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RACE & GENDER STEREOTYPES: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MAGAZINE ADVERTISING

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ABSTRACT

Prior research has shown the significant presence of stereotypical content in advertising. This study investigates the ways in which magazine advertising stereotypes on the basis of race and gender through a content analysis of all advertisements from six popular magazines (*Cosmopolitan, Glamour, Maxim, GQ, Ebony*, and *Essence*), representing three magazine categories (women's, men's, and ethnic). The study explores various characteristics of each advertisement; however the primary focus of the study is to uncover the ways in which women are stereotyped. Findings demonstrate the inaccurate representation and stereotypical portrayal of both race and gender. Within the sample, race had dependent relationships with the following variables: magazine type, product category, perceived importance of ad models, count of sexual cues, and sexual objectification. Relationships were also found between product category and magazine type, as well as count of sexual cues and sexual objectification.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

Stereotype—a characterization used to distinguish an entire group of people. To stereotype is to apply a generalization, which is often times inaccurate and lacking factual basis, to all of the members of a particular group. The concept of stereotyping is one that has historically been a part of American culture. According to *Race & Sex: What We Think (But Can't Say),* stereotyping is a part of every individual's instincts and each individual's brain is wired to stereotype automatically and unconsciously (ABC 20/20, 2006). The vast influence of stereotyping within society may partly be due to the stereotypical content that is broadcast through the outlets of mass media.

The advertising industry is one such media entity that has a substantial presence within the United States. This multibillion-dollar industry has essentially taken over the means of mass communication. According to Advertising Age, in 2009 it was estimated that approximately $125.3 billion was spent on advertising in the United States alone (Johnson, 2010). Not only does the advertising industry have a huge national expenditure, but according to market research, it is also estimated that the average person consumes approximately 5,000 advertisements on a daily basis (Story, 2007). With such an enormous societal presence, it is necessary to explore the messages and the type of content that the advertising industry disseminates to the public.
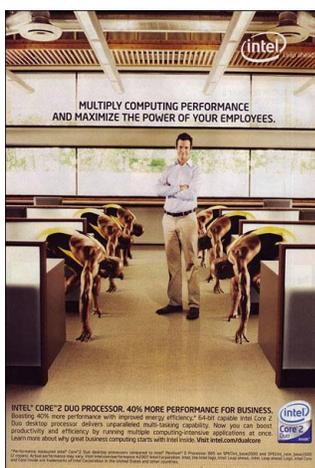
For decades now, the depiction of stereotypical content within advertising has been an issue that has received significant attention and criticism. Research has shown the advertising industry to be a major disseminator of stereotypical content due to its inaccurate portrayal of race and gender (ABC 20/20, 2006). In terms of race, minorities bear the brunt of stereotypical advertising. Minorities are stereotyped by either being underrepresented or inaccurately represented in advertisements. One such example is a 2007 advertisement by global technology corporation, Intel, for the Core 2 Duo Processor. The advertisement is in an office setting and depicts a white manager in a power stance with his arms folded, as six African American male athletes bow down in their cubicles on either side of him. The headline reads, "Multiply computing performance and maximize the power of your employees." This advertisement had various stereotypical aspects pertaining to its

portrayal of race and power. Although Intel considered the advertisement harmless, it sparked a great deal of controversy amongst the public because of its blatant racial stereotyping.

In terms of gender-based stereotypes, women are the main target and are often portrayed in a sexist and sexually objectifying manner in advertising. For instance, a particular ad for Skyy Vodka features a man in a suit standing straddled over a woman. The man is holding a Skyy Vodka bottle and two glasses. The woman, lying down looking up at the man, is dressed in an extremely skimpy bikini that barely covers her huge bust line. The ad has no headline or body copy, the image just stands by itself. By depicting the woman as a submissive sex object and giving so much power to the man, this advertisement enforces gender stereotypes.

