim waist, hips, and buttocks" (Levine & Harrison, 2003, p. 696). An interesting study by

Leit, Pope, and Gray (2001) found that the level of muscularity for men considered ideal appears to be increasing, as evidenced by the male centerfolds featured in *Playgirl* magazine becoming steadily more muscular between 1973 and 1997. Spitzer, Henderson, and Zivian (1999) also noted an increase in muscularity in *Playgirl* centerfolds from the 1950s to the 1990s. Similarly, a study by Pope, Olivardia, Gruber, and Borowiecki (1999) found that male action figure toys, primarily played with by male children rather than female children, became steadily more muscular from 1964 to 1998; these findings were replicated by Baghurst, Hollander, Nardella, and Haff (2006). It is now not uncommon for some of the male action figures to be more muscular than is humanly achievable, even through the use of anabolic steroids to promote extreme muscle growth.

Themes in Gender Norms

Although there are variations with subcultures, certain themes appear repeatedly in mainstream gender norms in the United States and other Western cultures. The following section is not designed to be an exhaustive discussion of all common gender themes, but will highlight some of the more prominent themes, which have been studied over the last 50 years. Further, although men's issues and concerns will be discussed briefly in some sections, the focus of this section will be on themes related to gender norms for women. This emphasis is due both to the relative dearth of research on male gender norms relative to female gender norms as well as the general focus of the current study.

Body image themes. As noted previously, in the current cultural ethos of the United States, girls and women are expected to be slender (e.g., Smith, 2008). The preferred body type for men is highly muscular (e.g., Hatoum & Belle, 2004), although less emphasis is placed on men achieving this standard than on women achieving a thin standard. Parents, peers, and media all promote a culture in which women are compared against a thin standard and are expected to modify their diet, weight, and other lifestyle attributes to meet this standard (e.g., Levine, Smolak, & Hayden, 1994; Nichter, 2000). Indeed, that standard appears to be becoming progressively thinner, as evidenced by the evolution of weight and shape of Miss America contestants and winners (e.g., Garner, Garfinkel, Schwartz, & Thompson, 1980; Rubinstein & Caballero, 2000; Spitzer et al., 1999), *Playboy* and other adult magazine centerfolds (e.g., Garner et al., 1980; Spitzer et al., 1999; Voracek & Fisher, 2002), and fashion models (e.g., Sypeck, Gray, & Ahrens, 2004) over the last 40 years. Although there may be small differences in what is considered to be an ideal female body based on ethnicity and other factors in the messages received by peers and parents, norms transmitted by the media tend to reflect only the thin standard (Nichter, 2000).

Often, the thin ideal is not only thin but also unhealthily thin; Wiseman et al. (1992) found that between 1979 and 1988, 69% of the female models in *Playboy* and 60% of Miss America contestants had a body weight more than 15 percent under the normal weight for their height. As a body weight of more than 15 percent under normal weight has been considered one of the criteria for anorexia nervosa (*Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-IV, Text Revision*; American Psychiatric

Association, 2000), this suggests that achievement of this level of thinness is likely unachievable by the vast majority of United States women without resorting to extreme and unhealthy forms of diet and exercise. Despite this standard of thinness being clearly unrealistic when subjected to scrutiny, a message is clearly transmitted with the thin and attractive ideal that this ideal is attainable by anyone, if they only work hard enough. The corollary message is that anyone who does not achieve this thin ideal simply did not try and should be ashamed of themselves (Smith, 2008). As Kilbourne (2000) noted,

In the old days, bad girls got pregnant. These days they get fat – and are more scorned, shamed, and despised than ever before. Prejudice against fat people, especially against fat women, is one of the few remaining prejudices that is socially acceptable. This strikes fear into the hearts of most women, who are terrified of inspiring revulsion and ridicule. (p. 115)

This emphasis on thinness and attractiveness for the female body relative to the male body is also illustrated in the United States by the kinds of clothing deemed appropriate for each gender. Women's clothing often includes form-fitting items and a high level of decoration, as opposed to men's clothing, which is often looser and less decorative. These stylistic differences mean that women's clothing tends to emphasize and draw attention to the body, while men's clothing does not (Wood, 1999). Men's clothing typically emphasizes function, while women's emphasizes form. For example, pockets are frequently absent or non-functional in women's clothing to preserve the appearance of the garment at the sacrifice of the potential utility of pockets.

Sexualization themes. Modern media images of men and women are often highly sexualized, across all forms of media (Kilbourne, 2000). Even children increasingly are sexualized, as evidenced by the rising popularity of child beauty pageants and the *Toddlers & Tiaras* television show featuring highly made-up children often in revealing costumes, along with pole dancing exercise classes geared at teenage and preteen girls (e.g., Orenstein, 2011). However, the sexuality shown typically features young, attractive, heterosexual couples; representations of older individuals' sexuality or same-sex sexuality are rarely shown in the mainstream media. As Kilbourne noted (2000),

Sexual images in advertising and throughout the media define what is sexy and, more important, who is sexy [...] [L]esbian, gay, or bisexual sex is rarely even implied in the mainstream media (aside from the occasional male fantasy of lesbianism as two beautiful women waiting for Dick to arrive). We are surrounded by images of young, beautiful heterosexual couples with perfect hard bodies having sex. Women are portrayed as sexually desirable only if they are young, thin, carefully polished and groomed, made up, depilated, sprayed, and scented [...] and men are conditioned to seek such partners and to feel disappointed if they fail. (p. 260)

One newer gender theme related to women in advertising is the promotion of a sexualized, objectified body as empowering (e.g., Durham, 2008; Gill, 2008), also known as the so-called midriff phenomenon. As Gill noted (p. 45), "Not only are women objectified (as they were before), but through sexual subjectification in midriff advertising *they must also now understand their own objectification as pleasurable and*

self-chosen [italics from the original].” Peer policing of gender norms includes promotion of sexualization among even relatively young girls, as shown by both Nichter (2000) and Eder et al. (1995).

Appropriate social roles. Historically in Western society, men have tended to be the economic providers, while women have been responsible for the care of home and children. Transmitted gender norms still place these expectations on men and women, such that women are expected to be nurturing and domestic and men are expected to be independent breadwinners (e.g., Faludi, 1991; Wolf, 1991; Wood, 1999). Women who prioritize career over home and family continue to be derided and criticized for failing to fill their gender ascribed roles effectively (e.g., Faludi, 1991; Gelernter, 1996; Wood, 1999). Similarly, men who choose to be stay-at-home fathers are often ridiculed as being less-than-fully men (Wood, 1999).

Gender norms also dictate what are considered to be acceptable personality traits based on gender. Men are expected to be more assertive, and women more passive (Wood, 1999). Women’s language is expected to be more tentative and permission-seeking, with a focus on relationship building and maintenance, whereas men’s language is expected to be more assertive and directive, with a focus on goal achievement. Women who violate these language norms are often seen as aggressive and unlikeable, and men who violate the norms are seen as weak and ineffectual (e.g., Rasmussen & Moely, 1986). Further, women are expected to smile and maintain eye contact while speaking, and are often criticized if they do not (Wood, 1999).

Normative heterosexuality. All of the gender norms discussed so far exist in a culture of what Adrienne Rich (1998) has called compulsory heterosexuality. Compulsory heterosexuality assumes a heterosexual orientation as not only normative but also ideal. This compulsory heterosexuality assumes that one of the primary goals of achieving ideal femininity for women is to secure a desirable male mate, and one of the primary goals of achieving ideal masculinity for men is to secure a desirable female mate (e.g., Barthel, 1988; Durham, 2008; Levine & Harrison, 2003). The idea that the ideal mate could be a same-gender partner is inconceivable in a culture of compulsory heterosexuality, and this is reflected in the mainstream gender norms of the United States. Physical and psychological attractiveness standards for women are based on what traits are presumed to increase women's appeal to men, and correspondingly, physical and psychological attractiveness standards for men are based on what traits are presumed to increase men's appeal to women (Levine & Harrison, 2003).

Gender as binary. Tied to the gender norm of presumptive heterosexuality is a presumption that gender is binary. In mainstream culture in the United States, historically gender has been seen as tied directly to sex. As sex is seen to be normatively binary, i.e., male and female, gender is also seen as normatively binary, i.e., man and woman. Thus, normative gender is seen as cisgender; cisgender (n.d.) is a relatively new term used to describe the state in which gender identity correlates to that considered normative for sex characteristics. Individuals receive strong cultural pressure to conform to the gender expectations of the sex to which they have been assigned at birth (e.g., Bem, 1998; Bohan, 2007; Ingrey, 2013). Thus, individuals with nonconforming gender

identities relative to their sex are marginalized or actively repressed, and individuals who claim such identities often experience significant prejudice and discrimination (e.g., Claire & Alderson, 2013; Levitt & Hiestand, 2004). This nonconformity includes not only transgender, agender, and polygender individuals, but also cisgender individuals whose gender presentation is inconsistent with that considered normative based on their sex. While minor gender transgressions may be tolerated in children, particularly female children with male interests (e.g., Bailey, Bechtold, & Berenbaum, 2002; Burn, O'Neil, & Nederend, 1996; Morgan, 1998), individuals are expected to abandon such transgressive behavior and fully manifest the gender characteristics associated with their assigned sex by adolescence or early adulthood (e.g., Hemmer & Kleiber, 1981).

Normative Whiteness. In the United States, culture-wide gender norms are largely based on the gender norms of the dominant racial group, i.e., Caucasian/White (e.g., Hagiwara, Kashy, & Cesario, 2012; Hunter, 1998, 2002). Thus, standards for appropriate masculinity and femininity in the United States are essentially standards for appropriate White masculinity and White femininity. Men and women of color are often judged against how well their projection of gender meets or does not meet White gender standards. This judgment occurs not just from White individuals, but also from persons of color who have internalized White gender norms through generalizations of psychological colonization (e.g., Philipsen, 2008; Powell-Hopson & Hopson, 1988). For example, lightness of skin tone is often prized within African American and Latino/a American cultures (e.g., Hill, 2002; Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Hunter, 1998), and also

reinforced by the marketing of skin lighteners to members of these cultures (e.g., Glenn, 2008; Hunter, 2002).

Effect of Gender Norms

Both men and women are affected by traditional gender norms. For example, men are showing increasing body dissatisfaction and other body image concerns (e.g., Furnham & Calman, 1998), and there does appear to be a link between increased media exposure and men's body dissatisfaction (e.g., Hatoum & Belle, 2004). However, the media and other sources appear to place more emphasis on the importance of female attractiveness than on male attractiveness. Thus, women and girls are more likely to feel pressure to uphold the gender norms put forth by the media, particularly those norms that relate to attractiveness and body standards (e.g., Ogletree, Williams, Raffeld, Mason, & Fricke, 1990; Silverstein, Perdue, Peterson, & Kelly; 1986). As noted by Peirce (1990),

By age 17, the traditionally socialized teenage girl will have learned, from many and varied sources, that how she looks is more important than what she thinks, that her main goal in life is to find a man to take care of her financially, and that her place will be home with the kids and the cooking and the housework, while his place will be wherever he wants it to be. She will have learned, too, that if she *has* to work (and it would certainly be better if she didn't), her job will not be as important as his, it will not pay as much as his, and she will still be in charge of home and kids. She will have been told that biological differences necessitate these gender differences and her lesser status in society. (p. 491)

Similarly, Mazur (1986) stated,

[...] women are under more pressure than men to conform to an ideal of beauty because they quickly learn that their social opportunities are affected by their beauty, and a sense of beauty (or lack of it) becomes an important facet of a young woman's self-concept. (p. 282)

Further, the gendered messages transmitted to women and girls are often more contradictory than those transmitted to men and boys. As Kilbourne noted (2000),

Girls are put into a terrible double bind. They are supposed to repress their power, their anger, their exuberance and be simply "nice," although they also eventually must compete with men in the business world and be successful. They must be overtly sexy and attractive but essentially passive and virginal. It is not surprising that most girls experience [adolescence] as painful and confusing, especially if they are unconscious of these conflicting demands. (p. 231)

Unsurprisingly, gender norm exposure for women and girls often has more adverse consequences than exposure for men and boys. As the focus of this study is on the effects of these norms on women, the following section will focus on the adverse effects of these norms on women, with a brief discussion of prominent findings about the effects of these norms on men.

Self-objectification in girls and women. One of the more insidious effects of gender norms is the way in which women internalize these norms into their sense of self. Women judge themselves based on their understanding of what it means to be a good or ideal woman. As discussed, many of the gender norms for women are unrealistic or

otherwise unobtainable, leading women to judge themselves adversely as they inevitably fail to measure up when compared to the norms. Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) have written extensively about objectification theory, the process by which they propose that women internalize and judge themselves based on the gender norms to which they are exposed. Objectification theory argues that women learn to take an outside perspective in viewing themselves; in other words, they attempt to perceive and judge themselves by the standards they presume that others have rather than by a personalized standard. This self-judging ties up precious cognitive resources as well as changing the focus from an assessment of personality and character to an evaluation of external appearance, and can lead to constant body monitoring, increased shame and anxiety, and decreased performance on other tasks. The shame and self-dislike, which result from constantly falling short of unrealistic standards, result in a range of adverse mental health consequences for women and girls, including depression, sexual dysfunction, and eating disorders (e.g., Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Grabe, Hyde, & Lindberg, 2007; Moradi & Huang, 2008; Muehlenkamp, Swanson, & Brausch, 2005; Slater & Tiggemann, 2002; Syzmanski & Henning, 2007; Tolman, Impett, Tracy, & Michael, 2006). Multiple studies have shown that girls and women self-objectify more than boys and men (e.g., Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll, Quinn, & Twenge, 1998; Grabe et al., 2007; Hebl, King, & Lin, 2004; Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005). Increased media exposure, which results in increased exposure to biased gender norms, also results in higher levels of self-objectification (e.g., Aubrey, 2006b).

Negative body image in girls and women. Body image is “feelings and attitudes towards one’s body” (Hsu & Sobkeiwicz, 1991, p. 16). Body satisfaction is the degree to which individuals are satisfied with their body image. Multiple studies have confirmed that women who self-objectify tend to feel more shame about their body and have poorer body images and body satisfaction (e.g., Fredrickson et al., 1998; McKinley, 1998). By the teenage years and continuing throughout adulthood, girls are significantly more dissatisfied with their body image compared to their male peers (e.g., Frederick, Forbes, Grigorian, & Jarcho, 2007; Gillen & Lefkowitz, 2006, Lowery et al., 2005; Pipher, 1994). Body dissatisfaction for women is widespread in the United States; up to 80 percent of women are currently dissatisfied with their body in some way (Lawler & Nixon, 2011). Further, body dissatisfaction and shame are appearing in girls at younger and younger ages; Dohnt and Tiggemann (2006) found that 80% of 10-year-old girls reported being afraid of getting fat and half of 9-year-old girls have dieted at least once. Multiple studies have confirmed that increased media exposure increases body dissatisfaction in girls and women, both in the United States and cross-culturally (e.g., Aubrey, 2006a; Prendergast, Yan, & West, 2002). For example, Irving (1990) showed women images of models of varying weights; the women who viewed images of thinner models showed more dissatisfaction with their own weight. There is some evidence that the body image of White women and girls is more negative than that of Black and Hispanic women and girls (e.g., Abrams, Allen, & Gray, 1993; Kemper, Sargent, Drane, Valois, & Hussey, 1994; Nichter, 2000; Story, French, Resnick, & Blum, 1995). The reasoning offered for

this difference is usually based on the presumption of a lesser degree of internalization of mainstream White-based appearance norms by non-White women and girls.

Decreased self-esteem in girls and women. Self-esteem and self-concept are terms that will be used interchangeably and will be defined as individuals' global evaluation of their personal worth. For girls and women, self-esteem is closely linked to body image (e.g., Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006; Grossbard, Lee, Neighbors, & Larimer, 2009; Pipher, 1994). As Hesse-Biber, Leavy, Quinn, and Zoino (2006, p. 210) noted, "A woman's sense of self-esteem is dependent upon her perceived attractiveness to the opposite sex, and body weight plays [sic] a increasing importance in whether she is considered physically attractive." Thus, it is not surprising that exposure to traditional gender norms, which reflect a cult of thinness and beauty for women (Wolf, 1991), results in lower self-esteem for women than for men due to increased body dissatisfaction. Speaking about women's fashion magazines, which epitomize the cult of thinness and beauty, one woman interviewed by Wolf noted,

I buy them as a form of self-abuse. They give me a weird mixture of anticipation and dread, a sort of stirred-up euphoria. Yes! Wow! I can be better starting from right this minute! Look at her! Look at *her*! But right afterward, I feel like throwing out all my clothes and everything in my refrigerator and telling my boyfriend never to call me again and blowtorching my whole life. I'm ashamed to admit that I read them every month. (p. 62)

Study after study has shown that self-esteem decreases in girls and women exposed to traditional gender norms, many of which are unrealistic for most girls and women (e.g.,

Durkin & Paxton, 2002; Lowery et. al, 2005; Mills, Polivy, Herman, & Tiggemann, 2002). As Smith (2008) stated,

By emphasizing that anyone can maintain an unattainable ideal, and that to be valued as a woman you must be beautiful, women blame themselves for not being able to attain that ideal, rather than seeing the ideal as unrealistic. Women feel like failures. And because they do not look like the ideal, they dislike their own bodies and, therefore, themselves. Their self-esteem suffers because they are labeled as failure, by themselves and by a culture that demands thinness (as well as youth) in women. (p. 127)

Having an average or high self-esteem is vital to mental well-being (e.g., Baumeister, Campbell, Krueger, & Vohs, 2003). This decrease in self-esteem related to perceived failure to meet gender norm standards is perhaps unsurprisingly linked with a corresponding increase in a range of mental health difficulties, including depression and substance abuse (e.g., Grabe et al., 2007; Kilbourne, 2000; Muehlenkamp et al., 2005, Syzmanski & Henning, 2007; Tiggemann & Kuring, 2004).

Increased eating disorders among girls and women. The dissatisfaction many women and girls have with their body image, particularly their weight, frequently results in dieting behavior (e.g., Markey & Markey, 2005; Young, McFatter, & Clopton, 2001). The pressures to be thin mean that dieting can often escalate into disordered eating or diagnosable eating disorders (e.g., Peterson et al., 2007). The incidence of eating disorders has increased markedly since the 1950s; eating disorders are now the third most common chronic illness among women and girls (Kilbourne, 2000). Polivy and Herman

(2002) noted a rate of bulimia nervosa and anorexia nervosa among women ages 15 to 29 of 3 to 10%. If rates of disordered eating that fall short of the full diagnostic criteria for an eating disorder are included, that rate is between 9 and 30 percent. Overall, more than 10 million women and 1 million men in the United States are believed to be anorexic, and another 25 million are believed to be bulimic (Shisslak, Crago, & Estes, 1995). Many millions more exhibit disordered eating that falls below the threshold for a formal eating disorder diagnosis. The age at which eating disorders begins is also falling; between 1999 and 2006 there was an increase of more than 100% in the rates of children under 12 being admitted to the hospital for eating disorders (Orenstein, 2011).

Lucas, Beard, O'Fallen, and Kurland (1991) found that the rate of anorexia nervosa among girls ages 10 to 19 over a 50 year period was directly connected to the thin ideal; when cultural standards promoted thinness more strongly, rates of anorexia nervosa also increased. Numerous other studies have also found strong links between cultural values of thinness for girls and women and disordered eating (e.g., Harrison, 2000, Stice, Schupak-Neuberg, Shaw, & Stein, 1994, Thomsen, Weber, & Brown, 2002). The link between culturally-prescribed thinness ideals and eating disorders holds true not just in the United States, but has been observed in multiple other cultures as well; higher rates of media consumption are tied to an increase in eating disorders (e.g., Prendergast et al., 2002). Further, although eating disorders have historically been considered a problem of relatively high socioeconomic status White women, the rates of eating disorders in other groups, such as men and individuals of minority ethnicities, have been steadily increasing (e.g., Atlas, Smith, Hohlstein, McCarthy, & Kroll, 2002; Barry & Grilo, 2002;

Bordo, 2009; Chamorro & Flores-Ortiz, 2000; O’Dea & Abraham, 2002; Striegel-Moore & Smolak, 1996). Despite the increasing prevalence of eating disorders in men, however, eating disorders remain ten times more prevalent in women than in men.

Violence against women. According to the most recent report on crime victimization by the United States Department of Justice, more than 200,000 women and children are sexually assaulted each year (Truman & Morgan, 2014); one out of every six women will be raped in her lifetime. The rates of intimate partner violence are even higher; more than 1.2 million women in the United States are assaulted by their romantic partner or spouse each year, and as many as one in four women will be victimized by intimate partner violence in her lifetime (National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2007). According to O’Neil and Nadeau (1999), one of the primary contributors to men’s violence against women is men’s internalization of traditional gender roles and their anger and shame related to their inability to live up to the male role expectations. O’Neil and Nadeau noted that traditional gender norms emphasize power for men, so when men are feeling disempowered or otherwise powerless, one way they may attempt to reclaim a sense of powerfulness is through violence against vulnerable targets.

Multiple studies have shown that individuals exposed to objectifying images of women in the media are more accepting of rape myths, sexual harassment, and relational violence against women (e.g., Kahlor & Eastin, 2011; Kalof, 1999; Milburn et al., 2000; Ward, 2002). Kilbourne (2000) noted,

When women are shown in positions of powerlessness, submission, and subjugation, the message to men is clear. Women are always available as the

targets of aggression and violence, women are inferior to men and thus deserve to be dominated, and women exist to fulfill the needs of men. (p. 289)

Feminist researchers and theorists (e.g., Kahlor & Eastin, 2011; Wolf, 1991) have argued that not only do these images increase men's acceptance of various forms of violence against women, but they also increase the likelihood of men engaging in these behaviors.

Exposure to gender-biased and sexist media not only increases men's propensity for violence against women; it also increases women's acceptance of this behavior as normative. In an interesting study by Hansen and Hansen (1988), male and female undergraduate students were exposed to either neutral music videos or videos with sexist content. When subsequently exposed to a scenario in which a male colleague attempted to flirt with a female colleague, those who had viewed the sexist videos saw the behavior of the male colleague as appropriate and had unfavorable reactions to the female colleague if she rejected him.

Differential treatment of women. According to an oft-quoted aphorism, "What is beautiful is good" (Sappho, as quoted in Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972). Individuals who are deemed to be attractive are also assumed to possess numerous desirable characteristics, including intelligence and social skills, even though actual differences in these traits between individuals of different attractiveness are negligible (Feingold, 1992). Correspondingly, individuals judged as attractive possess a marked advantage relative to those judged as less attractive across a range of contexts, including being offered jobs, selection for awards, and reception of leadership positions (e.g., Clifford & Walster, 1973; Marlowe, Schneider, & Nelson, 1996; Ritts, Patterson, &

Tubbs, 1992; Shahani, Dipboye, & Gehrlein, 1993). This phenomenon of relative advantage based on attractiveness historically has been called the attractiveness bias. A subset of the attractiveness bias is weight bias, in which overweight and obese individuals are judged less favorably across various contexts relative to individuals of average weight (e.g., Karris, 1977; Latner, O'Brien, Durso, Brinkman, & MacDonald, 2008; Puhl & Brownell, 2001; Rothblum, Brand, Miller, & Oetjen, 1990). Both Hosoda, Stone-Romero, and Coats (2003) and Eagly, Ashmore, Mahkijani, and Longo (1991) found moderate effect sizes in meta-analytic studies assessing the consistency of the attractiveness bias. Although both men and women experience the effects of the attractiveness bias, attractive women benefit more than attractive men; attractive women appear to have more of an advantage over unattractive women than attractive men have over unattractive men (e.g., Marlowe et al., 1996).

The attractiveness bias has been extensively studied in terms of its influence on job-related decision-making. Marlowe et al. (1996) gave managers equivalent resumes with photographs of the fictional applicants attached; raters demonstrated a consistent preference for hiring the applicants perceived to be attractive over the applicants perceived to be average or unattractive in appearance. Similarly, Cann, Siegfried, and Pearce (1981) found that raters of both genders judge overweight applicants more harshly and are less likely to recommend hiring them compared to their normal weight counterparts. Hosoda et al. (2003) noted that, although attractiveness, including weight, is not necessarily the single most important determinant of employment-related decisions, it may be the deciding factor when other factors between individuals are equivalent.

Meta-analyses of the attractiveness bias have confirmed that it remains an important deciding factor across a range of settings. Hosoda et al. (2003) analyzed 27 studies and found a moderate overall effect size of .37 for the influence of the attractiveness bias on a range of job-related outcomes. Interestingly, the authors also noted that the nature of the decision did not seem to relate to how much job-relevant information is given about the targets. In other words, most of the variance in job-related decisions is accounted for by information that is not directly germane to job performance, such as personality attributions. As has been previously discussed, attractiveness biases do contribute to raters' assessment of individuals' personality traits. Hosoda et al. concluded that, although attractiveness is not necessarily the most important determinant of employment-related decisions, it may be the deciding factor when selecting an applicant from among similarly qualified applicants or in rewarding employees with similar job performances. Similarly, Eagly, Ashmore, Mahkijani, and Longo (1991) found a moderate effect size for the "what is beautiful is good" phenomenon in their meta-analysis of 76 studies on attractiveness bias, with the largest effects for ratings of social competence and moderate effects for ratings of intellectual competence.

Objectification effects also result in adverse treatment of women; men objectify women significantly more than women objectify men (Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005). Heflick and Goldenberg (2009) showed through experimental manipulation that individuals who are primed to objectify women subsequently perceive women as less competent and even less human. It follows logically that the objectification of women through exposure to sexist content in the media results in subsequent differential

treatment of women in ways that are harmful. Rudman and Borgida (1995) primed male subjects with either sexist words or nonsexist words; subjects primed with sexist words subsequently viewed and treated female confederates in more sexist ways. MacKay and Covell (1997) noted a general trend for both male and female undergraduate students exposed to sexist advertising to be less supportive of feminism than students exposed to non-sexist advertising and suggested that this finding implied that a consistent saturation in a culture of gender-biased messages is detrimental to women's equality.

Gender Norms in the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals are persons who identify either their sexual orientation as something other than heterosexual and/or their gender identity as something other than that typically associated with their birth sex (i.e., male gender identity is traditionally associated with boys/men and female gender identity is traditionally associated with girls/women). The term mainstream will frequently be used in this study to identify non-LGBT populations.

Research on the degree to which mainstream gender norms are held by the LGBT community has yielded mixed results. Some studies find support for differing norms about gender within the LGBT community, which are less pejorative toward women and which result in more positive body-related self-esteem among LGBT individuals (e.g., Beren, Hayden, Wilfley, & Striegel-Moore, 1997; Herzog, Newman, Yeh, & Warshaw, 1992; LaTorre & Wendenburg, 1983). However, other studies have found that LGBT individuals do indeed internalize gender messages similar to the mainstream community, with the resultant adverse effects (e.g., Beren, Hayden, Wilfley, & Grilo, 1996; Koff,

Lucas, Migliorini, & Grossmith, 2010). Beren, Hayden, Wilfley, and Striegel-Moore (1997) noted that many lesbian women report feeling an internal conflict between the mainstream gender norms they have internalized and the differing norms held by the LGBT community.

Similarities between LGBT and non-LGBT gender norms. Individuals born in the United States are all raised in the same society, with the same cultural values, regardless of their eventual sexual orientation. LGBT individuals are exposed to the same gender norms during their formative years as non-LGBT individuals. Even if parents make an explicit effort to avoid deliberate transmission of gender-biased norms (e.g., Orenstein, 2011), it is inevitable that their children will become saturated in these norms from a variety of other sources throughout their lives. Thus, it is likely that certain gender norms and themes in the LGBT community will parallel those of the mainstream non-LGBT community.

Collins (2011) described findings from multiple studies, which suggest that lesbian women are underrepresented in LGBT media relative to their gay male peers, just as their heterosexual counterparts are underrepresented in the mainstream media. Schwartz (2011) noted that coverage of male same-sex marriage issues exceeds that of female same-sex marriage issues by a ratio of three to one. This discrepancy suggests a relative power advantage of gay men over lesbian women that is comparable to that of heterosexual men over heterosexual women. Indeed, lesbian women have often argued that gay men exert their privilege as men within the LGBT movement and either silence or minimize women's voices (e.g., Kumani, 2012; Shugart, 2003).

Lesbian women do have some body preferences for their female sexual partners that are similar to those heterosexual men prefer in women. Both groups prefer a lower waist-to-hip ratio of about 0.7:1 (Cohen & Tannenbaum, 2001); this waist-to-hip ratio ideal for women shows up almost universally cross-culturally, regardless of what a particular culture sees as the ideal female weight (e.g., Furnham et al., 1998, Singh, 1993a; 1993b, 1994; Singh & Luis, 1995). Further, lesbian women do desire physical attractiveness in their partners, although what is defined as physically attractive often differs significantly compared to heterosexual men's preferences (Heffernan, 1999).

Several studies have noted a similarity in levels of body shame, body dissatisfaction, and body monitoring by LGBT and non-LGBT women (e.g., Koff et al., 2010; Kozee & Tylka, 2006; Morrison, Morrison, & Sager, 2004). For example, Heffernan (1999) noted that half of the lesbian participants in her study reported being dissatisfied with their bodies, and that her participants reported frequent dieting behaviors and a link between their body image and their self-esteem. These findings suggested a similarity in the internalization of gender roles in lesbian women to that of heterosexual women. However, a study by Lakkis, Ricciardelli, and Williams (1999) found that level of feminine gender identity appears more predictive of body dissatisfaction than sexual orientation for both men and women, such that a more feminine gender identity results in increased body shame, regardless of the sex of the individual or their sexual orientation. Similarly, Ludwig and Brownell (1999) noted that lesbian and bisexual women with a more feminine or so-called femme gender identity had levels of body dissatisfaction more comparable to heterosexual women, but lesbian and bisexual women with a more

androgynous, masculine, or so-called butch gender identity were more satisfied with their bodies.

Differences between LGBT and non-LGBT gender norms. Despite the similarities in early gender socialization between LGBT and non-LGBT individuals, there are some differences in gender norms espoused by the LGBT versus non-LGBT communities. The idea of the sexes or genders as complementary is by necessity absent due to the construction of pair bonds in which the sex and/or gender of the members is identical or similar. Thus, the strong dichotomization or polarization of gender that occurs in the mainstream non-LGBT community is either absent, or at the very least, profoundly reduced (e.g., Gotta et al., 2011; Shechory & Ziv, 2007). This depolarization of gender in the LGBT community relative to the mainstream non-LGBT community is further supported by recent research suggesting that children who live or have lived in a household with either two mothers or two fathers appear to hold more egalitarian beliefs about gender roles relative to children who live or have lived in a household with parents of different sexes (e.g., Sutfin, Fulcher, Bowles, & Patterson, 2008).

There are some differences in beliefs about ideal body types in the LGBT community compared to the mainstream non-LGBT populace. Krakeur and Rose (2002) posited that many lesbian women cultivate a more androgynous physical appearance and may also prefer that kind of appearance in their potential dating partners. Multiple studies have found that lesbian women more often consider a larger body type (compared to mainstream expectations) to be ideal for women than do heterosexual women, and also tend to be heavier themselves (e.g., Alvy, 2013; Bergeron & Senn, 1998; Boehmer,

Bowen, & Bauer, 2007; Brand, Rothblum, & Solomon, 1992; Cohen & Tannenbaum, 2001; Herzog et al., 1992). Physical fitness of potential partners may be more important for lesbian women than to traditional standards of female attractiveness (e.g., Heffernan, 1999). A 2001 study by Few (as cited in Milillo, 2012) noted that lesbian women often prefer a more athletic body type for women than heterosexual women prefer for themselves. For gay men, there is generally an emphasis on being highly muscled (e.g., Kaminski, Chapman, Haynes, & Own, 2005; Levesque & Vichesky, 2006). However, the so-called bear subculture within the gay male community cultivates a physical attractiveness standard in which being stocky and having a lot of body hair are considered to be ideal (e.g., Gough & Flanders, 2009).

There is some evidence that gender norms are absorbed differently by LGBT and non-LGBT individuals, although the data are mixed. Some studies suggested that lesbian women are less concerned about appearance and weight relative to heterosexual women (e.g., Gettelman & Thompson, 1993; Herzog et al., 1992), and that lesbian women feel more fit and are more satisfied with their physical appearance, regardless of their weight (e.g., Alvy, 2013; Bergeron & Senn, 1998; Lakkis et al., 1999; Owens, Hughes, & Owens-Nicholson, 2003; Polimeni, Austin, & Kavanagh, 2009). However, other studies have found that levels of body dissatisfaction are comparable between heterosexual and lesbian women (e.g., Beren et al., 1996; Brand et al., 1992; Peplau et al., 2009; Striegel-Moore, Tucker, & Hsu, 1990).

Several studies have found that lesbian women appear to self-objectify less than heterosexual women; this may lead to less body shaming and body dissatisfaction among

lesbian women compared to heterosexual women (e.g., Bergeron & Senn, 1998; Engeln-Maddox, Miller, Doyle, & Matthews, 2011). Bergeron and Senn (1998) and Share and Mintz (2002) both found that lesbian women are exposed to mainstream gender norms in an equivalent manner to heterosexual women, but appear to internalize those norms to a lesser degree than heterosexual women; this may explain the lower rates of self-objectification noted in other studies. However, gay men appear to be more vulnerable to internalization of a thin body ideal than heterosexual men (Strong, Williamson, Netmeyer, & Greer, 2001). Engeln-Maddox et al. (2011) also found that gay men self-objectify more than heterosexual men, suggesting that for LGBT individuals there are significant differences in level of self-objectification based on gender.

Gay men tend to be more dissatisfied with their body image than heterosexual men (e.g., Carper, Negy, & Tantleff-Dunn, 2010; Gettelmen & Thompson, 1993; Lakkis et al., 1999; Morrison et al., 2004; Peplau et al., 2009; Siever, 1994). Studies by both Beren, Hayden, Wilfley, and Grilo (1996) and Martins et al. (2007) found that gay men's level of body dissatisfaction was more comparable in both heterosexual and lesbian women than to heterosexual men. Unlike women, however, gay men who are dissatisfied with their bodies tended to be dissatisfied about their muscle mass rather than their weight (Levesque & Vichesky, 2006). Relative to heterosexual men, gay men also appeared to believe that it is more important for men to have a well-sculpted physique (Kaminski et al., 2005).

Consistent with the observed differences in level of self-objectification and body satisfaction between the two groups of women, lesbian women are generally at lower risk

for eating disorders relative to heterosexual women. However, numerous studies have found that gay men are at higher risk for eating disorders relative to heterosexual men (e.g., Carlat, Camargo, & Herzog, 1997; Heffernan, 1994; Lakkis et al., 1999; Siever, 1994; Strong et al., 2000; Yelland & Tiggemann, 2003). These findings have generally been explained as a consequence of gay men's higher levels of body dissatisfaction and self-objectification relative to heterosexual men (e.g., Martins et al., 2007; Siever, 1994; Yelland & Tiggemann, 2003).

Summary of Gender Norms

Gender norms are pervasive and powerful messages about what it is to be male or female in a society. Gender norms in the United States contain strong messages about appropriate appearance, behavior, and relational positional of both men and women. These norms are cultivated and reinforced by a variety of mechanisms throughout our lives. Common gender norm themes include messages about body image, sexualization, heterosexuality as normative, and appropriate social roles for both men and women. As gender norm standards are often very rigid, they result in a range of adverse consequences, particularly for women, including self-objectification, negative body image, decreased self-esteem, increased eating disorders, violence against women, and differential treatment of women across a range of settings. Although there are some similarities between gender norms in the LGBT community and non-LGBT community due to early gender socialization, there are also important differences, including less polarization of male and female traits and less stringent appearance standards for women.

However, the mainstream media continues to have a powerful influence in perpetuating rigid appearance and behavior standards for both genders.

Influence of Media

For the purposes of this study, media will be defined as means of communication other than interpersonal communication. Mass media is media designed to target large groups of individuals. The exposure an individual in the United States has to media on a daily basis has been steadily increasing, and that exposure is beginning at an increasingly young age (American Psychological Association Task Force, 2010). A 2010 report by the Kaiser Family Foundation on media consumption surveyed more than 2,000 youth and found that the average amount of time per day interacting with various media for 8-18 year olds was 10 hours and 45 minutes (Rideout et al., 2010). As noted by the authors of that report, this amount of time represents an increase of more than two hours relative to daily media consumption reported for that age group in the Kaiser Family Foundation's 2005 report. Media consumption is particularly high for 11- to 14-year old youth, who consume almost 12 hours of media per day.

General Influence

Although many people are reluctant to acknowledge the ways in which they are impacted by media (e.g., Perloff, 1999), including advertising, study after study has shown that media exposure, particularly repeated and prolonged exposure, has a number of both immediate and lasting consequences (e.g., Belknap & Leonard, 1991).

Cultivation theory (e.g., Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli, 1994; Morgan & Shanahan, 2010) argues that extended exposure to socialization agents, including the

media, results in gradual adoption of the values and ethos suggested by those agents. Similarly, Kosicki (1993) noted that the focus chosen by media sources conveys both overt and covert messages about what is and is not important. When gender is represented in media, the ways in which it is represented impact both the individual as well as the larger societal ethos about the nature of gender (e.g., Pollay, 1986). Agliata and Tantleff-Dun (2004, p. 9) argued, “Today’s media do not distinguish between glorified fiction and reality, thus society regards media images as realistic representations of beauty and as appropriate comparison targets for appearance.” Further, as Gornick noted in the introduction to Goffman’s seminal work on gender in print advertising (1979),

Advertisements depict for us not necessarily how we actually behave as men and women but how we *think* men and women behave. This depiction serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how men and women *are*, or want to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves but in relation to each other.

(p. vii)

The availability heuristic (Kahneman & Tversky, 1973) states that the beliefs individuals can most readily call to mind essentially become their beliefs about reality; this cognitive bias is pervasive, difficult to avoid, and used by both adults and children (Davies & White, 1994). Because media exposure is pervasive and the messages about gender portrayed in media are monolithic, the images provided by the media will in essence become reality for the viewer. Therefore, messages about gender norms in the media will result in transmission of those gender norms. It is perhaps unsurprising that when asked

to describe ideal female beauty, pre-teen and teenaged girls describe the same image independently from one another – thin, young, and blonde with long legs, and generally White (Durham, 2008).

Media is a particularly powerful transmitter of socialization messages because the exposure is immediate and the nature of media communication does not permit engagement with the messages being offered (Belknap & Leonard, 1991). Further, media and advertising are ubiquitous – they are all around us, in all aspects of our lives. As Jean Kilbourne (2000) noted,

Advertisers like to tell parents that they can always turn off the TV to protect their kids from any of the negative impact of advertising. This is like telling us that we can protect our children from air pollution by making sure they never breathe. Advertising is our *environment*. We swim in it as fish swim in water. We cannot escape it. Unless, of course, we keep our children home from school and blindfold them whenever they are outside of the house. And never let them play with other children. Even then, advertising's message are inside our intimate relationships, our homes, our hearts, our heads. (pp. 57-58)

Similarly, Pollay (1986, p. 18) stated, “The proliferation and intrusion of various media into the everyday lives of the citizenry make advertising environmental in nature, persistently encountered, and involuntarily experienced by the entire population.”

Children and teenagers are particularly vulnerable to media messages, as they do not yet have the cognitive abilities to critically analyze and deconstruct these messages that adults have (Kilbourne, 2000). At a societal level, repeated exposure by individuals to

gender-biased advertising and other media contributes to sexist attitudes and behavior, sexual harassment, violence against women, and gender-based stereotypes (e.g., Rudman & Borgida, 1995). At an individual level, the effects of gendered messages in advertising differ based on the gender of the consumer, but may include body shame, low self-esteem, and self-objectification (e.g., Aubrey, 2007; Monro & Huon, 2005).

Means by Which Gender Norms Are Conveyed

Assuming that gender and gender roles are socially constructed, what the media portrays about gender actively contributes to the construction of gender (Wolf, 1991). Collins (2011) provided a descriptive content analysis of two issues of *Sex Roles* devoted to the representation of gender in various media sources, including news, video games, television advertisements, movies, television shows, music videos, and magazines. Collins noted that all 19 articles in those issues found at least one persistent harmful gender representation in the media they were investigating. Nine of the articles documented under-representation of women in their media source, five documented sexualization or oversexualization of women, four documented endorsement of women as subordinates to men, nine documented an enforcement of traditional gender roles, and one documented harmful messages about body image for women.

As Collins (2011) noted, what is perhaps more surprising than the findings themselves, which have been repeatedly documented across a range of studies, is the ubiquity with which these disparities in gender representation have persisted across the last several decades, despite societal changes in the roles of women and the relationships between women and men. For example, a 1997 study by Grauerholz and King (1997)

found that 84% of prime-time television episodes they analyzed contained at least one incident of sexual harassment, which was almost exclusively harassment of women. Similarly, a study by Signorielli and Bacue (1999) documented that, in television shows and television commercials, men continue to be more likely to be shown as employed than women, and women continue to be more likely to be shown in traditional family roles than men; Robinson and Hunter (2008) noted similar findings in home and family themed magazines. Disney's feature-length films, a major source of early mass media exposure for many children in the United States, historically have featured rigidly traditional gender role portrayals for both male and female characters, although this has improved somewhat in recent years (Orenstein, 2011; Towbin, Haddock, Zimmerman, Lund, & Tanner, 2003). As Orenstein (2011, p. 23) noted, "[Disney princesses'] goals are to be saved by a prince, get married [...] and be taken care of for the rest of their lives. Their value derives largely from their appearance." When women in commercials engage with products, those products are likely to be associated with the domestic sphere, whereas men are more likely to interact with non-domestic products (Bartsch, Burnett, Diller, & Rankin-Williams, 2000).

The emphasis on female beauty and slenderness in media also remains pervasive; a study by Malkin, Wornian, and Chrisler (1999) noted that 78% of the covers of women's magazines contained one or more messages about physical appearance and 94% featured a thin woman on the cover. Of note, none of the covers of the men's magazines they examined featured any messages about body image. The level of thin presented as the female ideal is actually below what is considered to be a healthy body weight for

many women (e.g., Owen & Laurel-Seller, 2000). Further, Wiseman et al. (1992) documented a significant increase in diet and exercise articles in magazines directed at women from 1959 to 1988, a trend which has only increased since that time (e.g., Derenne & Beresin, 2006).

Both Soley and Reid (1988) and Reichert et al. (1999) found that female models in six high circulation magazines were consistently dressed in a sexual manner at a rate more than five times more often than male models for a time period spanning more than 20 years from the mid-1960s to the late 198's. Fullerton and Kendrick's study (2001, as cited in Reichert, 2002) of female versus male models in prime-time advertisements on NBC yielded a similar ratio of sexualized dressing. A content analysis of 182 music videos by Seidman (1992) found an even higher ratio; in that study, female models were nine times more likely than male models to be dressed in revealing clothing. Lin (1998) noted a higher rate of sexualization of female models relative to male models in television commercials as well. More recently, the APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls (2010) reported that sexualized images of women and girls continue to be pervasive in all forms of media they analyzed.

There has been debate about the extent to which media images, which are often quite unrealistic, actually impact the viewers, if the viewers are aware that the images are unrealistic. Many feminist researchers and theorists contend that simple exposure has adverse effects, regardless of the degree to which the viewers purport to internalize the content (e.g., Peirce, 1990; Wolf, 1991). As Levine and Smolak (1996, pp. 249- 250) noted, "The constant repetition of certain forms and themes (values) as well as the

constant omission of certain types of people, actions, and stories, powerfully influences and homogenizes viewers' conceptions of social reality." Similarly, social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) argues that humans are inherently predisposed to compare themselves to others, even when such comparisons are forced by voluntary or involuntary exposure to others rather than actively sought out by individuals. According to social comparison theory, individuals who view media containing gender norm messages will compare themselves to those norms, with adverse effects if they find themselves lacking. Finally, cultivation theory (e.g., Morgan & Shanahan, 2010; Ozer, 2011) argues that continuous exposure to images espousing a particular norm will eventually result in internalization of that norm; thus, exposure to certain gender norms will result in the adoption of those norms as both desirable and realistic.

Research would seem to support all three of these theoretical perspectives (e.g., Myers & Crowther, 2009). In a qualitative study, Milkie (1999) interviewed girls about the degree to which they are affected by the images of gender in the media they consume. While most girls were able to identify that the images they were viewing were often unrealistic portrayals of gender, they nonetheless reported that they believed that others found the images important and that they were evaluated by others on the basis of those images; this was particularly true for White participants. Similarly, Richins (1991) found that more than 50% of college-age women acknowledged frequently comparing themselves to the models pictured in print advertisements.

Both Park (2005) and Thomsen (2002) found that women who read more beauty and fashion magazines have an increased drive to be thin; additionally, Park noted that

women who believed that others valued the thin ideal presented in those magazines had an increased drive to be thin. Grogan, Williams, and Conner (1996) exposed male and female participants to either photographs of attractive same-gender models or landscape photographs; the participants exposed to the attractive models showed a significant increase in body dissatisfaction afterward. A similar study by Morry and Staska (2001) found that both men and women demonstrated an increase in internalization of societal gender ideals, increased body dissatisfaction, and increased disordered eating following the reading of fitness magazines or beauty magazines, respectively. More recently, a meta-analysis of 77 studies on the impact of media on women's body image concerns found a significant small to moderate effect in which media exposure is associated with increased body dissatisfaction, internalization of a thin ideal, and disordered eating in women (Grabe et al., 2008).