Although advertisements such as these may go unnoticed, they are far from rare. In fact, this type of stereotypical content is very prevalent in the world of advertising. The prominence of stereotypes in advertising has made its continuous study exceedingly important. In further exploration of this phenomenon, this study will examine race and gender stereotypes through a content analysis of magazine advertising. The study will explore various characteristics of both mainstream and ethnic magazine advertising, however the primary focus will be on the ways in which women are portrayed and stereotyped from both a race and gender standpoint. By focusing on both race and gender rather than treating them as two separate issues, this study seeks to examine the overlap between the two and the ways in which they are interconnected. The foundation of this study is grounded in host of previous research that has provided a great deal of insight on the subject. The study of this phenomenon has been extremely prevalent not only because stereotypes in advertising are so common, but also because the broadcast of the stereotypical content in advertising has the ability to impact all who are exposed to it, which can in turn be detrimental to society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historically, the presence of stereotypes in the media has been widely researched within the field of communications. Research on this subject dates back to a 1946 study conducted by Bernard Berelson and Patricia J. Salter, which introduced the analysis of stereotypes in American magazines (Berelson & Salter, 1946). The study specifically focused on the unintentional bias, prejudice, and discrimination in the ways in which minorities were depicted in popular magazine fiction. The findings of the study demonstrated that minorities, especially "the Negroes and the Jews," were shown in an unfavorable light in comparison to the majority, demonstrating that stereotypes within the media were alive and well (Berelson & Salter, 1946).

This preliminary study introduced a whole new wave of communications research. Since then, much research has been dedicated towards uncovering stereotypes in advertising. More specifically, a vast amount of research has been dedicated to exploring the stereotypical content within two of the most significant advertising mediums in American culture: television and magazine. Of the previously mentioned $125.3 billion spent on advertising in 2009, $60.4 billion was spent on television advertising and $19.5 billion was spent on consumer magazine advertising, making these the two highest spenders of advertising dollars (Johnson, 2010). As such prominent spenders, research has shown that these mediums are also two of the main contributors to stereotypical advertising.

The majority of stereotypical advertising research has focused on the portrayal of race and gender because within American culture stereotypes are made most often on the basis of race and gender (ABC 20/20, 2006). Thus, it appears that the stereotypes that are present within American society translate directly into the advertising spectrum.

A prime example of this is in *The Perpetuation of Subtle Prejudice*, a study of 1990s television advertising that focused on race and gender to determine the ways in which commercial advertisements depict inequality (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). The study focused on commercials of the 20 highest rated television programs from 1992 to 1994, which produced a total sample of 1,699 commercials. The results showed distinct differences in the portrayal of race and gender, which proved the existence of various stereotypes towards women and people of color. Caucasian Americans dominated the sample, being featured in a staggering 86 percent of the advertisements, while all minorities were underrepresented. African American men were

depicted as aggressive, women of color were revered as less beautiful and lacking romantic and familial relationships, and Caucasian women were portrayed as sex objects. Overall, the findings demonstrated that "commercial advertising helps to perpetuate narrow stereotypes which contribute to forms of prejudice towards minorities" (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000).

The results of this research are reinforced by a wide range of studies pertaining to stereotypes in advertising. Similar to this study, various other studies are modeled to show the nature and extent of stereotypes among racial groups. The racial groups that gain the most attention in this field of research are the groups that are most prominent within the American society—Caucasian Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans (Faber, O'Guinn, & Meyer, 1987).

Racial Representation

The study of racial stereotypes in advertising often utilizes the proportionality criterion, which states that representation of racial groups within the media should be directly proportionate to their representation within the wider population (Faber, O'Guinn, & Meyer, 1987). A great deal of research is modeled off this concept, which helps to determine whether racial groups are accurately represented in advertising.

Various studies have shown racial representation in advertising to be significantly affected by the type of media vehicle that carries the advertisement, as well as the vehicle's intended target audience. Caucasian American's domination of mainstream media may be due to the fact that Caucasian Americans represent the majority and are the main consumers of this type of media. Contrastingly, culturally specific media is most often dominated by the racial group it is being targeted towards. For example, research has shown African American magazines to be greatly over-representative of African American models mostly because they are the intended target audience of this type of medium (Bailey, 2006).

Caucasian Americans

As the majority in the United States, Caucasian Americans have been known to represent the majority in advertising spectrum as well. Their representation typically equals or exceeds their actual representation in the greater population. A content analysis of magazine advertisements demonstrated the significant overrepresentation of Caucasian Americans. Results

concluded that they were present in 84.2 percent of advertisements, which considerably exceeds the proportionality criterion (Taylor, Landreth, & Bang, 2005). In a subsequent study of children's television advertising, Caucasian Americans were overrepresented both on a local and national broadcast level (Maher, Herbst, Childs, & Finn, 2008).