Media Exposure

In accordance with Belch and Belch's definition (2001, p. 15, as cited in Reichert, 2002) of advertising, this study will define advertising as "any paid form of nonpersonal communication about an organization, product, service, or idea by an identified sponsor." Advertising may include media attempting to sell goods or services via audio, visual, or audiovisual media. The average U.S. resident is exposed to more than 3,000 advertisements per day (Kilbourne, 2000); these advertisements are found throughout the media individuals actively consume, including magazines, as well as in background media, such as billboards and Internet advertisements. Kilbourne (2000) has noted that individuals will spend more than three years of their lives viewing commercials. In 2012,

there were more than 7,000 consumer magazines in circulation in the United States (Statista, 2014c). The top 25 selling magazines in the United States circulated more than 115 million physical copies in 2011; this number does not account for the increasingly distributed electronic copies, which would bring the total circulated copies even higher (Pew Research Center, 2012). For all magazines in circulation in the United States, more than 310 million physical copies were issued in 2011 (Statista, 2014a). Obviously, this level of distribution represents a large amount of content and a similarly large number of potential audience members for any advertising present in those magazines. In the 213 magazines tracked by the Publishers Information Bureau, there were more than 160,000 pages of advertisements published in 2011 (Pew Research Center, 2012). A 1997 study by Collins and Skover (as cited in Plous & Neptune, 1997) found that advertising accounts for 52 percent of the total space in magazines. The total revenue for both circulation and advertisements for the four largest magazine publishers in the United States was more than eight billion dollars in 2010 (Statista, 2014b).

Youth exposure. Exposure to magazine advertising is not limited to adults; a 2010 Kaiser Family Foundation study (Rideout et al.) found that 8 to 18 year olds report reading magazines for an average of nine minutes a day. Although this number does represent a decrease from their 2005 findings of reading engagement for 14 minutes per day, the authors noted that the decline is due to fewer total youth reporting reading magazines regularly and that those who do read magazines reported engaging with them for approximately 26 minutes per day, a number which was essentially identical to their 2005 data. Overall, in the 2009 study, 35% of youth reported reading magazines

regularly. Girls reported engaging with print media for approximately 25% more time per day than boys. In Milkie's 1999 study of 60 adolescent girls, 95% of the White participants and 86% of the Black participants reported at least periodically reading magazines targeted at teenage girls, such as *Seventeen* and *Teen*.

LGBT exposure. Although LGBT individuals do receive exposure to non-LGBT media, magazines which specifically target LGBT individuals represent a growing market for both readers and advertisers. In 1994, there were nine major national LGBT-targeted magazines with a combined circulation of about 450,000 (Mulryan/Nash Advertising, Inc., 1994). By 2003, national LGBT-targeted magazines had more than doubled in total circulation, with one million copies issued and circulated across 17 total magazines (Prime Access Inc. & Rivendell Media Co., Inc., 2004). By 2013, national LGBT-targeted magazines had achieved a circulation of almost 1.2 million (Rivendell Media Co., Inc., 2014).

The growth of advertising spending in the LGBT press, including the national magazines as well as newspapers and regional magazines, has significantly outpaced the growth of advertising spending in the non-LGBT press. From 1996 to 2013 the advertising spending in LGBT-targeted publications rose 420%, compared to an increase of only 14% in non-LGBT publications (Rivendell Media Co., Inc., 2014). By 2013, advertising spending for the LGBT press was more than 380 million dollars.

Major corporations are increasingly seeking an LGBT market, as indicated by more than 175 Fortune 500 brands advertising in LGBT-targeted publications by 2005, compared to only 19 brands in 1994 (Prime Access Inc. & Rivendell Media Co., Inc.,

2005). Further, more nationally branded companies are creating LGBT-specific advertisements for use in LGBT-targeted publications rather than simply recycling content utilized in non-LGBT publications (Prime Access, Inc., & Rivendell Media Co., Inc, 2006); by 2005, LGBT-specific advertisements accounted for more than half of all advertisements in LGBT-targeted publications.

Print Advertising Versus Other Forms of Media

A large body of literature exists on the ways in which gender is represented in media other than print advertising, including television shows and commercials, movies, and non-advertorial magazine and newspaper content. The major findings of this research will be summarized here.

Gender representations in other media. Furnham and Mak's meta-review (1999) of sex roles in television commercials examined 14 studies from 11 different countries, and noted that, across all studies, women were found to be more commonly shown as product users or recipients, while men were more commonly depicted as authorities. Gilly (1988) noted that images of men and women in television advertising in the United States, Mexico, and Australia tend to adhere to traditional gender stereotypes. In G-rated films released from 2006 to 2009, over 80 percent of the characters shown as holding a job were male (Orenstein, 2011). Seidman (1992) found that male and female actors tended to be portrayed in gender stereotypic occupations in music videos.

Lin (1997) analyzed a week's worth of primetime television commercials in 1993 and found that women were more than twice as likely than men to be shown fully or

partially undressed and to be depicted as sexual objects. A study of the content of beer and non-beer television commercials by Rouner, Slater, and Domenech-Rodriguez (2003) found that 75% of the beer and 50% of the non-beer commercials could be considered sexist, with women in either exceedingly limited or objectified roles. Krassas, Blauwkamp, and Wesselink (2001, 2003) found high rates of sexualization of female models in the featured articles and photographs of both the male-targeted *Maxim*, *Stuff*, and *Playboy* magazines as well as in the female-targeted *Cosmopolitan* magazines. As cited by Orenstein (2011), a study of movies released in 2008 found that almost 40% of the teenaged female characters were dressed in a sexualized manner, compared to less than 20% of the same aged male characters. Similarly, 30% of those female characters appeared at least partially nude compared to only 10% of the male characters.

A series of four studies by Silverstein et al. (1986) found that the ideal body type for women portrayed on both television and in magazines is relatively more slender than that portrayed for men, and that the standard for women became progressively thinner from the 1930s to the 1970s. Fashion models in both magazines geared at teenage girls and adult women typically wear women's clothing sizes 2 or 4, and yet more than half of U.S. teenage girls are size 13 or larger and more than half of U.S. adult women are size 10 or larger (Nichter, 2000). Similarly, Gonzalez-Lavin and Smolak (as cited in Levine & Smolak, 1996) found that 94% of the female characters in shows targeting a female middle school audience were underweight. Owen and Laurel-Seller (2000) noted an increasing trend toward thinness for both *Playboy* centerfolds and female models in Internet advertising. More recently, Sypeck et al.'s (2004) study of female models on

fashion magazine covers showed that the body sizes of the models have become progressively thinner since the 1960s and suggested that this trend reflects an increasingly thin ideal for women. A study of 13 animated films produced from 1937 to 2005 found that more than half of the heroines had body proportions that were unrealistic for human women (Orenstein, 2011).

Although fewer studies have been done on Internet images, including advertising images, due to the Internet being a newer form of media, those studies that have been conducted have generally shown that the same gender role stereotypes and messages appear to be present in Internet advertisements as well (e.g., Knupfer, 1998; Owen & Laurel-Seller, 2000; Plakoyiannaki, Mathioudaki, Dimitratos, & Zotos, 2008). Reichert (2003a) reported finding sexualized content in advertising on websites that was similar to that previously noted in print advertising. However, a more recent study by Koernig and Granitz (2006) noted that representations of women in Internet advertising appear to be becoming more favorable than they previously had been.

Effects of gender representations in other media. Tiggemann and Pickering (1996) found that young women who watched more soap operas and movies had more body dissatisfaction and expressed a greater need to be thin than young women who watched fewer of these kinds of media. Hargreaves and Tiggemann (2003) demonstrated that exposing teenage girls to the thin ideal in commercials significantly increased their body dissatisfaction compared to teenage girls who were exposed to commercials without an appearance component. Cattarin, Thompson, Thomas, and Williams (2000) used a similar methodology with undergraduate women and found that exposure to thin ideal

commercials resulted in increased anger, anxiety, and depression. Further, studies by Lavine et al. (1999) and Heinberg and Thompson (1995) found that women who were exposed to television advertising in which women are portrayed as sex objects showed increased body dissatisfaction, anger, and depressive symptoms. Even pre-pubescent girls showed an increase in body dissatisfaction associated with media consumption and exposure to the thin ideal (Taylor et al., 1998). The finding of increased body dissatisfaction in women following exposure to thin media images is robust, as confirmed by Groesz, Levine, and Murnen's meta-analytic study (2002) of 25 studies on the phenomenon. Heinberg and Thompson (1995) noted that women who have higher pre-existing levels of body dissatisfaction and who demonstrate more adherence to socially constructed gender norms appear to be more impacted by gender norms in media messages than those who have lower levels of body dissatisfaction or who report less internalization of socially constructed gender standards. Men exposed to television commercials featuring ideal male body images also appear to show an increase in body dissatisfaction and negative mood (Agliata & Tantleff-Dunn, 2004). Overall, increased television exposure adversely affects the body image of both men and women (Eisend & Moller, 2007).

Cusumano and Thompson (1997) noted that media messages promoting ideal images of femininity, beauty, success, and body shape are primary contributors to disordered eating, particularly for women with a high internalization of appearance-related gender norms. In a series of seminal studies (Becker, 2004; Becker, Burwell, Herzog, Hamburg, & Gilman, 2002), a powerful link was demonstrated between

exposure to Western media and eating disorders. Before the introduction of television, most Fijian women and girls reported being satisfied with their bodies and their weight. However, in 1998, within three years of exposure to broadcast television, 11% of girls reported engaging in purging behavior to control weight and more than 62% of girls reported having dieted recently. More recent research was conducted by Vander Wal, Gibbons, and del Pilar Grazioso (2008) with a Guatemalan sample and yielded similar results; Guatemalan women with more exposure to media sources featuring a thin ideal had more body dissatisfaction and disordered eating than Guatemalan women with less media exposure. Peterson et al. (2007) found that adolescent boys and girls reported that perceived pressure from the media to uphold a thin ideal influenced disordered eating symptoms. Although these data are correlative rather than causative evidence for the powerful impact of media exposure on body image and disordered eating, the connection between the two cannot be ignored.

Men exposed to television advertisements in which women are portrayed as sex objects behave in a more sexualized manner toward women to whom they are subsequently exposed (Rudman & Borgida, 1995). Peter and Valkenburg (2007) found that both adolescent boys and adolescent girls who were exposed to a more sexualized media environment held stronger beliefs consistent with the idea that women are sexual objects. However, the authors also noted that the effect appeared to be stronger for media with both an audio and a visual component, such as television and movies, than for media with only a visual component, such as magazines. Further, men who are exposed to representations of ideal female beauty in various media sources also subsequently rate

average women as being less attractive and less desirable (Kenrick & Gutierrez, 1980). Strasburger (1989) found that male undergraduates judged the attractiveness of potential female dates more harshly after viewing just one episode of *Charlie's Angels*.

Rationale for print media focus. While magazine articles, television shows and advertisements, and movies can all directly provide didactic messages about gender roles and explicitly attempt to sell the viewers a product, print advertising images are both static and geared at selling products. As such, these images provide fixed imagery in which gender messages are presumed to be secondary content in the primary mission of enticing or otherwise convincing the reader to buy one or more consumer items. Although human models may be central to the advertising content, they are not the focus – the product being marketed is. Thus, gender messages in print advertising may be more subtly transmitted as well as harder to discount than gender messages presented more overtly through other forms of media. In a particularly interesting study, Harrison and Cantor (1997) found that the amount of thin-ideal-promoting magazine reading correlated more highly than the amount of thin-ideal-promoting television viewing with both eating disorders symptoms in women and thin-body-ideal beliefs in men, although both forms of media did have adverse effects on body satisfaction and desire to be thin as well.

According to Jhally, “advertising as a cultural form, displays a preoccupation with gender that is hardly matched in any other genre” (1990, p. 136, as cited in Plakoyiannaki et al., 2008). Tiggeman and Pickering (1996, pp. 199-200) noted that the media “presents women with a constant barrage of idealized images of extremely thin women, that are nearly impossible for most women to achieve.” Certainly, print advertising is not the

only form of media or media advertisements to which consumers are exposed, and gender roles are translated through other media just as they are through advertising, with similar effects. As Kilbourne (2000) noted,

Far from being a passive mirror of society, advertising is an effective and pervasive medium of influence and persuasion, and its influence is cumulative, often subtle, and primarily unconscious. Advertising performs much the same function in industrial society as myth performed in ancient and primitive societies. It is both a creator and perpetuator of the dominant attitudes, values, and ideology of the culture, the social norms and myths by which most people govern their behavior. At the very least, advertising helps to create a climate in which certain attitudes and values flourish and others are not reflected at all. (p. 67)

Summary of Influence of Media

Individuals of all ages are exposed to large amounts of media on a daily basis. This media exposure includes exposure to a wide range of advertising. Both media generally and advertising specifically depict representations of gender that are consistent with the prevailing gender norms of society, with the expected adverse effects on both male and female consumers of that media. Print advertising is a particularly potent transmitter of gender norms due to both the carefully chosen nature of the representational images as well as the subtlety in which gender norm messages may be conveyed.

Gender Differences in Print Advertising

Advertising continues to be a powerful means of transmission of all sorts of cultural messages, including messages about gender norms. Although individuals would like to believe that they are not affected by exposure to advertising, study after study has shown that this simply is not true (e.g., Kilbourne, 2000). Advertisers are careful students of individuals' base insecurities, their needs, and their wants, and advertisers exploit these perceptions to create marketing images designed to persuade viewers to become loyal consumers of their products. As Kilbourne noted (p. 27),

Almost everyone holds the misguided belief that advertisements don't affect *them*, don't shape their attitudes, don't help define their dreams. What I hear more than anything else, as I lecture throughout the country, is "I don't pay attention to ads...I just tune them out...they have no effect on me." Of course, I hear this most often from young men wearing Budweiser caps. In truth, we are all influenced by advertising. There is no way to tune out this much information, especially when it is carefully designed to break through the "tuning out" process.

Kilbourne goes on to state that advertising is often effective propaganda precisely because individuals are unable to recognize that it is indeed propaganda. Messaris (1997) argued that images and icons in advertising and other media are not arbitrary; these images and icons are deliberate choices selected with the intent to elicit specific responses in viewers. Further, what is chosen is not just the content of the image but also the way the components of the image are arranged and styled. Messaris also noted that these deliberate choices of content and style are even more manifest in print

advertisements than in commercials or other media because a singular image must convey the entirety of the message the advertiser wishes to deliver.

Some of the earliest research on the transmission of gendered messages through print advertising was conducted by Courtney and Lockeretz (1971). These authors identified several prominent themes about women in the advertising they analyzed, including the ideas that women's proper place is in the home, that women do not make important decisions or engage in important activities, that women are dependent on men, and that women are sexual objects. Follow-up studies by Wagner and Banos (1973) and Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976) yielded similar results. Unfortunately, it appears that although 40 years have passed since these early studies, the messages about gender and the roles of women and men have changed very little.

In Nyilasy et al.'s 2011 analysis of 50 years of research on newspaper and magazine advertising, they noted that representations of gender in print advertising have remained markedly unchanged over that time. Similarly, the authors noted that marketing research has consistently identified sexualization, stereotyping, and sexism as prevalent themes in advertising. Although some progress has been made in the representation of women in advertising, that progress has generally lagged behind the social progress of women in the United States (Ferguson, Kreshel, & Tinkham, 1990). These representations hold up across cultures as well; it is not merely advertising in the United States that generates these lopsided gender portrayals (e.g., Nyilasy et al., 2011). Within the United States, ubiquitous advertising that perpetuates a Caucasian standard of beauty appears to have resulted in a universal beauty standard being applied to women,

regardless of ethnic background (Freedman, Carter, Sbrocco, & Gray, 2007). Even *Ms.* magazine, with a stated policy of disallowing sexist advertising in its pages, was found to have a significant number of advertisements that display women as objects or otherwise reinforce traditional gender norms (Ferguson et al., 1990). Kervin (1990) noted a similar consistency in the portrayal of men over time as almost ubiquitously dominant and powerful in her study of male models in advertisements in *Esquire* magazine from the 1930s to the 1980s.

Gender-Related Themes in Print Advertising

Numerous themes relating to gender can be found in print advertising. Some specific themes and messages are discussed in the analysis of the work of both Erving Goffman and Jean Kilbourne in the section that follows. Presented here are discussions of some of the major overarching themes of gender representation in print advertising; the following themes are representative rather than exhaustive of gender messages in print advertising.

Body image themes. Advertisements frequently feature models with bodies and physical attractiveness that are unobtainable for most women viewing them; viewing such advertisements can often have adverse effects on the body image of the readers. Bessenoff and Del Priore (2007) demonstrated that the female models featured in magazine advertisements are generally thinner than the average female readers of those magazines. A study by Fay and Price (1994) compared measurements of female models in advertisements in popular magazines between 1958 and 1988; they found that models in 1988 were substantively less curvaceous and approximately 18 pounds lighter than the

models featured in the 1958 advertisements. According to Fay and Price's research, the average 5'5" woman would need to weigh 92 pounds to match the image of the average model in these advertisements, as opposed to the 133 pounds that the average 5'5" woman actually weighs. Clearly, this is not a realistic standard for most women to achieve.

In addition to being overly slender, images of female models are nearly always heavily modified even further to make them more attractive, thinner, or otherwise flawless through electronic means, such as photoshopping and other forms of image manipulation (e.g., Messaris, 1997). As Heyn noted (as cited by Wolf, 1991),

By now readers have no idea what a real woman's 60-year-old face looks like in print because it's made to look 45. Worse, 60-year old readers look in the mirror and think they look too old, because they're comparing themselves to some retouched face smiling back at them from a magazine. (p. 83)

This focus on ideal bodies does not occur just in print advertising in the United States. In a representative study, Frith, Shaw, and Cheng (2005) found an equivalent emphasis on beauty in magazine advertisements in Singapore and Taiwan, although the beauty focus in those countries appeared to emphasize facial attractiveness more than body size/shape, whereas the focus in U. S. advertising is typically the converse.

Male models presented in print advertising tend to be slender and/or overly muscular, and that trend appears to be increasing over time. Law and Labre (2002) performed a content analysis of male models featured in *GQ*, *Rolling Stone*, and *Sports Illustrated* magazines from 1967 to 1997. The authors found that, over that time period,

featured male models became increasingly lean, muscular, and V-shaped (i.e., broad shoulders with a taper to a narrower waist). Similarly, Petrie et. al (1996) found a consistent presentation of a muscular physique for men in *GQ* and *Esquire* magazines from 1960 to 1992.

Sexualization themes. The use of sexuality in advertising is not new; Reichert (2003a) has successfully documented the use of sexualized themes in advertising to sell virtually every product imaginable dating back more than 150 years. However, the prevalence of sexual themes appears to be increasing. Reichart, Lambiase, Morgan, Carstarphen, and Zavoina (1999) examined images of men and women in magazine ads from 1983 to 1993. The authors found that both genders were portrayed in an increasingly sexual fashion over time. However, women were three times as likely as men to be portrayed in an explicitly sexual manner. Reichart et. al also noted that sexual portrayals of both genders are most common in magazines specifically geared at a gendered audience, i.e., men's muscle magazines or women's fashion magazines. Previous research by Soley and Reid (1988) and Rudman and Verdi (1993) as well as a follow-up study by Reichert (2003b) on print advertising targeting young adults specifically yielded similar results. The results of the Rudman and Verdi (1993) study are particularly disturbing, as they found that female models were placed in sexually exploitative positions in 80% of the advertisements they studied. A more recent study (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008) found that women were shown as sexual objects in more than two-thirds of the advertisements appearing in women's fashion magazines and magazines targeted at teenage girls. Sullivan and O'Connor (1988) noted a 60% increase

in female models portrayed in purely decorative roles from 1958 to 1983 in print advertising, although they also noted that there was a modest increase in the portrayal of women in nontraditional roles over that time period. Busby and Leichty (1993) found that the rate of female models in decorative roles in print advertising increased from 54% in 1959 to 73% in 1989. Other studies (e.g., Kang, 1997; Reichert & Carpenter, 2004) have yielded similar results. Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) found that women's bodies increasingly are utilized in pieces rather than wholes in advertising; reduction to parts is another way to turn a person into an object rather than a subject.

More recent studies have also found that female models continue to be more frequently sexualized in magazine advertisements than male models. Lindner (2004) found that an average of 40% of the magazine advertisements in *Time* and *Vogue* magazines she reviewed featured women as decorative or sexualized objects. A similar review of magazine advertisements by Millard and Grant (2006), limited to women's fashion magazines, found that 30% of the total advertisements featured nude or scantily-clad women. Stankiewicz and Rosselli (2008) found an even higher percentage; of the magazine advertisements that featured female models, 52% of those models were displayed as sexual objects. In this study, the highest rates of sexualization occurred in magazines targeted at men, in which a staggering 76% of the advertisements featuring female models showed those models as sexual objects, followed by fashion magazines targeted at adult women and magazines targeted at adolescent girls. Baker (2005) noted that, while female models are more frequently sexualized than male models in all types of magazines, the female models are particularly likely to be sexualized in magazines

targeting men. Millard and Grant's study (2006) found that White female models are more likely to be sexualized in women's magazines than Black female models.

Although female models continue to be disproportionately sexualized in advertising compared to their male counterparts, male models are also more sexualized than in the past (e.g., Kervin, 1990, Messaris, 1997; Rohlinger, 2002). Even children in magazine advertisements are at time sexualized, and this happens more frequently for girls in advertisements than boys (e.g., Durham, 2008; O'Donohue, Gold, & McKay, 1997). As noted previously, sexualized content almost always features a presumed heterosexuality of the models (e.g., Barthel, 1998; Durham, 2008; Kilbourne, 2000). Soley and Reid (1988) noted that the increase of sexually explicit content in advertising parallels societal attitudes that are more permissive toward sex than at previous points in time. However, what is not clear is whether the change in sexual content in advertising is being driven by changing social attitudes or whether attitudes are being influenced by changing media and advertising content. In other words, a clear causal pathway is not evident – do attitudes drive content, or does content drive attitudes? Paff and Lakner (1997) noted that this an essentially unsolvable question, and that at some level, the causality appears to be bidirectional.

Power themes. In a study of 1988 print advertisements featuring women from 58 different popular magazines, ten percent of the advertisements showed women as victims (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008). In many advertisements in which women are portrayed as victims, they are simultaneously portrayed as sexual objects; this positioning suggests a promotion of tolerance for sexual violence against women. A study by Griffin,

Viswanath, and Schwartz (1994) found that women were portrayed in similarly subordinate poses in magazines in both India and the United States, although the context varied somewhat in accordance with culture. Ford, Voli, Honeycutt, and Casey (1998) noted similar themes in Japanese print advertising; female models were more likely to be depicted in a sexist than nonsexist manner.

Baker (2005) noted that there are some differences in power themes in advertisements based on whether the periodical in which they appear is geared at a predominantly White audience versus a predominantly Black audience. Baker noted that advertisements targeting a White audience are more likely to feature women in positions of dependency or submissiveness, while advertisements targeting Black audiences are more likely to display women as independent and/or dominant. However, she found that, in magazines specifically targeting Black men, female models in advertisements were five times more likely to be portrayed as objects than women in magazines targeting White men, regardless of the racial identity of the model. Baker also noted that Black models were featured in fewer than 6% of the advertisements in mainstream magazines. A content analysis of magazine advertisements from 1985 to 1994 by Plous and Neptune (1997) found a similar underrepresentation of both Black men and Black women in magazines targeting a primarily White audience, and also noted that White female models were shown in positions of relative disempowerment more frequently than either White male models or Black models of either gender. Contradicting these findings, Millard and Grant (2006) found that Black female models are more likely to be pictured in submissive poses than White female models.

Reinforcement of traditional gender roles. Illustration of gender roles in advertising also appears to have changed markedly little over time. Paff and Lakner (1997) conducted a content analysis of gender roles in advertising in *Good Housekeeping* and *Vogue* magazines spanning a 45 year period from 1950 to 1994 and found that women were portrayed predominantly in traditional female roles regardless of the year analyzed. Women were consistently portrayed in passive and overtly feminine roles; indeed, on those rare occasions in which a woman was shown being active, that activity was often geared toward the enactment of a traditionally feminine role (e.g., chasing after children). Similarly, Robinson and Hunter (2008) analyzed advertisements for four top-selling magazines with a home and family focus in 2005 and found that women were more than twice as likely to appear in the advertisements as mothers than men were as fathers. Further, women were typically represented as performing domestic activities with their children, while men were represented as engaging in leisure activities with their children.

Although studies on gender issues in print advertising have primarily focused on women, an interesting study by Skelly and Lundstrom (1981) examined the ways in which male models were depicted in magazine advertisements from 1959 to 1979. The authors found that the use of male models as decorative increased over that time period, but also noted that male models were almost never shown in anything other than traditional male roles.

This reinforcement of traditional gender roles and male dominance occurs in print advertising in many other countries as well. Various studies have confirmed the presence

of a persistent bias in favor of presentation of men and women in traditional roles in a number of countries, including India (Griffin et al., 1994), Japan (Ford et al., 1998), the Netherlands (Wiles, Wiles, & Tjernlund, 1995), Sweden (Wiles et al., 1995), and various Arab countries (Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000).

General Impact of Print Advertising

Both men and women are exposed to advertising containing messages about gender. However, because the gendered messages tend to espouse the relative empowerment of men over women, exposure to the same advertisement will have a differential effect on male and female viewers. In particular, women are more likely to experience a host of negative consequences from viewing gender-biased advertising.

Consequences for male viewers. Fewer studies have been conducted on the effects of gender norm exposure in print advertising on male viewers compared to the amount of research available on the effects on female viewers. However, the research conducted has shown that the gender norm portrayals in these advertisements are no more beneficial for men than they are for women.

Body dissatisfaction and decreased self-esteem. Both Harrison and Cantor (1997) and Hatoum and Belle (2004) found that men who read more magazines and watched more television shows promoting a thin body ideal had stronger preferences for thinness in women and muscularity in themselves. Ricciardelli, Clow, and White (2010) noted a strong bias in men's magazines toward men being featured as lean and toned; this bias appears to create pressure on male viewers to strive for this appearance. Several studies have found that men report more body dissatisfaction and lower self-esteem

following exposure to pictures of muscular men (e.g., Hobza & Rochlen, 2009; Hobza, Walker, Yakushko, & Peugh, 2007; Leit, Gray, & Pope, 2002). A study by Duggan and McCreary (2004) noted that both gay men and heterosexual men who read more muscle and fitness magazines show higher body dissatisfaction than those men, both gay and heterosexual, who do not read such magazines. However, data comparing the effects of media exposure by gender have consistently found that men report less self-objectification and less decrease in self-esteem following exposure than women do (e.g., Lowery et al., 2005).

Acceptance/perpetration of violence against women. There is a known link between exposure to the images of women as victims of violence in media and the acceptance of violence against women. Thus, media, including advertising, which exposes male viewers to images of violence against women, also increase both men's acceptance of violence in others as well as the propensity for violence against women in themselves (e.g., Lanis & Covell, 1995; Malamuth, Addison, & Koss, 2000). Kilbourne (2000, p. 272) noted, "Male violence is subtly encouraged by ads that encourage men to be forceful and dominant, and to value sexual intimacy more than emotional intimacy." In a representative study, MacKay and Covell (1997) assigned both male and female undergraduate students to rate either advertisements featuring traditional gender-biased messages or more progressive gender messages and then assessed the students' attitudes toward sexual aggression. MacKay and Covell found that the students who had viewed the gender-traditional messages endorsed attitudes that were significantly more

supportive of sexual violence than the students who had viewed the more progressive advertisements.

Consequences for female viewers. Several researchers have found that the effect of print advertising on female viewers is moderated and/or mediated by the effect of secondary variables. For example, Roberts and Good (2010) noted that women who were high on the personality factor of neuroticism were more adversely impacted by exposure to models in print advertisements who were excessively thin. Further, studies by both Posavac, Posavac, and Posavac (1998) and Stice, Spangler, and Agras (2001) found that adolescent girls who had existing body dissatisfaction exhibited more negative effects following exposure to these kinds of advertisements than did adolescent girls with a more positive body image. Stice, Schupak-Neuberg, Shaw, & Stein (1994) found that women who endorsed more traditional gender roles and beauty images and who had pre-existing body dissatisfaction were more vulnerable to adverse effects from exposure to gender norms in the media; a study by Durkin and Paxton (2002) on media effect mediators of adverse consequences for teenage girls yielded similar results. However, regardless of mediators or moderators, the general effect of gender-biased or gender norm-enforcing advertisements appears to have an overall adverse effect on the female viewers.

Body dissatisfaction. An increasing portion of Western society is dissatisfied with its physical appearance (Polivy & Herman, 2002). This dissatisfaction is particularly prevalent in women and girls; indeed, the age at which girls become dissatisfied with their bodies appears to be steadily decreasing (e.g., Dohnt & Tiggemann,

2006). Studies by Tiggemann and McGill (2004), Bessenoff (2006), and Stice and Shaw (1994) all found that exposure to advertising images featuring thin women increased body dissatisfaction in women who viewed them. Numerous other studies have also confirmed this decrease in body satisfaction and/or increase in shame related to physical appearance as a result of exposure to print advertising containing thin models or models that are especially attractive (e.g., Botta, 1999; Groesz et al., 2002; Halliwell, Malson, & Tischner, 2011; Hamilton, Mintz, & Kashubeck-West, 2007; Monro & Huon, 2005; Richins, 1991; Tucci & Peters, 2008). Links between print advertising, self-objectification, and body dissatisfaction for women have also been identified (e.g., Harper & Tiggemann, 2008). However, a study by Turner, Hamilton, Jacobs, Angood, and Hovde (1997) found an increase in body dissatisfaction for women after reading women's fashion magazines but not after reading news magazines, suggesting a different level of representation of biased gender norms between the two kinds of magazines. Of note, the effect of print media on body dissatisfaction appears to be stronger for White women and girls than for Black women and girls; although both groups show body dissatisfaction, White women tend to be more dissatisfied with their bodies than Black women (e.g., Jefferson & Stake, 2009). This finding may be due to a differential acceptance of mainstream beauty ideals by Black women and girls due to feeling that White models representing those ideals are not as relevant to them personally as they are for White women and girls (e.g., Duke, 2000; Milkie, 2000).

Decreased self-esteem. Body dissatisfaction often results in a more global lowering of self-esteem (American Psychological Association, 2010). Many scholars

(e.g., Richins, 1991) have argued that women's self-esteem is negatively affected by exposure to unrealistic idealized female figures in advertising. Martin and Gentry (1997) conducted a study illustrating that girls' self-esteem is affected adversely by media exposure; they found that the self-esteem and body image ratings of 4th, 6th, and 8th grade girls dropped after being exposed to thin-ideal advertisements. In another study by Hawkins et al. (2004), women were exposed to either fashion magazines advertisements featuring female models or to advertisements with no models; women exposed to the female models showed both more negative mood and lower self-esteem. Stice and Shaw (1994) exposed female participants to thin models in magazine photographs and advertisements; participants subsequently exhibited more depression, stress, insecurity, guilt, shame, and body dissatisfaction. As noted previously, advertising disproportionately utilizes models who are underweight, perpetuating a thin-ideal that is both unachievable and unhealthy for most American women; it is unsurprising that women who compare themselves to an unattainable standard will experience a negative self-evaluation (Wolf, 1991).

A host of research has made it increasingly evident that poor self-esteem and body dissatisfaction have numerous adverse consequences for individuals. Individuals with poor self-esteem are more likely to have decreased psychological well-being, increased eating disorder symptoms, engagement in dieting behaviors, and increased depression (e.g., Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Ricciardelli & McCabe, 2001).

Eating disorders. Multiple studies have linked an exposure to gendered images in the media to an increased prevalence of eating disorders in women (e.g., Harrison, 2000; Harrison & Cantor, 1997; Thompson & Heinberg, 1999, Tiggemann, Polivy, & Hargreaves, 2009). In a representative study, Vaughan and Fouts (2003) assessed girls for both eating disorder symptoms and fashion magazine exposure at two intervals 18 months apart; at the second assessment, girls who reported more eating disorder symptoms also reported increased exposure to fashion magazines. Of note, simple exposure to these images was enough to show a positive association with the likelihood of eating disorders, regardless of the viewers' purported internalization of the message (e.g., Hawkins et al., 2004). Andersen and DiDomenico (1992) found that advertisements related to diet, weight loss, and other forms of body shape modification were ten times as common in magazines targeting women as in magazines targeting men. Clearly, these gendered messages are internalized and adversely impact viewers whether or not the viewers are aware of this process. The emphasis on dieting behavior in print advertisements targeting women appears directly linked to the incidence of eating disorders in women.

Adverse mental health consequences. Several studies have shown both immediate and long-term adverse consequences for women's mental health following exposure to print advertising featuring traditional gender norms (e.g., Groesz et al., 2002; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008). In a representative study, Pinhas, Toner, Ali, Garfinkel, and Stuckless (1999) exposed women to advertising images featuring either no models or

female fashion models. Viewing the female fashion models resulted in an immediate increase in viewers' report of both depressive symptomatology and anger.

Internalization of traditional gender roles. Lafky et al. (1996) exposed high school students to magazine advertisements with either stereotypical or non-stereotypical images of women and then asked them to rate a new target photograph of a female model along a number of character dimensions and abilities. The authors found that students exposed to the stereotypical images responded to the target image in a manner indicating higher adherence to traditional gender role expectations than did the students exposed to the non-stereotypical images. Jennings, Geis, and Brown (1980) found that women who were exposed to advertising depicting a reversal of traditional gender roles were less conforming and more self-confident than women who were exposed to advertising depicting more traditional gender roles.

Key Researchers on Gendered Messages in Print Advertising

Although numerous theorists and researchers have explored the presentation of gender-biased messages in the media, two of the most seminal theorists in the field are Erving Goffman and Jean Kilbourne. Each of these theorists offers strong theoretical positions and salient hypotheses about the gendered messages transmitted through print advertising. Their theories will be discussed in detail, along with the research that has been conducted to date attempting to validate their theories. As the current study focuses on the validation of Kilbourne's hypotheses, more emphasis will be placed on her model.

Erving Goffman. One of the first major researchers to examine gender in advertising was Erving Goffman. Goffman (1979) posited that ideals about gender roles

could be examined by looking at the advertising produced by a culture. He noted that models in advertising often represent the ideals of what a culture aspires to be, and thus cultural values can be implied based on our aspirations, including values related to gender. Goffman believed that studying advertising was a particularly useful way to study culture, due to the static nature of advertisements, the ability of advertisements to manipulate reality, and the deliberate stylistic and presentation choices made within advertisements. Using his own theories, Goffman (1979) suggested a number of ideals about gender implied by the messages and images he identified in advertising. For example, he posited that the continued positioning of men as taller or higher physically than women reflected a cultural belief that men should carry more social power than women. In total, Goffman (1979) identified six categories of common iconography related to gender, which he suggested reflected larger societal beliefs about gender.

1. Relative size: The taller figure in an image (more typically male) is also imbued with more social power than the smaller figure. Goffman noted that men in advertising images are almost always placed so that they are the more prominent and/or taller figure in the image relative to any women in the image; if male and female models are seated together, the male model is pictured as sitting higher or taller than the female model.
2. The feminine touch: Women are more likely than men to be pictured gently touching or caressing an object rather than meaningfully engaging with it (e.g., grasping, moving). Goffman suggested that this imagery conveys a sense of the toucher's body as delicate rather than useful.

3. **Function ranking:** The relative social value assigned to an activity performed by a model in an image reflects the relative social value of the individual performing it. Goffman noted that women in advertising images are typically pictured performing functions of lower social value than the men with whom they are pictured. Images of men performing domestic tasks often have a cartoon-like quality or suggest that a woman needs to guide his performance of the task, implying that the task is not something a man would normally do. Women pictured doing traditionally male tasks are often pictured as being directed by men or being looked upon by men with either condescension or wonder.
4. **The ritual of subordination:** Physically subordinate positions (e.g., kneeling, lying down) represent social subordination. Goffman found that women were more commonly placed in subordinate positions in advertising than men. Some of these subordinate poses or gestures include women pictured with a body or head tilt, women smiling, and women placed in childlike poses or with childlike expressions.
5. **Licensed withdrawal:** Situations in which a model in an image appears to be uncomfortable and drifting away either physically or psychologically connote helplessness. Goffman noted that women were more often depicted this way than men in advertisements.
6. **Representations of family in images reflects social values for family:** Goffman noted that nuclear families consisting of mother, father, son, and

daughter are more commonly represented in advertising than their actual prevalence in society. When bonds between family members are illustrated, men tend to be shown with their sons and women with their daughters, rather than the other way around.

Although Goffman was a pioneer in the field, his work has been criticized repeatedly for his use of a purposefully chosen sample of advertisements rather than a random one. Belknap and Leonard (1991) did some preliminary work, testing Goffman's theories on the representation of gender in advertising, selecting advertisements more randomly. The authors found that many of Goffman's hypotheses about the kinds of images seen, which are based on Western cultural beliefs about gender, were indeed supported in the more than 1,000 advertisements evaluated from various women's, men's, news, and music magazines. One notable finding in support of Goffman's hypothesis about relative size was that, for every advertisement examined by Belknap and Leonard that featured both male and female models, the male always was pictured as taller.

Kang (1997) was also able to validate many of Goffman's hypotheses in an analysis of 504 advertisements from 1979 and 1991, culled from magazines targeting women. Krassas, Blauwkamp, and Wesselink (2001, 2003) extended the use of Goffman's content categories to editorial photographs in *Maxim*, *Stuff*, *Playboy*, and *Cosmopolitan* magazines rather than just advertisements and found that most of Goffman's hypotheses were supported in non-advertorial photographic gender representations. However, McLaughlin and Goulet (1999) found that Goffman's

hypotheses appear to be more supported in advertisements in magazines targeting primarily White audiences than in magazines targeting predominantly Black audiences. Lindner (2004) found more support for Goffman's hypotheses in the representation of women in *Vogue*, a magazine targeting primarily women, than in *Time*, a non-gender-specific magazine.

More recently, Mager and Helgeson (2011) used Goffman's framework to assess the presence of both overt and subtle gender biases in more than 3,000 advertisements in seven national magazines across several major genres, which were published continuously from 1950 to 2000. Mager and Helgeson found support for the presence of the four of Goffman hypotheses examined, including the feminine touch, function ranking, ritual of subordination, and licensed withdrawal. These authors also noted that there has been some increase in the representation of men in suggestive poses, although the positioning of women in such poses still exceeds that of men, as well as an increase in women's use of utilitarian hand positioning in print advertisements. Mager and Helgeson surmised that gender bias, particularly subtle gender bias, continues to be prominent in print advertising.

Jean Kilbourne. Jean Kilbourne has been documenting sexist, misanthropic, and otherwise gender-biased representations in advertising since the late 1960s (Kilbourne, 2000); she has created a video presentation about her findings, which she updates about once every ten years and which is currently on its fourth incarnation (Cambridge Documentary Films, 1979, 1987; Media Education Foundation, 2000, 2010). This video series, which includes *Killing Us Softly* (Cambridge Documentary Films, 1979), *Still*

Killing Us Softly (Cambridge Documentary Films, 1987), *Killing Us Softly 3* (Media Education Foundation, 2000), and *Killing Us Softly 4* (Media Education Foundation, 2010) has been extensively used in gender studies, women's studies, communications, and psychology of gender/women courses since the production of the original film to illustrate how women and sexuality are represented in print advertisements. Kilbourne also presents extensively on her findings through various lectures at colleges, universities, academic events, and other invited presentations; in these lectures, she identifies a number of themes she has found in her examination of thousands of print advertisements over the years.

Kilbourne (Media Education Foundation, 2000) put forth a number of hypotheses in *Killing Us Softly 3* about these gendered differences in print advertising that are testable. These hypotheses are as follows:

1. Women are more likely than men to be portrayed in passive poses.
2. Women are less likely than men to be portrayed as active.
3. Women are more likely than men to be portrayed in physically defensive positions.
4. Women and men are both portrayed in traditional gender roles.
5. Women are more likely than men to be portrayed in positions where they are physically subordinate to the other gender (e.g., serving as a footstool or rug, kneeling at men's feet).
6. Images or words are used to suggest that women more so than men should minimize the amount of space they take up or be unnoticeable.

7. Women are more likely than men to be shown with their mouths covered and/or with textual references that allude to women being silent.
8. Women are more likely than men to be depicted as small children or otherwise infantilized.
9. Women are more likely than men to be portrayed in bondage or bondage-like situations.
10. Women are more likely than men to be shown in ways that trivialize or eroticize violence against them (e.g., shown to be enjoying being the victims of violence).
11. Images of women are significantly more likely than men to be photoshopped or otherwise perfected (e.g., give the illusion of perfect skin).
12. Women are more likely than men to be shown as literal objects (e.g., legs as scissors, torsos as lamps).
13. Female bodies are more likely than male bodies to be shown in parts, which are disembodied from the whole.
14. Depictions of women's search for gender equality are trivialized or treated as a gimmick.
15. Eating disorders among women but not men are trivialized.
16. Women but not men are portrayed as gold diggers (i.e., using their sex appeal to obtain financial rewards or compensation from men).
17. Overweight women are more likely than overweight men to be mocked.

Some of the hypotheses noted above and included in *Killing Us Softly 3* (Media Education Foundation, 2000) were omitted by Kilbourne in *Killing Us Softly 4* (Media Education Foundation, 2010). In particular, Kilbourne deleted three hypotheses, relating to defensive body positioning (hypothesis 3), trivialization of eating disorders (hypothesis 15), and portrayal of women as gold diggers (hypothesis 17).

Validating Kilbourne. Although Kilbourne has presented a number of hypotheses about qualitative differences in the ways in which men and women are presented in print advertising, she has not quantitatively validated her hypotheses. In her presentations, she displays a series of print advertisements featuring gender-biased images and/or text, which she views as illustrative of a pattern of differential representation of gender in print advertisements. However, some of the existing research contradicts Kilbourne's assertions. For example, Kilbourne has asserted that women's fashion magazines portray women as more sexualized than do other kinds of magazines, but two separate studies (Baker, 2005; Venkatesan & Losco, 1975) found that women's portrayal was more sexualized in men's magazines than in women's magazines.

Conley and Ramsey (2011) conducted a study attempting to confirm with quantitative data the presence or absence of Kilbourne's hypothesized differences in print advertising, as put forth in *Killing Us Softly 3* (Media Education Foundation, 2000). These authors were interested both in the degree to which Kilbourne's hypotheses about gender bias advertising were accurate overall, and in any differences in gender bias that might occur in different kinds of magazines. They examined exemplar publications from the two categories of magazines directed at women with the highest circulation rates:

fashion magazines (e.g., *Vogue*), and home/family-related magazines (e.g., *Good Housekeeping*). Conley and Ramsey (2011) noted that the overall messages of these two kinds of magazines target women who may have significantly different interests, and thus the messages about gender in these magazines may also be significantly different. The authors also examined the degree to which gender-biased advertising was present in men's magazines compared to the two different kinds of women's magazines. They coded a total of 790 advertisements across 19 magazine issues for the presence or absence of 17 different categories in line with Kilbourne's hypotheses.

Conley and Ramsey found that some of Kilbourne's hypotheses were supported empirically, suggesting the consistent and near-ubiquitous presence of certain biased gender presentations in print advertising. However, Conley and Ramsey also found that many of Kilbourne's hypotheses were not empirically supported in their study. They found that male models were actually more likely to be positioned submissively to women than vice versa. Further, they found no difference between male and female representations in terms of defensive stance positioning, silencing imagery, infantilizing, bondage scenes, violence glamorization, transformation into objects, overweight/obese contempt, or gender role portrayal. As Conley and Ramsey found no instances in which eating disorders were mocked, desire for equality was trivialized, or models were portrayed as gold diggers, they were unable to analyze whether or not there were differences in the frequency with which men or women were represented in these ways. The authors also noted that certain gender biases were more common in different genres of magazines; passive portrayal of women and depiction of women as flawless were more

common in women's fashion magazines and men's magazines than in women's home magazines, while women's home magazines portrayed traditional gender roles more than the other two kinds of magazines. Further, Conley and Ramsey found that men's magazines were more likely than either of the two genres of women's magazines to feature silencing of women or images that trivialized violence against women.

Conley and Ramsey (2011) noted that, as many of her premises were not substantiated by their findings, Kilbourne's hypotheses (Media Education Foundation, 2000) must be interpreted cautiously. However, they also suggested that some of the hypotheses proposed by Kilbourne may indeed occur in print advertising, but occur at low enough frequencies that the hypotheses were simply not identified by their study. Conley and Ramsey (2011) also noted that one of the limitations of their study was the utilization of magazines that target only the mainstream populace, a populace which is predominantly White and heterosexual; they stated that publications and advertisements that cater to a mainstream audience might be qualitatively different from publications and advertisements that target other non-mainstream groups. Additionally, they noted that the magazines analyzed were all targeted at a particular gender and that gender-neutral magazines, such as news magazines, might feature different kinds of advertising.

LGBT-Targeted Print Advertising and Gender

The current research literature on the gender messages of LGBT-themed advertising is sparse. However, Milillo (2008) conducted a content analysis of magazine advertising, which compared models and advertisement types in mainstream women's magazines and lesbian-targeted magazines. The author found a number of differences in

the ways in which women were represented in the two kinds of magazines. She found that models in lesbian-targeted advertising were more likely to vary in age and weight, more likely to appear androgynous, rather than adhere to traditional manifestations of femininity, and less likely to be wearing restricting or revealing clothing. Milillo also found that lesbian-targeted advertisements were more likely to focus on products emphasizing community, whereas advertisements in mainstream women's magazines were more likely to feature products that emphasized physical appearance.

Interestingly, Milillo (2008) also found a number of differences in the ways in which women's bodies were positioned and represented in advertisements in mainstream versus lesbian-targeted magazines. Women in mainstream magazines were more likely to be looking downward or away from the camera, more likely to have their hands behind their back, and less likely to be touching another person. Similarly, although both mainstream and lesbian-targeted advertising were more likely to feature thin and average models, mainstream magazine advertisements were more likely to feature exceedingly thin models than lesbian-targeted magazine advertisements.

Saucier and Caron (2008) noted that advertising directed at gay men often focuses more on ideal male body image than does advertising directed at heterosexual men.

Lanzieri and Cook (2013) performed a content analysis of male images in high circulation magazines targeting either heterosexual men, gay men, or a non-gender-specific audience. The authors found that male models in the gay-targeted magazines were thinner than in magazines targeting heterosexual men, and that magazines targeting both gay men and heterosexual men featured more muscular male models than magazines

targeting a non-gender-specific audience. Lanzieri and Cook noted that the ways in which men are depicted in magazines targeting gay men may promote an unattainable body ideal for gay men, in a manner similar to the ways in which female depictions of the thin ideal in the media promote an unattainable body image for women, with similar adverse effects. Male models are also more likely to be sexualized in magazines targeting an LGBT audience than in mainstream magazines (Ricciardelli et al., 2010).

It should also be noted that, although transgender individuals are often ostensibly included as part of the target audience for LGBT media, including LGBT print advertising, the extent to which transgender audiences are actually included is often questionable. Content explicitly targeting transgender individuals is often minimal relative to content targeting lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals. Similarly, the usage of overtly transgender individuals as models in advertising remains limited. Thus, although this study examines media that targets LGBT audiences, it is also acknowledged that the focus on the transgender portion of this audience is currently limited, and thus any extrapolation of any interpretations to a transgender population must be made exceedingly cautiously.

Summary of Gender Differences in Print Advertising

Gender-related themes found in print advertising are similar to themes found in other forms of media and include the promotion of unrealistic and often unhealthy body ideals, sexualization of featured models, emphasis of male power, and reinforcement of traditional gender roles. An extensive body of literature has shown that, as with other forms of media, exposure to gender norm portrayals in print advertising has adverse

consequences for both male and female viewers. For male viewers, adverse consequences include body image dissatisfaction, decreased self-esteem, and acceptance of and commission of violent acts toward women and girls. For female viewers, adverse consequences include body image dissatisfaction, decreased self-esteem, eating disorders, poorer mental health, and internalization of traditional gender norms. Both Goffman and Kilbourne have argued that gender norms are illustrated in print advertising in very specific ways. Conley and Ramsey's attempt to validate Kilbourne's hypotheses resulted in mixed support for her arguments. To date, little research has been done on gender norm representation in LGBT-targeted media. As there are some differences in LGBT and non-LGBT gender norms, there may be differences in how gender is portrayed in LGBT-targeted print advertising, in accordance with Goffman's theories (1979).

Summary of Literature Review

Gender norms, which emphasize specific body images for men and women and prescribe specific social roles and behaviors for men and women, are pervasive in all aspects of individuals' lives. The media is one particularly potent transmitter of gender norms given the constant inundation of media exposure individuals receive on a daily basis. Extensive research has shown both the persistence of specific monolithic gender representations in the media as well as the harmful effects these representations have on the viewers. Kilbourne (Media Education Foundation, 2000, 2010) has argued for specific ways in which these gender norms are transmitted in print advertising, with partial validation of her findings by Conley and Ramsey (2011). However, little work has been done to date on assessing the degree to which mainstream gender norms are

reflected in media targeting LGBT individuals, despite evidence that the gender norms held by the LGBT community may differ in significant ways from those espoused by the mainstream non-LGBT community. Little work has also been done on the ways in which gender may be represented in print advertisements in magazines targeting men differently than how it is represented in print advertisements in magazines targeting women.

Purpose of the Study

This study will examine current print advertisements in high circulation magazines in order to assess the 17 hypotheses about differential representation of gender in print advertising put forth by Jean Kilbourne in *Killing Us Softly 3* (Media Education Foundation, 2000), with a focus on comparing those representations as they exist in mainstream and LGBT-specific magazine publications. Differences in gender representations in different genres (magazines targeting women, magazines targeting men, lifestyle magazines, and news magazines) of magazines targeting either an LGBT or mainstream audience will also be analyzed.

Hypotheses

In general, it is predicted that support for all 17 hypotheses will be found across all advertisements, regardless of the audience they target, in accordance with previously identified trends from research on gender norm depictions in print advertising. In accordance with research on the ways in which LGBT gender norms are dissimilar from non-LGBT gender norms, it is expected that gender bias will be less prevalent in magazines targeting an LGBT audience than in magazines targeting a mainstream audience. Given the higher emphasis placed on body image by gay men relative to that

placed on body image by heterosexual men, it is expected that certain of Kilbourne's hypotheses relating to attractiveness and body image will be more prevalent in magazines targeting an LGBT audience than in magazines targeting a non-LGBT audience. Specific hypotheses are:

1. Relative to male models, female models in magazine advertisements are more likely to be depicted in the following ways: (a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j) noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.
2. Relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines are more likely to be depicted in the following ways: (a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive

stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j) noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.

3. Relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically are more likely to be depicted in the following ways: (a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j) noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in

images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.

4. Relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines are more likely to be depicted in the following ways: (a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j) noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.

5. Relative to male models in mainstream magazines, male models in LGBT-targeted magazines are more likely to be depicted in the following ways: (a) photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (b) as literal objects, (c) with emphasis on only one body part, (d) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, and (e) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

This chapter will detail the research team, data selection procedure, and coding procedure for the current study. Research questions and specific hypotheses with their respective analyses are presented at the end of the chapter.

Overview

For the current study, a content analysis was undertaken of gender-related themes in print advertisements that support or refute Jean Kilbourne's hypotheses as presented in *Killing Us Softly 3* (Media Education Foundation, 2000), which includes all hypotheses also presented in *Killing Us Softly 4* (Media Education Foundation, 2010), in both mainstream magazines and magazines targeted at a lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) audience. Advertisements from two issues each of four LGBT-targeted and six mainstream magazines from similar genres were analyzed. This analysis resulted in a total of 20 magazine issues evaluated. The content analysis consisted of coding the presence or absence of variables related to the 17 hypotheses proposed by Jean Kilbourne in the advertisements of the magazines selected for coding. Two coders were utilized to minimize potential biases by the primary researcher.

Research Team

The research team consisted of two coders. The primary investigator (PI) was the first coder. The second coder was trained by the primary investigator with attention to an

understanding and appreciation of a rigorous scientific process. At the time of the completion of the data analysis for the current project, the secondary team member was a senior-level undergraduate Psychology major at Texas Woman's University and was recommended by the PI's dissertation advisor.

Training of the secondary team member was conducted by the PI through selecting a preliminary set of 50 advertising images from previous issues of the magazines being analyzed (i.e., older issues of the target magazine than those issues being analyzed) to illustrate the presence or absence of the target variables. A second preliminary set of 100 images was then independently coded by both the primary researcher and the secondary team member for the presence or absence of the target variables. The two sets of codings were analyzed for agreement, with a goal of achieving a 95% agreement rate. Agreement was defined as both raters coding all aspects of a particular model identically, including all 17 Kilbourne-based variables as well as the apparent sex and race of the model. As the 95% goal was not met on the second preliminary set of 100 images, additional training in the operational definition of each variable was conducted. Throughout the coding process, during both the preliminary and the active data collection stages, discrepancies between the raters were discussed for each image on which they occurred, with each rater discussing their decision making process, with the goal of improving inter-rater reliability. Additionally, a spreadsheet for coding decisions for ambiguous images was also developed by both the PI and the secondary coder in order to improve the rating consistency. Following the additional training, another set of 100 images was then coded by both team members and then analyzed for

agreement, with a goal of 95% agreement and a minimum acceptable agreement of 80%. On the additional set of 100 images that the team members coded, an agreement rate of 85% was reached. As an acceptable minimum level of coding consistency between raters had been achieved, analysis of the target data was then conducted.

Data Set

Magazine Selection

The PI consulted Cision's (Cision Staff, 2012) ranking of LGBT-targeted magazine circulation rankings as well as the Alliance for Audited Media's (2012) ranking of mainstream circulation for June 2012. This month was chosen as it was the most recent month for which data were readily available on circulation numbers of both mainstream and LGBT-targeted magazines. Similar to Conley and Ramsey (2011), magazines with the highest circulation numbers were selected for analysis, as these publications were presumed to have the largest target audience and thus the broadest potential impact. From the ten highest-circulated LGBT magazines (Cision Staff, 2012), the single highest-circulated magazine in each of four general categories was selected: lifestyle, news, magazines targeted specifically at gay men, and magazines targeted specifically at lesbian women. Then, the highest circulated magazine from the 25 highest-circulated mainstream magazines was selected in each of the same four general categories. To ensure that magazines targeting non-LGBT men and women were sufficiently representative of the gender-specific genres, two mainstream magazines geared at each gender were chosen, each with a different major theme. For men, the highest-circulated mainstream lifestyle and sports magazines were selected. For women,

the highest-circulated mainstream home and fashion magazines were selected. The resulting total of ten magazines selected for analysis based on the genre they represent included: *OUT* (LGBT-targeted lifestyle/entertainment), *People* (mainstream lifestyle/entertainment), *The Advocate* (LGBT-targeted news), *Time* (mainstream news), *Instinct Magazine* (targeted specifically at gay men), *Sports Illustrated* (sports; targeted at mainstream men), *Maxim* (lifestyle; targeted at mainstream men), *Curve* (targeted specifically at lesbian women), *Good Housekeeping* (home; targeted at mainstream women), and *Cosmopolitan* (fashion; targeted at mainstream women). Two issues of each magazine from the calendar year in which the current study was conducted were selected for analysis; the first issue from January of the calendar year and the first issue from July in the calendar year. The PI hoped to capture any possible differences in gender representation in the advertisements from those two seasons; a list of the specific publication dates for each target magazine may be found in Appendix A.

Advertisement and Coding Target Selection

Only advertisements with images that were sufficiently large for adequate identification of the presence or absence of target variables were selected for coding. As Kilbourne's hypotheses largely address gendered differences in the portrayal of adults, analyses were limited to those advertisements depicting one or more models who appears to be at least 14 years old. All models present in each advertisement were coded; however, to adequately identify the presence or absence of target variables, any advertisements containing more than five models were eliminated. All advertising models meeting the target criteria in a selected issue were subjected to analysis.

Materials

The primary materials for this study were two copies of each of two issues of the ten identified target magazines from the calendar year in which the coding process began, for a total of 20 issues coded. Each coder was provided with one copy of each of the 20 issues. The only additional materials were each research team member's personal computer for data recording and markers for labeling the advertising images.

Procedure

Coding Process

The PI created a dichotomous variable (i.e., present or absent) for each of the 17 Kilbourne hypotheses (Media Education Company, 2000) presented in *Killing Us Softly* 3. The 17 variables are: (a) passive positioning, (b) lack of engagement in activity, (c) defensive posture/stance, (d) physically submissive positioning, (e) implication of needing to take up minimal space in styling/text, (f) implication of being silenced, (g) child-like styling/text, (h) bondage scenarios, (i) trivialization/sexualization of violence, (j) noticeably photoshopped/flawless skin, (k) literal objectification, (l) emphasis on only one body part, (m) trivialization of desire for power or rights, (n) trivialization of eating disorders, (o) implication of exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) expression of contempt for being overweight, and (q) traditional female gender role (see Appendix B for examples of each of Kilbourne's 17 hypotheses from both her *Killing Us Softly* presentations as well as from the current study; for the current study, examples of each male and female models demonstrating the target variable were included when such

examples existed). These variables were modeled on those examined by Conley and Ramsey (2011) in their research on Kilbourne's *Killing Us Softly* model.

Following Conley and Ramsey's previous methodology, each coding-eligible model in each magazine was coded for the presence or absence of all 17 variables, such that a given model could be coded as having the presence of multiple variables or as having none at all; in cases where the image or aspects of the image were too vague or ambiguous to allow for definitive coding of a variable, the variable was coded as uncertain. Additionally, variable 4 (physical submission to the other sex) could only be coded for advertisements which featured at least one male and one female model; images appearing in advertisements that did not meet this criteria were coded as "not applicable" for variable 4. Each model was also coded for apparent gender (male or female), apparent race (White or non-White), transgender versus cisgender status, and for the magazine source of the advertisement featuring the model; models were only coded as transgender if the model was famously known as transgender (e.g., Laverne Cox), was an actor playing a transgender character, or the accompanying text identified the image as transgender. Data created for each model image analyzed were recorded on an Image Coding Sheet (see Appendix C). Data from the coding sheets were then compiled into an Excel spreadsheet, with rows for each image number and columns for each target variable, apparent gender/race/transgender status of the model, magazine source, and several variables categorizing the source by target audience and genre; all data were converted to numeric format for each of data analysis. See the Coding Guide (Appendix D) for the original data to numeric conversion format.

Assessment of Inter-rater Reliability

Each model analyzed was assigned a unique identifier, or image number, for ease of data analysis and inter-rater reliability checks. Each advertising image was jointly analyzed by both coders for possible coding targets meeting the criteria previously described; images determined to be coding eligible were assigned their own unique identifiers created by compounding the first letter or letters of the magazine title in which the advertisement was located, a number indicating the issue of the magazine in which the advertisement was located (1 for winter and 2 for fall), and a number locating the image in the magazine sequentially. Each of the two research team members independently coded every model meeting the previously discussed criteria in every advertisement of each target magazine issue. After the initial training described above, each coder rated each target image at a time and place of their choosing. Reliability between the coders was assessed using Cohen's κ . Cohen's κ is considered to be a conservative estimate of reliability between coders, as it adjusts for the probability of agreement by sheer chance (Uebersax, 1987). Any disagreements between coders were resolved by discussion between the coders until an agreement was reached about the presence or absence of a given variable for the image in question.

Analysis Plan

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive analyses were compiled addressing the percentage of male and female models coded for each target variable. These percentages were compiled for overall

representation in all magazines, for representation in LGBT-targeted and mainstream publications, and for representation in each individual magazine.

Hypotheses

Based on the available literature, the following hypotheses were proposed, with stated differences achieving statistical significance at the 95 percent confidence level:

1. Relative to male models, female models in magazine advertisements are more likely to be depicted in the following ways: (a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j) noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.
2. Relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines are more likely to be depicted in the following ways:

(a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j) noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.

3. Relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically are more likely to be depicted in the following ways: (a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j) noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless

skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.

4. Relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines are more likely to be depicted in the following ways: (a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j) noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.

5. Relative to male models in mainstream magazines, male models in LGBT-targeted magazines are more likely to be depicted in the following ways: (a) photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (b) as literal objects, (c) with emphasis on only one body part, (d) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, and (e) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight.

Statistical Analyses

Chi-square analysis were conducted to test each hypothesis, by comparing the percentage of images featuring a target variable between the two groups, as stated in each hypothesis. The analyses were conducted utilizing the most current version of the SPSS software package available at the time the data were analyzed. The following analyses were conducted:

1. Male models were compared to female models using a Chi-square analysis for depiction in the following ways: (a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j) noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images

or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.

2. Female models in mainstream magazines were compared to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines using a Chi-square analysis for depiction in the following ways: (a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j) noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.
3. Female models in magazines targeting men or women were compared to female models in lifestyle and news magazines using a Chi-square analysis for

depiction in the following ways(a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j) noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.

4. Female models in lifestyle magazines were compared to female models in news magazines using a Chi-square analysis for depiction in the following ways: (a) in passive positions, (b) not engaged in an activity, (c) in defensive stances, (d) in physically submissive positions, (e) in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, (f) in images or with copy implying they should be silent, (g) styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, (h) in bondage scenarios, (i) in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, (j)

noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (k) as literal objects, (l) with emphasis on only one body part, (m) in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, (n) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, (o) in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources, (p) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and (q) in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.

5. Male models in mainstream magazines were compared to male models in LGBT-targeted magazines for depiction in the following ways: (a) photoshopped or shown with flawless skin, (b) as literal objects, (c) with emphasis on only one body part, (d) in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, and (e) in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

In the present study, advertising images in different magazines were analyzed for the presence or absence of statistical differences in the ways in which male and female models are depicted, in accordance with the hypotheses presented by Jean Kilbourne in her *Killing Us Softly* video series (Media Education Foundation, 2000, 2010). A total of 662 images were analyzed and coded across 20 total magazine issues. As each magazine included a different number of advertisements, the number of images coded for each magazine varied widely, from a low of 10 images (*Time*, January 13th, 2014 issue) to a high of 87 images (*Cosmopolitan*, July 2014 issue). The mean number of images analyzed from each magazine was 33; the median number of images analyzed per magazine was 28.5. A total of 237 images were analyzed from the magazines targeting lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals (\bar{X} =29.6 images per magazine) and 425 total images (\bar{X} =35.4 images per magazine) were analyzed from the mainstream magazines. A total of 267 images were analyzed from the magazines targeting women (\bar{X} =44.5 images per magazine), 103 total images were analyzed from the magazines targeting men (\bar{X} =25.8 images per magazine), 180 total images were analyzed from the lifestyle magazines (\bar{X} =45 images per magazine), and 81 total images were analyzed from the news magazines (\bar{X} =20.3 images per magazine). See Appendix E

for the specific number of images analyzed from each issue. Of interest, 87.6% of the analyzed images from magazines targeting women were female, whereas only 20.1% of the analyzed images from the magazines targeting men were female. The lifestyle magazines featured a relative balance in gender model, with 49.4% of the analyzed images being female; 28.4% of the analyzed images from the news magazines were female.

Of the models in the 662 images, 373 were apparently female (56.3%), while 285 were apparently male (43.1%); a subset of 4 models could not be classified clearly as either male or female (0.6%). Only 3 of the models in the images were known to be transgender (0.5%); the other 659 were classified as cisgender (99.5%). Of the models in the LGBT-targeted magazines, 79 (33.3%) were apparently female, while 157 (66.2%) were apparently male and 1 could not be categorized by gender (0.4%). Of the models in the mainstream-targeted magazines, 294 (69.2%) were apparently female, while 128 (30.1%) were apparently male, and 3 could not be categorized by gender (0.7%).

Of the models in the 662 images, 89 were apparently non-White (13.4%), while 571 were apparently White (86.2%); a subset of 2 models could not be classified as either White or non-White. Of the models in the LGBT-targeted magazines, 35 (14.8%) were apparently non-White, while 202 (85.2%) were apparently White. Of the models in the mainstream-targeted magazines, 54 (12.7%) were apparently non-White, while 369 (86.8%) were apparently White and 2 (0.5%) could not be classified as either White or non-White. See Tables 1, 2, and 3 for additional information on the characteristics of the

total data set, the magazines targeting LGBT audiences, and the magazines targeting mainstream audiences, respectively.

Table 1

Characteristics of Analyzed Images (Total Set of Magazines)

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>
<u>Magazine Source</u>		
LGBT-targeted magazines	237	35.8%
Mainstream-targeted magazines	425	64.2%
<u>Apparent Gender</u>		
Female	373	56.3%
Male	285	43.1%
Unknown	4	0.6%
<u>Transgender Status</u>		
Transgender	3	0.5%
Cisgender	659	99.5%
<u>Apparent Race</u>		
Non-White	89	13.4%
White	571	86.2%
Unknown	2	0.3%

Note: LGBT is an abbreviation for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

Table 2

Characteristics of Analyzed Images (LGBT-Targeted Magazines)

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>
<u>Apparent Gender</u>		
Female	79	33.3%
Male	157	66.2%
Unknown	1	0.4%
<u>Apparent Race</u>		
Non-White	35	14.8%
White	202	85.2%

Note: LGBT is an abbreviation for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

Table 3

Characteristics of Analyzed Images (Mainstream-Targeted Magazines)

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>
<u>Apparent Gender</u>		
Female	294	69.2%
Male	128	30.1%
Unknown	3	0.7%
<u>Apparent Race</u>		
Non-White	54	12.7%
White	369	86.8%
Unknown	2	0.5%

There were differences in the relative representation of men and women based on the specific magazine; this is described in Table 4.

Table 4

Characteristics of Analyzed Images (Broken Down by Magazine)

<u>Magazine</u>	<u>Total n</u>	<u>Gender</u>	
		<u>Female (n/%)</u>	<u>Male (n/%)</u>
<u>LGBT-Targeted Magazines</u>			
The Advocate	59	15 (25.4%)	44 (74.6%)
Curve	50	48 (96%)	2 (4%)
Instinct	56	2 (3.6%)	52 (94.6%)
Out	72	14 (19.4%)	58 (80.6%)
<u>Mainstream Targeted Magazines</u>			
Cosmopolitan	115	106 (92.2%)	9 (97.8%)
Good Housekeeping	102	80 (78.4%)	22 (21.6%)
Maxim	47	19 (40.4%)	28 (59.6%)
People	108	75 (69.4%)	30 (27.8%)
Sports Illustrated	31	6 (19.3%)	25 (80.7%)
Time	22	8 (36.3%)	14 (63.7%)

Note: The numbers above consolidate both analyzed issues of each magazine (i.e., the January and July issue).

Differential Representations of Women and Men in Magazine Advertising

It was hypothesized that women and men would be portrayed differently in print advertisements. The results for each hypothesis about specific ways in which these differences were manifested are described below. Specific values for the Chi-square analyses for the first set of hypotheses can be found in Table 5 at the end of this section.

In sum, the only hypotheses in hypothesis set 1 which were supported were 1a, 1b, and 1j; hypotheses 1g, 1n, 1o, and 1p could not be analyzed as no instances of these variables occurred in the present data set. Hypotheses 1c, 1d, 1e, 1f, 1h, 1i, 1k, 1l, 1m, and 1q were not supported.

Hypothesis 1a

Hypothesis 1a posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in passive positions. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in passive positions in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted in passive positions in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1a is supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were statistically more likely to be depicted in passive positions than male models ($p = 0.001$). However, the finding is relatively weak ($\Phi = .126$).

Hypothesis 1b

Hypothesis 1b posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted as not engaged in an activity. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted as not engaged in an activity in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted as not engaged in an activity in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1b is supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were statistically more likely to be depicted as not

engaged in an activity than male models ($p = .014$). However, the finding is relatively weak ($\Phi = .096$).

Hypothesis 1c

Hypothesis 1c posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in defensive stances. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in defensive stances in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted in defensive stances in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1c is not supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were not statistically more likely to be depicted in defensive stances than male models. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both male and female models; only one female model and three male models were depicted in defensive stances.

Hypothesis 1d

Hypothesis 1d posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in physically submissive positions. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in physically submissive positions in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted in physically submissive positions in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1d is not supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were not statistically more likely to be depicted in physically submissive positions than male models. However, it should

be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both male and female models; only three female models and two male models were depicted in physically submissive positions.

Hypothesis 1e

Hypothesis 1e posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1e is not supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying they should take up more minimal space than male models. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both male and female models; no female models and only one male model were depicted in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space.

Hypothesis 1f

Hypothesis 1f posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy implying they should be

silent in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1f is not supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent than male models. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both male and female models; only six female models and three male models were depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent.

Hypothesis 1g

Hypothesis 1g posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children. Hypothesis 1g could not be analyzed, as no instances of either male or female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 1h

Hypothesis 1h posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in bondage scenarios. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in bondage scenarios in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted in bondage scenarios in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1h is not supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were not statistically more likely to be depicted in bondage scenarios than

male models. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both male and female models; only one female model and no male models were depicted in bondage scenarios.

Hypothesis 1i

Hypothesis 1i posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1i is not supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them than male models. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both male and female models; only one female model and one male model were depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them.

Hypothesis 1j

Hypothesis 1j posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted as noticeably photoshopped or

shown with flawless skin in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1j is supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were statistically more likely to be depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin than male models ($p = .000$). However, the finding is relatively weak ($\Phi = .225$).

Hypothesis 1k

Hypothesis 1k posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted as literal objects. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted as literal objects in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted as literal objects in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1k is not supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were not statistically more likely to be depicted as literal objects than male models. Indeed, male models were actually more likely to be depicted as literal objects than male models. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both male and female models; no female models and only four male model were depicted as literal objects.

Hypothesis 1l

Hypothesis 1l posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted with emphasis on only one body part. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female

models depicted with emphasis on only one body part in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted with emphasis on only one body part in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1l is not supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were not statistically more likely to be depicted with emphasis on only one body part than male models.

Hypothesis 1m

Hypothesis 1m posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights in the same magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1m is not supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights than male models. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both male and female models; only three female models and one male model were depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights.

Hypothesis 1n

Hypothesis 1n posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in images or with text

trivializing eating disorders. Hypothesis 1n could not be analyzed, as no instances of either male or female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 1o

Hypothesis 1o posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources. Hypothesis 1o could not be analyzed, as no instances of either male or female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 1p

Hypothesis 1p posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight. Hypothesis 1p could not be analyzed, as no instances of either male or female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 1q

Hypothesis 1q posited that relative to male models, female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements would be more likely to be depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model in all 20 source magazine issues to the percentage of male models depicted in actions associated with a

traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model in the same magazines.

Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 1m is not supported; female models in the analyzed magazine advertisements were not statistically more likely to be depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model than male models.

Table 5

Summary of Differential Representations of Women and Men in Magazine Advertising

<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>% Female Models</u>	<u>% Male Models</u>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	Φ
1a	22.0	12.3	10.405	.001	.126*
1b	80.4	72.3	6.038	.014	.096*
1c	0.3	1.1	1.646	.200	-.050
1d	4.9	3.1	.261	.609	.046
1e	0.0	0.4	1.311	.252	-.045
1f	1.6	1.1	.370	.543	.024
1h	0.3	0.0	.765	.382	.034
1i	0.3	0.4	.037	.848	-.007
1j	12.6	0.7	33.187	.000	.225*
1k	0.0	1.4	5.267	.022	-.089*
1l	11.0	10.9	.002	.963	.002
1m	0.8	0.4	.550	.458	.029
1q	3.5	4.6	.493	.483	-.027

Note. % female models and % male models are the percentages of analyzed images of each gender which exhibited the presence of the target variable (see the Image Coding Sheet in Appendix C). Hypotheses 1g, 1n, 1o, and 1p are not included in the table as no instances of the variable occurred in the data set for the present study and thus statistics could not be calculated. * $p < .05$

Differential Representations of Female Models in Mainstream Magazine Advertising and Advertising in Magazines Targeting Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Individuals

It was hypothesized that female models in mainstream magazine advertising and female models in advertising in magazines targeting lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals would be portrayed differently. The results for each hypothesis about specific ways in which these differences were manifested are described below. Specific values for the Chi-square analyses for the second set of hypotheses can be found in Table 6 at the end of this section. In sum, the only hypothesis in hypothesis set 2 which was supported was 2j; hypotheses 2e, 2g, 2k, 2n, 2o, and 2p could not be analyzed as no instances of these variables occurred in the present data set. Hypotheses 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, 2f, 2h, 2i, 2l, 2m, and 2q were not supported.

Hypothesis 2a

Hypothesis 2a posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted in passive positions. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in passive positions in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in passive positions in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 2a is not supported; female models in mainstream magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in passive positions than female models in LGBT-targeted magazines.

Hypothesis 2b

Hypothesis 2b posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted as not engaged in an activity. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted as not engaged in an activity in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of female models depicted as not engaged in an activity in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 2b is not supported; female models in mainstream magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted as not engaged in an activity than female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, although there was a nonsignificant trend in favor of this prediction.

Hypothesis 2c

Hypothesis 2c posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted in defensive stances. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in defensive stances in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in defensive stances in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 2c is not supported; female models in mainstream magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in defensive stances than female models in LGBT-targeted magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; no female models in LGBT-targeted magazines and only one female model in a mainstream magazine were depicted in defensive stances.

Hypothesis 2d

Hypothesis 2d posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted in physically submissive positions. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in physically submissive positions in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in physically submissive positions in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 2d is not supported; female models in mainstream magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in physically submissive positions than female models in LGBT-targeted magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; only one model in an LGBT-targeted magazine and only two female models in mainstream magazine were depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights.

Hypothesis 2e

Hypothesis 2e posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space. Hypothesis 2e could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 2f

Hypothesis 2f posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted

in images or with copy implying they should be silent. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 2f is not supported; female models in mainstream magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent than female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, although there was a nonsignificant trend in favor of this prediction. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; only three female models in each kind of magazine were depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent.

Hypothesis 2g

Hypothesis 2g posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children. Hypothesis 2g could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 2h

Hypothesis 2h posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted in bondage scenarios. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in bondage scenarios in LGBT-targeted magazines to the

percentage of female models depicted in bondage scenarios in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 2h is not supported; female models in mainstream magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in bondage scenarios than female models in LGBT-targeted magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; no female models in LGBT-targeted magazines and only one female model in a mainstream magazine were depicted in bondage scenarios.

Hypothesis 2i

Hypothesis 2i posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 2i is not supported; female models in mainstream magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them than female models in LGBT-targeted magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; no female models in LGBT-targeted magazines and only one female model in a mainstream magazine were depicted in images or with text trivializing or sexualizing violence against them.

Hypothesis 2j

Hypothesis 2j posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of female models depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 2j is supported; female models in mainstream magazines were statistically more likely to be depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skins than female models in LGBT-targeted magazines ($p = .000$). However, the finding is relatively weak ($\Phi = .197$).

Hypothesis 2k

Hypothesis 2k posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted as literal objects. Hypothesis 2k could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 2l

Hypothesis 2l posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted with emphasis on only one body part. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted with emphasis on only one body part in LGBT-

targeted magazines to the percentage of female models depicted with emphasis on only one body part in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 2l is not supported; female models in mainstream magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted with emphasis on only one body part than female models in LGBT-targeted magazines.

Hypothesis 2m

Hypothesis 2m posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 2m is not supported; female models in mainstream magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights than female models in LGBT-targeted magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; no female models in LGBT-targeted magazines and only three female models in a mainstream magazine were depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights.

Hypothesis 2n

Hypothesis 2n posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing eating disorders. Hypothesis 2n could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 2o

Hypothesis 2o posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources. Hypothesis 2o could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 2p

Hypothesis 2p posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight. Hypothesis 2p could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 2q

Hypothesis 2q posited that relative to female models in LGBT-targeted magazines, female models in mainstream magazines would be more likely to be depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.

A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 2q is not supported; female models in mainstream magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model than female models in LGBT-targeted magazines.

Table 6

Summary of Differential Representations of Female Models in Mainstream Magazine Advertising and Advertising in Magazines Targeting Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Individuals

<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>% LGBT</u>	<u>% Mainstream</u>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	Φ
2a	21.5	22.1	.013	.911	-.006
2b	86.1	78.9	2.03	.154	.074
2c	0.0	0.3	.269	.604	-.027
2d	4.3	5.3	.026	.873	-.021
2f	3.8	1.0	3.034	.082	.090
2h	0.0	0.3	.269	.604	-.027
2i	0.0	0.3	.269	.604	-.027
2j	0.0	16.0	14.450	.000	-.197*
2l	7.6	11.9	1.182	.277	-.056
2m	0.0	1.0	.813	.367	-.047
2q	1.3	4.1	1.468	.226	-.063

Note. % LGBT is the percentage of female models exhibiting the target variable in LGBT-targeted magazines; % Mainstream is the percentage of female models exhibiting the target variable in the mainstream magazines (see the Image Coding Sheet in Appendix C). Hypotheses 2e, 2g, 2k, 2n, 2o, and 2p are not included in the table as no instances of the variable occurred in the data set of female models for the present study and thus statistics could not be calculated. * $p < .05$

Differential Representations of Female Models in Lifestyle and News Magazine

Advertising and Advertising in Magazines Targeting Women and/or Men

Specifically

It was hypothesized that female models in lifestyle and news magazine advertising and female models in advertising in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be portrayed differently. The results for each hypothesis about specific ways in which these differences were manifested are described below. Specific

values for the Chi-square analyses for the third set of hypotheses can be found in Table 7 at the end of this section. In sum, the only hypotheses in hypothesis set 3 which were supported were 3a and 3j; hypotheses 3e, 3g, 3k, 3n, 3o, and 3p could not be analyzed as no instances of these variables occurred in the present data set. Hypotheses 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3f, 3h, 3i, 3l, 3m, and 3q were not supported.

Hypothesis 3a

Hypothesis 3a posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted in passive positions. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in passive positions in lifestyle and news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in passive positions in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 3a is supported; female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were statistically more likely to be depicted in passive positions than female models in lifestyle and news magazine ($p = .000$). However, the finding is relatively weak ($\Phi = .207$).

Hypothesis 3b

Hypothesis 3b posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted as not engaged in an activity. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted as not engaged in an activity in lifestyle and news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted as

not engaged in an activity in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically.

Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 3b is not supported; female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were not statistically more likely to be depicted as not engaged in activity than female models in lifestyle and news magazines, although there was a nonsignificant trend in favor of this prediction.

Hypothesis 3c

Hypothesis 3c posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted in defensive stances. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in defensive stances in lifestyle and news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in defensive stances in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 3c is not supported; female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were not statistically more likely to be depicted in defensive stances than female models in lifestyle and news magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; no female models in lifestyle or news magazines and only one female model in a magazine targeting women and/or men specifically were depicted in defensive stances.

Hypothesis 3d

Hypothesis 3d posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted in physically submissive positions. A Chi-square analysis

was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in physically submissive positions in lifestyle and news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in physically submissive positions in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 3d is not supported; female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were not statistically more likely to be depicted in physically submissive positions than female models in lifestyle and news magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; only one female model in lifestyle or news magazines and only two female models in a magazine targeting women and/or men specifically were depicted in physically submissive positions.

Hypothesis 3e

Hypothesis 3e posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space. Hypothesis 3e could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 3f

Hypothesis 3f posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent in lifestyle and news magazines to

the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 3f is not supported; female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent than female models in lifestyle and news magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; only three female models in each lifestyle or news magazines and in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent.

Hypothesis 3g

Hypothesis 3g posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children. Hypothesis 3g could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 3h

Hypothesis 3h posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted in bondage scenarios. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in bondage scenarios in lifestyle and news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in bondage

scenarios in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 3h is not supported; female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were not statistically more likely to be depicted in bondage scenarios than female models in lifestyle and news magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; no female models in lifestyle or news magazines and only one female model in a magazine targeting women and/or men specifically were depicted in bondage scenes.

Hypothesis 3i

Hypothesis 3i posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them in lifestyle and news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 3i is not supported; female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them than female models in lifestyle and news magazine, although there was a nonsignificant trend in favor of this prediction. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; only one female model in lifestyle or news magazines and no female models in a

magazine targeting women and/or men specifically were depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them.

Hypothesis 3j

Hypothesis 3j posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin in lifestyle and news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 3j is supported; female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were statistically more likely to be depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin than female models in lifestyle and news magazine ($p = .006$). However, the finding is relatively weak ($\Phi = .143$).

Hypothesis 3k

Hypothesis 3k posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted as literal objects. Hypothesis 3k could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 3l

Hypothesis 3l posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted with emphasis on only one body part. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted with emphasis on only one body part in lifestyle and news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted with emphasis on only one body part in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 3l is not supported; female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were not statistically more likely to be depicted with emphasis on only one body part than female models in lifestyle and news magazines, although there was a nonsignificant trend in favor of this prediction.

Hypothesis 3m

Hypothesis 3m posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights in lifestyle and news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 3m is not supported; female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were not

statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights than female models in lifestyle and news magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; only one female model in lifestyle or news magazines and only two female models in a magazine targeting women and/or men specifically were depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights.

Hypothesis 3n

Hypothesis 3n posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing eating disorders.

Hypothesis 3n could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 3o

Hypothesis 3o posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources. Hypothesis 3o could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 3p

Hypothesis 3p posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would

be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight Hypothesis 3p could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 3q

Hypothesis 3q posited that relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically would be more likely to be depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model in lifestyle and news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 3q is not supported; female models in magazines targeting women and/or men specifically were not statistically more likely to be depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model than female models in lifestyle and news magazines.

Table 7

Summary of Differential Representations of Female Models in Lifestyle and News Magazine Advertising and Advertising in Magazines Targeting Women And/Or Men Specifically

<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>% Lifestyle/News</u>	<u>% Gender-Specific</u>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	Φ
3a	27.6	8.9	15.906	.000	.207*
3b	82.4	75.9	2.92	.148	.075
3c	0.4	0.0	.430	.512	.034
3d	6.1	3.6	.201	.654	.057
3f	1.1	2.7	1.158	.282	-.056
3h	0.4	0.0	.430	.512	.034
3i	0.0	0.9	2.337	.126	-.079
3j	15.7	5.4	7.626	.006	.143*
3l	13.0	6.3	3.679	.055	.099
3m	0.8	0.9	.016	.900	.006
3q	4.2	1.8	1.374	.241	.061

Note. % Lifestyle/News is the percentage of female models exhibiting the target variable in lifestyle and news magazines; % Gender-Specific is the percentage of female models exhibiting the target variable in the magazines targeting either men or women (see the Image Coding Sheet in Appendix C). Hypotheses 3e, 3g, 3k, 3n, 3o, and 3p are not included in the table as no instances of the variable occurred in the data set of female models for the present study and thus statistics could not be calculated. * $p < .05$

Differential Representations of Female Models in News Magazine Advertising and Advertising in Lifestyle Magazines

It was hypothesized that female models in news magazine advertising and female models in advertising in lifestyle would be portrayed differently. The results for each hypothesis about specific ways in which these differences were manifested are described below. Specific values for the Chi-square analyses for the fourth set of hypotheses can be

found in Table 8 at the end of this section. In sum, no hypotheses in set 4 which were supported; hypotheses 4c, 4e, 4g, 4h, 4k, 4n, 4o, and 4p could not be analyzed as no instances of these variables occurred in the present data set. Hypotheses 4a, 4b, 4d, 4f, 4i, 4j, 4l, 4m, and 4q were not supported.

Hypothesis 4a

Hypothesis 4a posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in passive positions. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in passive positions in news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in passive positions in lifestyle magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 4a is not supported; female models in lifestyle magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in passive positions than female models in news magazine, although there was a nonsignificant trend in favor of this prediction.

Hypothesis 4b

Hypothesis 4b posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted as not engaged in an activity. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted as not engaged in an activity in news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted as not engaged in an activity in lifestyle magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 4b is not supported; female models in lifestyle magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted as not engaged in an activity than female models in news magazines.

Hypothesis 4c

Hypothesis 4c posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in defensive stances. Hypothesis 4c could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set of lifestyle or news magazines for the present study.

Hypothesis 4d

Hypothesis 4d posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in physically submissive positions. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in physically submissive positions in news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in physically submissive positions in lifestyle magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 4d is not supported; female models in lifestyle magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in physically submissive positions than female models in news magazines, although there was a nonsignificant trend supporting the opposite prediction. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; no female models in lifestyle magazines and only one female model in news magazines were depicted in physically submissive positions.

Hypothesis 4e

Hypothesis 4e posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy

implying they should take up minimal space. Hypothesis 4e could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 4f

Hypothesis 4f posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent in news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent in lifestyle magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 4f is not supported; female models in lifestyle magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent than female models in news magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; only three female models in lifestyle magazines and no female models in news magazines were depicted in images or with copy implying they should be silent.

Hypothesis 4g

Hypothesis 4g posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children. Hypothesis 4g could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 4h

Hypothesis 4h posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in bondage scenarios. Hypothesis 4h could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set of lifestyle or news magazines for the present study.

Hypothesis 4i

Hypothesis 4i posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them in news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them in lifestyle magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 4i is not supported; female models in lifestyle magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them than female models in news magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; only one female model in lifestyle magazines and no female models in news magazines were depicted in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them.

Hypothesis 4j

Hypothesis 4j posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin in news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin in lifestyle magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 4j is not supported; female models in lifestyle magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin than female models in news magazines.

Hypothesis 4k

Hypothesis 4k posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted as literal objects. Hypothesis 4k could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 4l

Hypothesis 4l posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted with emphasis on only one body part. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted with emphasis on only one body part in news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted with emphasis on only one body part in lifestyle magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 4l is not supported;

female models in lifestyle magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted with emphasis on only one body part than female models in news magazines.

Hypothesis 4m

Hypothesis 4m posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights in news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights in lifestyle magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 4m is not supported; female models in lifestyle magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights than female models in news magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; only one female model in lifestyle magazines and no female models in news magazines were depicted in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights.

Hypothesis 4n

Hypothesis 4n posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing eating disorders. Hypothesis 4n could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 4o

Hypothesis 4o posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources. Hypothesis 4o could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 4p

Hypothesis 4p posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight. Hypothesis 4p could not be analyzed, as no instances of female models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 4q

Hypothesis 4q posited that relative to female models in news magazines, female models in lifestyle magazines would be more likely to be depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of female models depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model in news magazines to the percentage of female models depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model in lifestyle magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 4q is not supported; female models in lifestyle magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted in actions associated

with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model in news magazines. Indeed, there was a significant trend in favor of the opposite prediction of Hypothesis 4q. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; no female model in lifestyle magazines and only two female models in news magazines were depicted in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model.

Table 8

Summary of Differential Representations of Female Models in News Magazine Advertising and Advertising in Lifestyle Magazines

<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>% Lifestyle</u>	<u>% News</u>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	Φ
4a	11.2	0.0	2.838	.092	.159
4b	74.2	82.6	.714	.398	-.080
4d	0.0	14.3	3.111	.078	-.333
4f	3.4	0.0	.797	.372	.084
4i	1.1	0.0	.261	.610	.048
4j	6.7	0.0	1.638	.201	.121
4l	5.6	8.7	.295	.587	-.051
4m	1.1	0.0	.261	.610	.048
4q	0.0	8.7	7.880	.005	.265*

Note. % Lifestyle is the percentage of female models exhibiting the target variable in lifestyle magazines; % News is the percentage of female models exhibiting the target variable in news magazines (see the Image Coding Sheet in Appendix C). Hypotheses 4c, 4e, 4g, 4h, 4k, 4n, 4o, and 4p are not included in the table as no instances of the variable occurred in the data set of female models for the present study and thus statistics could not be calculated. * $p < .05$

Differential Representations of Male Models in Mainstream Magazine Advertising and Advertising in Magazines Targeting Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Individuals

It was hypothesized that male models in mainstream magazine advertising and male models in advertising in magazines targeting lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals would be portrayed differently. The results for each hypothesis about specific ways in which these differences were manifested are described below. Specific values for the Chi-square analyses for the fifth set of hypotheses can be found in Table 9 at the end of this section. In sum, no hypotheses in set 5 were supported; Hypotheses 5d and 5e could not be analyzed as no instances of these variables occurred in the present data set. Hypotheses 5a, 5b, and 5c were not supported.

Hypothesis 5a

Hypothesis 5a posited that relative to male models in mainstream magazines, male models in LGBT-targeted magazines would be more likely to be depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of male models depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of male models depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 5a is not supported; male models in LGBT-targeted magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin than male models in mainstream magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of

occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; only one male model each in LGBT-targeted magazines and in mainstream magazines were depicted as noticeably photoshopped or shown with flawless skin.

Hypothesis 5b

Hypothesis 5b posited that relative to male models in mainstream magazines, male models in LGBT-targeted magazines would be more likely to be depicted as literal objects. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of male models depicted as literal objects in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of male models depicted as literal objects in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 5b is not supported; male models in LGBT-targeted magazines were not statistically more likely to be depicted as literal objects than male models in mainstream magazines. However, it should be noted that the rate of occurrence for this variable was very low for both target groups; only one male model in LGBT-targeted magazines and only three male models in mainstream magazines were depicted as literal objects.

Hypothesis 5c

Hypothesis 5c posited that relative to male models in mainstream magazines, male models in LGBT-targeted magazines would be more likely to be depicted with emphasis on only one body part. A Chi-square analysis was conducted comparing the percentage of male models depicted with emphasis on only one body part in LGBT-targeted magazines to the percentage of male models depicted with emphasis on only one body part in mainstream magazines. Results from the analysis indicated that Hypothesis 5c is not supported; male models in LGBT-targeted magazines were not statistically more

likely to be depicted with emphasis on only one body part than male models in mainstream magazines.

Hypothesis 5d

Hypothesis 5d posited that relative to male models in mainstream magazines, male models in LGBT-targeted magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with text trivializing eating disorders. Hypothesis 5d could not be analyzed, as no instances of models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Hypothesis 5e

Hypothesis 5e posited that relative to male models in mainstream magazines, male models in LGBT-targeted magazines would be more likely to be depicted in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight. Hypothesis 5e could not be analyzed, as no instances of models depicted or described in this manner occurred in the data set for the present study.

Table 9

Summary of Differential Representations of Male Models in Mainstream Magazine Advertising and Advertising in Magazines Targeting Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Individuals

<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>% LGBT</u>	<u>% Mainstream</u>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	Φ
5a	0.6	0.8	0.21	.885	-.009
5b	0.6	2.3	1.484	.223	-.072
5c	8.9	13.3	1.385	.239	-.070

Note. % LGBT is the percentage of male models exhibiting the target variable in LGBT-targeted magazines; % Mainstream is the percentage of male models exhibiting the target variable in mainstream magazines (see the Image Coding Sheet in Appendix C). Hypotheses 5d and 5e are not included in the table as no instances of the variable occurred in the data set of male models for the present study and thus statistics could not be calculated.

Summary of Results

In summary, the present study shows very limited support for both Jean Kilbourne's original hypotheses about differential ways in which men and women are portrayed in print advertising as well as very limited support for differences in how men and women are portrayed in different kinds of magazines, including magazines targeting LGBT-specific audiences rather than mainstream audiences. Differences in the hypothesized direction were found in the extent to which images of female models were digitally manipulated (photoshopped) relative to male models across all magazine types, as well as the extent to which images of female models were photoshopped in LGBT-targeted versus mainstream magazines and in lifestyle and news magazines versus gender-targeted magazines. Female models were also found to be more often portrayed

in passive positions and as not engaged in an activity than male models across all magazine types; relative to female models in lifestyle and news magazines, female models in gender-specific magazines were more likely to be portrayed in passive positions. Finally, female models were found to be more often portrayed as being inactive relative to male models across all magazine types. No other hypotheses were supported; for a number of the proposed hypotheses, representative images were not identified among the data set of print advertisements utilized for the present study and thus the hypotheses could not be analyzed.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The present study attempted to replicate and expand the previous study by Conley and Ramsey (2011), which attempted to validate Kilbourne's hypotheses on gender representation in print advertising as presented in *Killing Us Softly 3* (Media Education Foundation, 2000); the original Conley and Ramsey study focused on high volume magazines targeted at primarily mainstream (i.e., heterosexual and cisgender audiences) whereas the present study also examined high volume magazines targeted at lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) audiences.

Integration with Previous Literature

Expansion of Previous Research on Kilbourne's Hypotheses

One aim of the present study was to attempt to confirm or refute the Conley and Ramsey (2011) findings on the degree to which Kilbourne's assertions on differential representation of male and female models (Media Education Foundation 2000, 2010) are or are not actually manifested in print advertising; the results of the present study suggested further support for the Kilbourne assertions that female models are, relative to male models, more likely to be portrayed in passive positions, less likely to be portrayed engaged in active motion, and more likely to be visibly photoshopped. Despite being supported in the present study, all three of these findings were relatively weak. The present study found no significant difference between the degree to which female and

male models in the present data set were presented as needing to take up minimal space or as emphasizing only one body part.

No examples in the present data set were found depicting trivialization of eating disorders, trivialization of a desire for equality, or portrayal of models as so-called gold diggers; this is consistent with Conley and Ramsey (2011), who also noted a lack of such imagery. Further, the present data set contained no images depicting models portrayed in a child-like manner; this is inconsistent with Conley and Ramsey, who were able to locate such images for analysis. The absence of such images resulted in an inability to test the related Kilbourne hypotheses.

The present study found no support for ten of Kilbourne's assertions; the unsupported assertions are that, relative to male models, female models are more likely to be portrayed in defensive positions, in physically submissive positions, in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space, in images or with copy implying they should be silent, styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children, in bondage scenarios, in images or with copy trivializing or sexualizing violence against them, with emphasis on one body part, as literal objects, in images or with copy expressing contempt toward them for being overweight, and in actions associated with a traditional gender-based role given the gender of the model. These findings are largely consistent with Conley and Ramsey (2011), with the exceptions of Kilbourne's assertions that female models are, relative to male models, more likely to be portrayed in images or with copy implying they should take up minimal space and with emphasis on only one body part, which Conley and Ramsey were able to support.

Overall, the findings of the present study were similar to the findings of the Conley and Ramsey (2011) study. No additional hypotheses were supported in the current study that were not supported in the Conley and Ramsey study. This finding provides further evidence for the likelihood that Kilbourne's unsupported hypotheses are anecdotal rather than empirically validated.

Both the present study and the Conley and Ramsey (2011) study failed to find any examples in relatively large data sets of examples of models representing Kilbourne's assertions that female models are, relative to male models, more likely to be portrayed in images or with text trivializing their desire for power or rights, in images or with text trivializing eating disorders, and in images or with copy implying that they are interested in exploiting the other sex for resources (i.e., so-called gold diggers). Additionally, the present study was unable to find any examples representing Kilbourne's assertion that female models are, relative to male models, more likely to be styled in a child-like manner or be accompanied by copy suggesting they are children. The absence of such imagery across both studies strongly suggests a relative dearth of these portrayals for both male and female models in print advertising in general, regardless of the target audience for the advertising. While the absence of images representing these assertions in both the present study and the Conley and Ramsey (2011) study does not negate the existence of a difference in the degree to which male and female print advertising models are depicted in the manner suggested by the hypotheses, it does suggest the meaningful impact of such images is relatively minimal due to the infrequency with which such images are encountered. Similarly, a very large sample size would be required to collect

a sufficient number of advertisements containing models representing portrayals of these apparently low frequency assertions to allow for a comparison of the possible presence of statistically significant differences between the ways in which male and female models are portrayed on these dimensions.

Examination of Gender Portrayal in Mainstream and LGBT Magazines and Integration with Existing LGBT Research

Representations of female models in mainstream and LGBT-targeted magazine advertising. The present study found the degree to which Kilbourne's assertions on the gendered portrayal of women in print advertising were supported in LGBT-targeted advertising is essentially the same as the degree to which they were supported in mainstream-targeted advertising. Although very little support was found for most of Kilbourne's hypotheses in either set of advertising, those hypotheses that were found to be supported in the mainstream-targeted advertising were also supported in the LGBT-targeted advertising. The one exception to this overall similarity was the degree to which photoshopping was present; models in LGBT-targeted advertisements were significantly less likely to be photoshopped than models in mainstream-targeted advertising.

The absence of differences in the degree to which Kilbourne's hypotheses are supported in LGBT-targeted versus mainstream-targeted advertising suggested that LGBT individuals and non-LGBT targeted individuals are being exposed to similar representations of gender. Although some studies (e.g., Claire & Alderson, 2013; Cohen & Tannenbaum, 2001; Hefferman, 1999; Krakauer & Rose, 2002; Schechory & Ziv,

2007) have suggested that LGBT individuals hold different beliefs about gender norms than non-LGBT individuals, the present study's results would suggest that any such norms are not being reflected in media targeted at LGBT individuals. Other studies (e.g., Bailey et al., 1997; Dillon & Saleh, 2012; Hill & Donovan, 1992; Legenbauer et al., 2009) have found that gender norms in the LGBT community are generally similar to those found in the non-LGBT community; the present study would seem to support this conclusion.

As previously noted, the present study did find a lower degree of model photoshopping in LGBT-targeted advertisements. This finding may reflect differing standards for beauty in the LGBT community; LGBT individuals may idealize physical perfection less than non-LGBT individuals. Previous literature is mixed on the degree to which this finding has been supported; some studies have found the LGBT community to generally have more tolerance for physical appearances considered to be flawed by the mainstream community (e.g., Gough & Flanders, 2009; Krakauer & Rose, 2002), while others have found the two communities to have similar standards for physical beauty, with the gay men in particular placing a strong emphasis on physical perfection (e.g., Brand et al., 1992; Dillon & Saleh, 2012; Lanzieri & Cook, 2013; Saucier & Caron, 2008; Yellend & Tiggemann, 2003).

Representations of male models in mainstream and LGBT-targeted magazine advertising. The present study did not find significant differences in the ways in which male models were depicted in LGBT-targeted advertising relative to the way they were depicted in mainstream-targeted advertising. As noted previously, although

some studies have found support for a strong emphasis on physical perfection within the gay male community (e.g., Dillon & Saleh, 2012; Kaminski et al.; Lanzieri & Cook, 2013; Saucier & Caron, 2008; Yellend & Tiggemann, 2003), the present study suggests that, if such an emphasis exists, it is not reflected in differential representation of male models in LGBT-targeted advertising compared to male models in mainstream-targeted advertising. While the absence of significant findings does not disprove the existence of an increased emphasis on physical appearance by gay men relative to straight men, it does suggest that such an emphasis, if present, is being conveyed through means other than print advertising.

Representation of Gender Across Different Media Types

Gender-targeted and gender neutral advertising. The present study found similar representations of gender in magazines targeted at specific genders relative to those considered to be gender neutral. Although the sample as a whole found very little support for most of Kilbourne's hypotheses, similar levels of support were found for both gender-targeted and gender neutral magazines. Although there has been no prior research on the validity of Kilbourne's hypotheses across different magazine genres, research on gender-based theories of advertising portrayals by Goffman (1979) has shown that there do appear to be differences in certain aspects of how gender is portrayed across different types of magazines (e.g., Lindner, 2004; McLaughlin & Goulet, 1999). Thus, the present research would appear to be largely inconsistent with the available literature.

Although gender representation was generally similar across all magazine genres examined (i.e., gender-targeted, lifestyle, and news magazines), female models in gender-

targeted magazines were more likely to be portrayed in passive positions than female models in gender neutral magazines. Similarly, female models in gender-targeted magazines were more likely to be photoshopped and to appear flawless than female models in gender neutral magazines. Both of these findings suggested that gender stereotypes are reinforced to a greater degree in gender-targeted magazines. Previous literature has found that women who consume magazines targeted specifically at women are more likely to experience a wide range of adverse mental health outcomes, including depression, sexual dysfunction, and eating disorders (e.g., Grabe et al., 2007; Moradi & Huang, 2008; Muehlenkamp et al., 2005; Slater & Tiggemann, 2002; Syzmanski & Henning, 2007; Tolman et al., 2006), than women who do not consume such media. The present study may offer one explanation for those outcomes: women who consume magazines targeted specifically at women are being exposed to female models promoting high standards for physical appearance and presented as more passive than their male counterparts.

Lifestyle and news magazines. The present study did not find support for differential representations of Kilbourne's hypotheses in lifestyle magazines relative to news magazines. As with the other findings in this study, limited support for Kilbourne's assertions was found across all magazine genres, but those findings which were consistent with Kilbourne's assertions were supported to a similar degree. The finding of equivalent support for Kilbourne's assertions across magazine types suggested that magazine consumers receive similar exposure to gender messages in advertising regardless of the genres of magazines they consume. As noted previously, these findings

would appear to be inconsistent with previous research on the related Goffman (1976) theories, which suggested that there are differences in the depiction of gender across different magazine genres (e.g., Lindner, 2004; McLaughlin & Goulet, 1999).

Implications for Theory

Kilbourne presents dramatic imagery of negative portrayals of female models in each of her *Killing Us Softly* videos (Cambridge Documentary Films, 1979, 1987; Media Education Foundation, 2000, 2010). As the images she presents are real images presented in real magazines, the existence of the specific images shown in the videos themselves cannot be denied. However, similar to Conley and Ramsey (2011), the present study did not find significant differences in the ways in which Kilbourne's hypotheses manifest in male and female models in print advertising; this suggests that most of Kilbourne's hypotheses are low occurrences in models of any gender in print advertisements and that Kilbourne is utilizing some of those few occurrences of her hypotheses as the images she presents. Therefore, Kilbourne's theories may require significant revision, as it appears that most of the hypotheses she posits lack empirical support based on the existing research. While some differences in the ways in which men and women are represented in print advertising do exist, not all of the differences presented by Kilbourne appear to be supported by the current findings. Among other revisions, Kilbourne may wish to consider incorporating Goffman's theories (1979) into her presentations, including his assertions about differential representations of female and male models on the feminine touch, function ranking, the ritual of subordination, and licensed withdrawal. Though still an imperfect explanation of gender differences in print

advertising, Goffman's hypotheses appear to have more consistent support in the literature to date (e.g., Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Kang, 1997; Krassas et al., 2001, 2003; Lindner, 2004; Mager & Helgeson, 2011; McLaughlin & Goulet, 1999).

Although Kilbourne's hypotheses are only partially supported, the images she presents in the *Killing Us Softly* videos (Media Education Foundation, 2000, 2010) are quite dramatic. Thus, such images may have a significant impact, even if the hypothesis they represent lacks empirical support. The social psychology principle of the availability heuristic supports the idea that low frequency events are assumed to have a higher frequency than the data support, if the low frequency event is sufficiently dramatic (e.g., Manis, Shedler, Jonides, & Nelson, 1993; Shedler & Manis, 1986). Thus, even those Kilbourne hypotheses found to be empirically unsupported may still have a significant impact on media consumers due to the dramatic nature of the images.

The absence of support for consistently negative gender portrayals in LGBT-targeted print advertising also suggests that it cannot be assumed that LGBT individuals hold different beliefs about gender than non-LGBT individuals. If LGBT individuals do hold different gender norms from non-LGBT individuals, these differing norms do not appear to be reflected in the media these individuals consume, or at least not in the print advertising being targeted at these individuals. While the findings of the present study do not negate the possibility of different gender norms in each community, as suggested by various previous studies (e.g., Claire & Alderson, 2013; Gotta et al., 2011; Gough & Flanders, 2009; Heffernan, 1999; Schechory & Ziv, 2007), theory should reflect the effects of exposure to similar gender norms regardless of sexual orientation, as it appears

that in general, there are more similarities in the gender norms to which LGBT and non-LGBT individuals are exposed than there are differences.

Implications for Research

Based on both the findings of the present study as well as the limitations of the present study, numerous implications for future research are suggested. These implications have been grouped thematically and are discussed below.

Further Exploration of Unsupported Kilbourne Hypotheses

Both the present study and the Conley and Ramsey (2011) study failed to find support for most of Kilbourne's hypotheses. Further, images representing certain of Kilbourne's hypotheses were not found at all. If the unsupported hypotheses are indeed true, it will be necessary for future researchers to utilize a much larger sample size to capture sufficient representations of each hypothesis to allow for meaningful data analysis, particularly for the hypotheses not found at all by the present study or Conley and Ramsey.

Similarly, future researchers should attempt to standardize what qualifies as the presence of absence of a particular variable in an analyzed image. While the present study attempted to define the presence or absence of each variable objectively, it is not certain that the definitions of each variable are identical to the definitions utilized by Conley and Ramsey (2011) or by Kilbourne herself (Media Education Foundation, 2000, 2010).

Media Expansion

The present study included only analysis of a select number and genres of print media. It is possible Kilbourne's hypotheses would be found to have differential levels of support in other forms of media, or in alternate genres of print media. Previous work, including that of Englis, Solomon, and Ashmore (1994), has suggested that, while there are similarities in the ways in which gender is depicted across different types of media, there may also be some significant differences. Future research potentials might include an analysis of the degree to which Kilbourne's hypotheses are supported in, for example, television advertisements, films, or television programs, as well as in magazine photographic imagery other than advertisements, such as fashion spreads. One recent interesting study examined the gender norm reinforcement of traditional female values in horror movies wherein the so-called good girl is the only female character who survives to the end of the film (Weaver, Menard, Cabrera, & Taylor, 2015); a related study explored the gendering of violence in various genres of films based on online movie reviews (Gosselt, van Hoof, Gent, & Fox, 2015). Another recent study explored the ways in which normative heterosexuality is taught to youth through children's television programming (Kirsch & Murnen, 2015).

Additionally, genres of magazines not included in the present study could be examined, such as magazines targeting other specific audiences. For example, the degree to which Kilbourne's hypotheses are supported could be examined for magazines targeting specific racial or ethnic minorities, teenagers, or consumers of erotic images. Finally, the degree to which Kilbourne's hypotheses manifest in the media of other

cultures could be explored, as previous research (e.g., Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000; Ford et al., 1998; Frith, Cheng, & Shaw, 2004; Griffin et al., 1994; Maynard & Taylor, 1999; Wiles & Wiles, 1995) has shown that there may be some qualitative differences in the ways in which male and female models are portrayed in media outside of the United States.

For those Kilbourne hypotheses that were supported by both the present study and Conley and Ramsey's previous research (2011), future researchers could also consider the ways in which the supported hypotheses are specifically manifesting. For example, both the present study and Conley and Ramsey found female models in print advertising significantly more likely to be posed in passive positions than male models. Future research could consider different kinds of passive poses and the degree to which female and male models are depicted in each. Similar analyses could be conducted on various forms of activity and activity or on different kinds of photoshopping.

Further Exploration of Gender in LGBT-Targeted and Mainstream-Targeted Advertising

Other than a decreased likelihood of female models being photoshopped, the present research found no differences in the ways in which models are depicted in LGBT-targeted and mainstream magazine advertising. Previous research has suggested that LGBT individuals may hold different gender norms than non-LGBT individuals (e.g., Claire & Alderson, 2013; Cohen & Tannenbaum, 2001; Gotta et al., 2011; Schechory & Ziv, 2007), yet these differences do not appear to be manifesting in advertising targeting LGBT individuals. Rather, LGBT-targeted advertising appears consistent with the

established gender norms of the mainstream community. A recent study by Bond (2014) found that heterosexual-themed images were overrepresented and lesbian-, gay-, and bisexual-themed images underrepresented in various forms of media popular with lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth. Future research could explore this possible discrepancy between LGBT gender norms and LGBT-targeted advertising. One possible explanation is that, contrary to previous research (e.g., Cohen & Tannenbaum, 2001; Gotta et al., 2011; Gough & Flanders, 2009; Schechory & Ziv, 2007), LGBT individuals hold gender norms that are more similar than dissimilar to non-LGBT individuals. This hypothesis is consistent with some previous evolutionary psychology research, which has suggested that LGBT individuals often appear to seek mates along the same traits that non-LGBT individuals do (e.g., Bailey et al., 1997; Dillon & Saleh, 2012; Gobrogge et al., 2007; Hill & Donovan, 1992; Legenbauer et al., 2009). Another possible explanation is that, although targeted at LGBT individuals, advertising in LGBT-targeted publications could be being created by non-LGBT individuals who are representing their own beliefs about gender rather than LGBT beliefs about gender. Similarly, Um, Kim, Kwon, and Wilcox (2015) noted that LGBT-themed media is often carefully crafted to avoid alienating non-LGBT audiences. Yet another explanation could be that Kilbourne's hypotheses are insufficient to capture differential representations of gender in LGBT-targeted publication, as previous research by Milillo (2008) has identified several ways in which female models in LGBT-targeted magazines are depicted differently than female models in mainstream magazines.

Exploration of Power and Impact

In addition to finding a lack of support for most of the Kilbourne hypotheses, both the present study and the Conley and Ramsey research (2011) found only weak support for those hypotheses which were supported. This finding raised a question of impact. To what extent are weak findings impactful? Although the supported hypotheses do affirm that there is a significant difference in the relative representations of men and women along Kilbourne's asserted directions, weak findings suggest that the overall frequency with which the difference actually manifests in print advertising is relatively low. This relative lack of quantifiable difference may mean that the supported hypotheses in both the present study and in Conley and Ramsey's study (2011) represent an example of a difference which, while statistically significant, is not practically significant. Future research could explore the impact of those hypotheses shown to be supported. For example, does the relatively higher incidence of photoshopped female models relative to photoshopped male models have a meaningful impact on the magazine consumers?

As noted previously, both Conley and Ramsey (2011) as well as the present researcher found no or very few instances of images representing many of the Kilbourne hypotheses. This finding suggested that the occurrences of these hypotheses, for both male and female models, are low probability events. However, low probability events, if sufficiently dramatic or meaningful, can have significant impact (e.g., Manis et al., 1993; Shedler & Manis, 1986). Thus, although the frequency with which women are portrayed as victims of violence, for example, is relatively infrequent, the images themselves may be dramatic enough to have a significant impact on the viewer. Further, mass exposure to

these images over time may have a cumulative impact. However, the present study did not assess for impact, and therefore no conclusions about the impact of these infrequent images can be made at this time. Future researchers could explore the actual impact of images representing the low frequency Kilbourne hypotheses.

Multicultural Expansions Suggested by Present Study Demographics

The present study found very few instances of representation of known transgender models. Thus, future researchers could focus specifically on transgender models and the ways in which they are portrayed in magazine advertising. Are transgender models portrayed, for example, in manners suggestive of their gender of identification or of their birth sex? Additionally, are transgender models being represented in magazine advertising at a level consistent with the relative percentage of the population who is transgender? The degree to which transgender models are and are not identified as such could also be explored, along with the justification for identification versus non-identification.

Previous research (e.g., Plous & Neptune, 1997; Sharpe & Curry, 1996; Signorielli, 2009) has already shown a relative underrepresentation and/or misrepresentation of models of color in mainstream magazines. The LGBT community often purports to have less racial bias than the non-LGBT population. However, the demographics of the models in the present study suggested that the relative underrepresentation of models of color persists in LGBT-targeted publications. Future researchers could further explore the relative representation of models of color in LGBT-

targeted publications, including the representation of specific racial or ethnic groups in these publications.

Although the present research did attempt to identify White versus non-White models, the overall data were insufficient for further analysis of possible differences in the degree to which Kilbourne's hypotheses are present for White versus non-White models. For example, are female models of color more likely to be represented in a child-like manner than White female models, given the historic U.S. paternalism in which individuals of color have been seen as less capable of tending to their own needs and thus needing White parental figures to decide what is best for them (Miller, 2011; Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2011; Thomas, 1989)? Similarly, given the historic and present cultural attitudes in the United States, which marginalize and stigmatize Black men (e.g., Brooms & Perry, 2016; Bryson, 1998; Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Dottolo & Stewart, 2008; Knuycky, Kleider, & Cavrak, 2014), which are often coded into media (e.g., Orbe, 1998; Orbe & Hopson, 2002), are Kilbourne's hypotheses statistically more present in advertising of Black men relative to White men? As past research has shown that there are quantifiable differences in the ways models of different races are depicted in advertising (e.g., Baker, 2005; Millard & Grant, 2006; Plous & Neptune, 1997), future researchers should expand on the current research by exploring possible differential support for Kilbourne's hypotheses among different racial groups of models, including utilizing a larger sample size to provide sufficient examples of each hypothesis, as well as to allow for comparisons of different non-White groups. Exploring the ways in which gender norms are represented in countries other than the United States would also allow

for a more nuanced perspective, such as a recent study (Luther & Smith, 2014) examining the extent to which male and female models in Japanese magazines represented the current prevailing Japanese gender norms as well as a related study (Hata, 2014) exploring how gender is depicted in magazines targeting Japanese children.

The present study also found relative differences in the percentage of male and female models in LGBT and non-LGBT publications, as well as differences in the percentage of male and female models in different genres of magazines. Future researchers could also explore this phenomenon, including possible reasons for the identified differences.

Implication for Practice

The present research is consistent with previous research to the extent that, although not all of the Kilbourne hypotheses were supported, some of the hypotheses were supported; those hypotheses which were supported do suggest that, at least to a certain degree, women are more negatively represented than men in print advertising. As previous research has consistently found negative impact on both women (e.g., Borzekowski & Bayer, 2005; Englen-Maddox, 2006; Martin & Kennedy, 1993; Monroe & Huon, 2006; Sands & Wardle, 2003) and men (e.g., Blond, 2008; Mishkind et al., 1986) who are exposed to these negative messages about women, practitioners would be advised to consider the extent to which their clients have been exposed to media, and the impact of that media on their clients' personal beliefs about gender as well as on their self-esteem. For example, a recent study by Kennard, Willis, Robinson, and Knobloch-Westerwick (2016) found that women attend more to magazine images of women in

gender-congruent roles, such as mothers or homemakers, than to images of women in gender-incongruent roles, such as business professionals, and appear to feel more pressure related to meeting gender-congruent standards when they view gender-congruent images. Similarly, Ashikali, Dittmar, and Ayers (2015) demonstrated the negative impact of cosmetic surgery advertising on women's body image. Other recent research by Armentrout, Kamphoff, and Thomae (2014) showed that even in sports magazines geared at children, female models were more likely to be represented in inactive and non-sports roles and in revealing clothing, suggesting that exposure to gender normative information through media begins at relatively young ages. In accordance with the tenets of feminist psychology (Good, Gilbert, & Scher, 1990; Hill & Anderson, 2008; Kahn, 2010; Stewart & Dottolo, 2006; Thomas, 1977) and with current American Psychological Association (APA) practice guidelines for working with women and girls and for addressing the impact of received gender messages with clients (APA, 2007), clients can be educated on the impact of the gender messages they have received and encouraged to engage critically with the media they consume in order to mediate that impact.

Given the findings of the present study, clinicians also would be advised to avoid making assumptions about the gender beliefs held by their LGBT clients. Previous research has been mixed; some studies have found LGBT individuals to hold similar beliefs to non-LGBT individuals about gender norms (e.g., Bailey et al., 1997; Cohen & Tannenbaum, 2001; Gotta et al., 2011; Schechory & Ziv, 2007), whereas other studies have found the beliefs of the two groups to be more dissimilar, with LGBT individuals

having more tolerance for a diversity of gender expressions and roles (e.g., Cohen & Tannenbaum, 2001; Gotta et al., 2011; Herzog et al., 1992; Schechory & Ziv, 2007). The results of the present study are more in line with the former set of studies than the latter, as little difference was found in the degree to which Kilbourne's hypotheses were supported in LGBT versus mainstream advertising. Further, regardless of their current identification, LGBT individuals have been socialized to the norms of the culture in which they are raised, including exposure to mainstream media in addition to LGBT-targeted media. Thus, it is logical to assume that LGBT individuals are heavily exposed to mainstream gender norms. Clinicians would be advised to consider LGBT clients' gender beliefs on an individual basis, and may wish to consider utilizing gender history approaches in which clinicians work with their clients to explore thoroughly their exposure to various sources of gender socializing influences and the impact those influences have had on the clients' personal beliefs about gender. Similar to non-LGBT clients, LGBT clients can be educated on the effects of the gender socialization they have received as well as to engage critically with the media they consume, in accordance with current APA best practice guidelines for working with lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients (APA, 2012) as well as for working with transgender and gender non-conforming clients (APA, 2015).

Very few instances of visibly transgender models were found in the present study. Indeed, the number of images identified containing visibly transgender models appears to underrepresent the relative number of transgender individuals in the population significantly. Although it is difficult to state with precision the exact percentage of the

population who identify as transgender, recent figures suggest transgender individuals may represent about 0.5% of the United States population (Crissman, Berger, Graham, & Dalton, 2016). The current study found an equivalent representation; of the images analyzed, only 0.5% depicted visibly transgender individuals. However, of the three transgender images, two were of a cisgender man acting in the role of a transgender women. Thus, only one model was a known transgender individual. This finding suggested the possibility of a relative underrepresentation of transgender individuals in print advertising. Individuals who are underrepresented in media often lack positive and non-stereotyped role models with whom they can identify (e.g., Chao, Chiu, Chan, Mendoza-Denton, & Kwok, 2013; Rivadeneyra, Ward, & Gordon, 2007; Sharpe & Curry, 1996; Signorielli, 2009); a relative dearth of visible transgender models in print advertising could therefore result in negative psychological impact on transgender individuals. Further, McEnroy and Craig (2015) noted that much of the media being consumed by both cisgender and transgender individuals is transphobic or otherwise disaffirming of transgender identities. Nonetheless, qualitative research by Kosenko, Bond, and Hurley (2016) suggested that transgender individuals do rely heavily on media sources to better understand their feelings related to gender and sexuality as well as to explore transition options. Clinicians may need to account for the likelihood of their transgender clients having had little exposure to other transgender individuals with whom they can identify in the media, and thus may wish to consider creating a directory of resources for the transgender clients who may need assistance in locating visible transgender individuals with whom they can identify. Further, cisgender clinicians are

advised to consult closely with insiders in the transgender and non-binary community to avoid perpetuating any fallacious information about transgender and non-binary individuals, as well as to analyze critically their own exposure to media featuring transgender individuals and their beliefs about transgender and non-binary identities; the APA practice guidelines on working with transgender and gender non-conforming clients are also an excellent resource (APA, 2015).

In the present study, although precise racial identification is impossible from an image alone, 86.2% of the models appeared to be non-Hispanic White. According to data from the 2010 census, the actual representation of non-Hispanic White individuals in the United States is 63.7% (Hixson, Hepler, & Kim, 2011). Thus, non-White individuals are underrepresented in print advertising; this is consistent with previous research showing underrepresentation and misrepresentation of non-White individuals across multiple forms of media (e.g., Chao et al., 2013; Plous & Neptune, 1997; Sharpe & Curry, 1996; Signorielli, 2009), including a relatively recent study by Schug, Alt, Lu, Gosin, and Fay (2015) on the relative invisibility of Asian men and Black women in popular magazines. This underrepresentation of non-White individuals perpetuates an insidious cultural paradigm in which a relatively disenfranchised group, non-Whites, are further marginalized through relative invisibility to media. As noted previously, individuals who are underrepresented in media often lack positive role models, with resulting adverse psychological impact (e.g., Rivadeneyra et al., 2007; Sharpe & Curry, 1996). Clinicians are thus encouraged to utilize multicultural approaches (Sue, Gallardo, & Neville, 2014; Sue, Ivey, & Pedersen, 1996) with both their White and non-White clients to help them

explore the effects of socialization in a culture in which Whites are prioritized over non-Whites in media, in accordance with current APA best practice guidelines for multicultural practice (APA, 2003).

Implications for Training

Jean Kilbourne's series of videos are often utilized in both psychology and gender studies courses as examples of differentially negative treatment of women by the media, with the presumption of the differential treatment having significant negative impact as harmful messages are absorbed (e.g., Borzekowski & Bayer, 2005; Englen-Maddox, 2006; Martin & Kennedy, 1993; Mishkind et al., 1986; Stephens, Hill, & Hanson, 1994). While previous research has indeed shown negative impact of negative representation of women, what the findings of both the present study and Conley and Ramsey (2011) suggested is that the presentation of women, at least in print advertising, may not actually be as negative, or as dramatically negative, relative to men. Although these findings do not negate the impact of the negative imagery illustrated in Kilbourne's work, instructors who utilize the Kilbourne videos as part of their pedagogy would be advised to consider emphasizing to their students the importance of critical analysis of the videos rather than assuming everything Kilbourne purports is as accurate as Kilbourne states it to be.

Similarly, although not all of Kilbourne's hypotheses were supported by either this study or by Conley and Ramsey (2011), several hypotheses were supported; there are several specific ways in which men and women are depicted differently in print advertising. Thus, both the present study and Conley and Ramsey reinforce the need to encourage students in general to be more critical of the media they consume, and the

values such media is conveying, both overtly and covertly. Students should be educated both on the importance of identifying differential representations of various groups in media, as well as on the impact of those differential representations; previous studies (e.g., Irving & Berel, 2001; Irving, Dupen, & Berel, 1998) have shown that media literacy interventions can be effective in reducing internalization of negative gender norms as well as the impact of that internalization, particularly when those interventions occur across an extended series of messages (e.g., Watson & Vaughn, 2006), such as the opportunity available to a professor over the course of an entire semester. Further, as suggested by Thompson and Heinberg (1999) among others, academic as well as clinical and counseling psychologists are encouraged to be active advocates for healthier portrayals of gender norms in all forms of media, including advertising.

It is important to note that the absence of statistical support for many of Kilbourne's hypotheses in both the present study and in Conley and Ramsey's previous work (2011) does not invalidate the actuality of Kilbourne's collected images and the realities these images represent. Iconography, including iconography in print advertisements, can only exist in a cultural context that supports the reality the iconography portrays. Kilbourne would not have been able to compile her images if the creators of the advertisement had not been able to conceive them; such conception is inherently culture-driven. Thus, the mere existence of the images, regardless of how rare or common they may be, reflect cultural conceptions of certain aspects of gender which presently exist in the United States.

Limitations

The present study had a number of limitations which may have affected the findings. Any future replication or expansion of the current research should attempt to address and rectify these limitations to improve the quality of the data analysis.

Coding Accuracy

The present study suffered from difficulty in effectively developing cross-rater coding consistency. Although the primary researcher attempted to operationalize, with as little ambiguity as possible, the nature of what imagery qualified as having each hypothesis either present or absent, certain hypotheses remained somewhat abstract and difficult to fully identify. Future researchers are encouraged to continue to try to define more explicitly specific imagery that exemplifies the presence of each hypothesis.

Additionally, with only two raters in the present study, the possibility also exists that ratings gravitated away from the originally defined coding criteria. Further, the power differential between the researcher and the assistant may have resulted in the assistant attempting to code in the direction the assistant believed would be more desirable by the researcher rather than coding solely on the assistant's own understanding of the coding criteria. Although the researcher attempted to avoid these potential problems by having each rater code independently prior to ratings being discussed and agreed upon when there were discrepancies, future researchers may wish to consider utilizing multiple coders and a longer and/or more involved training period to further improve overall coding quality.

Sample Size

The present researcher believes the overall sample size may have been insufficient to capture all possible significant differences. While a few hypotheses were represented in a sufficiently large number of images for effective comparison, many of the hypotheses were significantly underrepresented, making it difficult to ascertain whether the lack of significant findings was due to a true lack of difference or to an insufficient sample size. For most of the hypotheses, the researcher believes a larger data set would be necessary to explore more definitively the hypotheses in the present study which were unsupported.

Low Probability Images

The problem of sample size is even more marked for what the present researcher terms the low probability images. These low probability images are the Kilbourne hypotheses for which no examples were found in either the present study or in the Conley and Ramsey (2011) study. In particular, neither study found examples of eating disorders being mocked, trivialization of a desire for equality, or models being portrayed as gold diggers. As Kilbourne utilized concrete images of these hypotheses in *Killing Us Softly 3* (Media Education Foundation, 2000) as well as *Killing Us Softly 4* (Media Education Foundation, 2010), clearly, on at least some occasions, such imagery is indeed utilized in print advertisements. However, it appears that imagery representing these three hypotheses is a relatively rare occurrence, and thus capturing any significant difference in relative representation of the Kilbourne hypotheses in different genders or races of models or in different types of magazines would require a substantially larger sample size

of images. For these three hypotheses, the researcher recommends that a larger sample than that utilized in the present study would be needed to capture a sufficient number of images containing these three hypotheses suitable for identifying any potential significant differences in level of representation.

Binary Racial Classification

The current study only classified the analyzed models as either White or non-White. Although done for relative simplification of the data analysis, this binary classification is reductionist and results in the merging of racial groups into a single non-White category (e.g., APA, 2003). The singular classification of a particular model as non-White creates significant potential for overlooking qualitative and/or quantitative differences in the ways in which different racial groups may be being portrayed in print advertising. Part of the rationale for the simple binary classification is due to the relatively small number of non-White models in the data set; further division into multiracial categories would have limited the potential data analysis even further, as the sample sizes of each smaller group would likely lack sufficient power to identify possible significant differences in the relative degree to which they exemplify each of Kilbourne's hypotheses. A 2006 study by Sengupta showed statistically significant differences in the ways in which women of different non-White groups were portrayed, which suggested that a multiracial analysis of the Kilbourne hypotheses would be useful as well. Of note, although examining the relative representation of Kilbourne's hypotheses in differing non-White groups would be a useful endeavor, researchers wishing to undertake such an

analysis would be encouraged to utilize a much larger sample size than that in the present study.

Lack of Transgender Analyses

As noted previously, the present study identified only three images in the total data set which included visibly transgender models, and two of the three images were of a known cisgender male actor portraying a transgender woman rather than of an actual transgender person. Thus, meaningful data analysis of the degree to which transgender models are represented as possessing each Kilbourne hypothesis could not be conducted. As with several of the previous limitations, to rectify this lack of analysis a much larger sample size would be necessary, particularly if researchers wish to analyze differences in the portrayal of subsets of transgender individuals (i.e., transgender men, transgender women, nonbinary individuals).

Power of Results

One final limitation of the present study relates to the power of the findings. Although several of the Kilbourne hypotheses were found to have statistically significant different levels of representation between different groups, even those findings which were supported were relatively weak. Thus, it is unclear if the differences are practically significant, despite their statistical significance. Therefore, the researcher encourages the significant results in the present study be interpreted cautiously pending future confirmation of the results as well as analysis of the impact of those hypotheses which are found to be consistently significant.

Conclusion

Women continue to face differential treatment, including both active and subtle discrimination. The attitudes which support such differential treatment and discrimination are inculcated by the bastions of cultural iconography in the United States; gender and gender beliefs are taught rather than inherent. Advertising is one of these bastions to which individuals are inundated on a daily basis. It is therefore imperative to be able to identify the iconography in advertising that contributes to gender messages that are harmful toward women; being able to identify these images allows us to direct targeted interventions to change the imagery and thus also change the gender messages being imparted to the consumer. Similarly, to better understand how gender is conveyed in non-traditional communities, such as the LGBT population, researchers need to identify and explore the ways, both similar and different, in which gender is depicted in the media of those groups. The present study, while in no way exhaustive or definitive, represents an attempt to begin to identify some of this iconography in both mainstream and LGBT-targeted magazine. The researcher hopes that future gender scientists and psychologists will continue to explore and develop the lexicon of understanding of gendered media imagery. Knowledge is power, and power-driven knowledge, applied judiciously, can be used to effect change on the systems that contribute to and maintain ideologies oppressive to disenfranchised groups, including women and LGBT individuals.

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APPENDIX A

Target Magazine Issues

Target Magazine	Issue One	Issue Two
The Advocate	December 2013/January 2014	June/July 2014
Cosmopolitan	January 2014	July 2014
Curve	January/February 2014	July/August 2014
Good Housekeeping	January 2014	July 2014
Instinct	December 2013/January 2014	June/July 2014
Maxim	January/February 2014	July/August 2014
Out	December 2013/January 2014	June/July 2014
People	January 13 th , 2014	July 7 th , 2014
Sports Illustrated	January 13 th , 2014	July 7 th /14 th , 2014
Time	January 13 th , 2014	July 7 th /14 th , 2014

APPENDIX B

Kilbourne's Hypotheses with Examples

Kilbourne Hypothesis

Example from
Kilbourne's
Work (adapted
from Conley &
Ramsey, 2011)

Examples from
Current Study

1) Women are portrayed in more passive poses than men.

Female model has her arms self-consciously crossed and is not engaged in an activity.

a) Female model is leaning to one side with her arms dangling behind her head, with her head tilted and her eyes cast downward.

(image #CU2-19)

b) Male model is reclining, tilted to one side, and leaning on an elbow. (image #CO2-16)

2) Women are portrayed less frequently than men as active.

Female model is riding a bicycle.

a) Female model has her palms up holding toilet paper. (image #A2-12)

b) Male model is sitting on a couch with his legs crossed. (image #O2-21)

3) Women are more often portrayed in physically defensive positions than men.

Female model is leaning away from the camera with her arms and legs in positions indicating she is shielding her body.

a) No female models were found representing this hypothesis.

b) Male model has his arms thrust out in front of him to ward off an attacker. (image #GH2-27)

4) Women are more often portrayed in positions where they are physically subordinate to men.

Female model is kneeling next to a seated man with his legs propped on her back.

a) Female model is lying on a male model's shoulder and is positioned lower in the image frame than the male model. (image #CO2-17)

b) Male model is leaning backward onto a woman; he is standing on only one leg and using the female model for support. The male model is turned sideways and has his head lower than the female model, who is facing forward (image #P2-14)

5) Images or words are used to suggest that women (more so than men) should minimize the amount of space they take up or be unnoticeable.

Advertisement copy (female model) reads, “The more you subtract, the more you add.”

a) No female models were found representing this hypothesis.

b) A male model and female model are both lying on a bed; the female model is taking up approximately 90% of the available bed space and the male model is relegated to the very edge of the bed.

(image #GH1-27)

6) Women are more likely than men to be shown with their mouths covered and/or textual references allude to women being silent.

Female model's lips appear to be sewn shut.

a) Female model has a mask covering her face with the mouth sealed shut. (image #O1-12)

b) Male model has a breathing mask being held over his face by an unseen person. (image #M1-15)

7) Women are more likely than men to be depicted as small children or otherwise infantilized.

Female model is shown in a child-like dress and is holding a lollipop.

No images of either male or female models were found representing this hypothesis.

8) Women are more likely than men to be portrayed in bondage or bondage-like situations.

Model has three large watches encasing her body.

a) A female model in a tight corset and stockings is positioned to make her legs appear tied up in ropes. (image #CO2-13)

b) No male models were found representing this hypothesis.

9) Women are more likely than men to be shown in ways that trivialize or eroticize violence against them

A female mannequin in a shoe advertisement is depicted as a crime scene victim with a shoe over her throat.

a) A female model's eyelid is being forced open by an unseen gloved hand; her eyeball has a worm boring its way out of it.
(image #P2-2)

b) A male model has been posed to appear as though the back of his head has exploded.
(image #P1-26)

10) Images of women are significantly more likely to be photoshopped or otherwise 'perfected' compared to images of men.

A female model appears to have no blemishes and a perfectly even skin tone.

a) An extreme close-up of a female face appears to have no pores, and the model's eyes have been tinted to a near-fluorescent shade of aquamarine. (image #P2-6)

b) A male model appears to have no pores or body hair (image #CO2-16).

11) Women are more likely than men to be shown as literal objects.

A woman's torso has a beer label projected on it such that the model appears to be the beer bottle.

a) No female models were found representing this hypothesis.

b) The only part of a male model shown is his torso, and it has been turned into a topographical map.

(image #M2-11)

12) Female bodies are more likely than male bodies to be shown in parts which are disembodied from the whole.

An advertisement shows only a woman's legs or buttocks rather than her whole body.

a) A female model's skirt is caught in her underwear and the camera is focused on her buttocks/rear end.

(image #CO2-66)

b) A male model's hand is pictured in a disembodied manner.

(image #A2-18)

13) Depictions of women's search for gender equality are trivialized or treated as a gimmick.

An advertisement showing a sexually objectified woman contains the copy, "You have the right to remain sexy."

a) A female model with clothing and accoutrements indicating she is a sheriff is posed with her shirt unbuttoned to expose her cleavage and with her hip thrust outward in a sexually suggestive position.

(image #P1-17)

b) An ad promoting increasing LGBT rights features a scantily clad and oiled male model.

(image #O2-26)

14) Eating disorders among women (but not men) are trivialized.

An advertisement with a very thin female model with a watch around her bicep features the copy, “put some weight on.”

No images of either male or female models were found representing this hypothesis.

15) Women (but not men) are portrayed as 'gold diggers'

An advertisement featuring an older man marrying a younger woman contains the copy, "She's after my money. Like I care."

No images of either male or female models were found representing this hypothesis.

16) Overweight women are more likely to be mocked than overweight men.

An advertisement featuring a female model contains the copy, "I'd probably never be married now if I hadn't lost 49 pounds."

No images of either male or female models were found representing this hypothesis.

17) Women and men are portrayed in traditional gender roles.

Female model's thoughts are portrayed as being dominated by household chores.

a) An older female model is proffering a bowl of food. (image #CO2-83)

b) A male model is pictured in an Army uniform holding an assault rifle. (image #M1-27)

APPENDIX C

Image Coding Sheet

Model Image Number: _____ Coder: _____
 Apparent Model Sex: _____ Apparent Model Race: _____
 Source Magazine: _____ Issue: _____

Criterion	Yes	No
1) Passive body position	_____	_____
2) Not visibly engaged in active motion	_____	_____
3) Defensive stance	_____	_____
4) Physical submission to other sex	_____	_____
5) Image/text implying take up less space	_____	_____
6) Image/text implying silencing of model	_____	_____
7) Model styled as child or text suggests model is a child	_____	_____
8) Bondage implication	_____	_____
9) Trivialization/glamorization of violence against model	_____	_____
10) Model appears flawless/airbrushed	_____	_____
11) Model transformed into literal object	_____	_____
12) Only one body part shown or emphasized	_____	_____
13) Image/text trivializes model's desire for rights or power	_____	_____
14) Image/text trivializes disordered eating	_____	_____
15) Model portrayed as 'gold-digger'	_____	_____
16) Image/text suggests contempt for overweight model	_____	_____
17) Model shown in traditional gender role(s)	_____	_____

APPENDIX D

Coding Guide

Model Image # - verbatim

Apparent Model Sex – 1 = F

2 = M

3 = ?

Trans - 1 = Yes

2 = No

Source Magazine - 1 = Advocate

2 = Cosmopolitan

3 = Curve

4 = Good Housekeeping

5 = Instinct

6 = Maxim

7 = Out

8 = People

9 = Sports Illustrated

10 = Time

Gay/Mainstream - 1 = Gay (Advocate, Out, Curve, Instinct)

2 = Mainstream (Cosmo, GH, Maxim, People, SI, Time)

Magazine Target A - 1 = Women (Cosmo, Curve, GH)

2 = Men (Instinct, Maxim, SI)

3 = Nongendered (Advocate, Out, People, Time)

Magazine Target B - 1 = Gendered (Cosmo, Curve, GH, Instinct, Maxim, SI)

2 = Nongendered (Advocate, Out, People, Time)

Magazine Genre - 1 = Women's (Cosmo, Curve, GH)
2 = Men's (Instinct, Maxim, SI)
3 = Entertainment (Out, People)
4 = News (Advocate, Time)

Apparent Model Race - 1 = Non-White
2 = White

Issue - 1 = January
2 = July

Criteria - 1 = Yes
2 = No
3 = N/A
4 = ?

APPENDIX E

Total Number of Images Coded by Magazine

Target Magazine	January Issue	July Issue
The Advocate	13	46
Cosmopolitan	28	87
Curve	24	26
Good Housekeeping	61	41
Instinct	31	25
Maxim	29	18
Out	39	33
People	63	45
Sports Illustrated	19	12
Time	10	12