African Americans

Minority representation in advertising is mostly comprised of African American portrayals (Seiter, 1990; Maher, Herbst, Childs, & Finn, 2008). However, in terms of their representation in proportion to the greater population, African Americans are still underrepresented within the media. Numerous studies have shown the slight underrepresentation of African Americans in mainstream advertising. In a study of the portrayal of minorities in magazine advertising, African Americans were present in 11.4 percent of advertisements, which fell slightly below their 12.1 percent population representation at the time (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995). Likewise in a content analysis of adolescent magazine advertising, African Americans were once again underrepresented and were depicted in only 11.3 percent of the total sample (Sengupta, 2006).

Contrastingly, research of culturally specific media targeting African Americans has shown them to be greatly overrepresented. According to a study of the portrayal of African American males in magazine advertising, black men were greatly overrepresented in two distinguished magazines targeting the African American community, but were represented with much less frequency in mainstream magazines. Results demonstrated that African American men were present in 45.9 percent of ads in *Ebony* and 29.1 percent of ads in *Essence*, both of which drastically exceed their population representation. However in *GQ* and *SPIN,* African American males were only depicted in 11.6 and 17.8 percent of advertisements respectively, thereby signifying that the type of media plays a huge role in the representation of racial groups (Bailey, 2006).

Asian Americans

Prior research has demonstrated both the over representation and underrepresentation of Asian Americans in advertising. The depiction of Asian Americans is also significantly dependent upon the media vehicle. In terms of magazine advertising, Asian American

representation differs considerably dependent upon type of publication. According to results from a study of a broad spectrum of magazine types, Asian Americans were significantly overrepresented in business, general interest, and science/technology magazines, and underrepresented in women's magazines (Taylor, Landreth, & Bang, 2005).

Asian American representation in advertising has increased over time. According to a recent study of magazine advertisements, 10.5 percent of the sample featured Asian Americans (Taylor, Landreth, & Bang, 2005). This is a drastic overrepresentation of Asian Americans in comparison to their population representation. These results also demonstrate a major increase from the 4 percent representation of Asian Americans in a previous study of magazine advertising (Taylor & Lee, 2004). This increase in portrayal of Asian Americans is not limited to only magazine advertising. As proof from a content analysis of prime time television advertising, Asian Americans were depicted in 8.4 percent of advertisements (Taylor & Stern, 1997).

Hispanic Americans

Contrasting the growth of Asian American portrayals in advertising is the continuous lack of Hispanic American representation. Many studies have concluded that Hispanic Americans are virtually invisible within the world of advertising (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). Their significant underrepresentation in comparison to the population is present in various media including two of the most significant: television and magazine. In a study of magazine advertisements, ads featuring Hispanics were limited, totaling only 4 percent (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995). A study of prime time television commercials also showed that Hispanics were drastically underrepresented, being present in only 1 percent of ads (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). As the largest minority group in America, representing nearly 16 percent of the population, the absence of Hispanic Americans from the advertising spectrum is rather inconceivable.

Product Category

The analysis of product category has been a key way of analyzing racial stereotypes in advertising. Research has shown certain product categories to be synonymous with specific racial groups. In terms of Caucasian Americans, most of the product categories represented by

this racial group elicit positive connotations. Studies have demonstrated that Caucasian Americans are synonymous with beauty and cosmetic products. In a study of racial representation within adolescent magazines, beauty advertisements were most frequently occupied by Caucasian Americans (32.3 percent), while minorities were portrayed in beauty advertisements with much less frequency (Sengupta, 2006). "The over-representation of White women in beauty advertisements, and the small number of Black women and East Asian women in those advertisements, could be an indication of a continued push toward a White beauty ideal" (Sengupta, 2006). This stereotypical portrayal is symbolic of where the standard of beauty lies within the American society (Henderson & Baldasty, 2003).

Further studies have shown the vast depiction of Caucasian Americans in automobile, domestic/household product, and family advertisements, which portray this racial group as possessing wealth, cleanliness, and high familial values (Henderson & Baldasty, 2003). While the enforcement of positive stereotypes may not seem to be a major issue, it must be taken into consideration that not all racial groups are portrayed in such a positive manner. In accordance with research on the effects of advertising, advertisements that portray Caucasian Americans in this manner have the potential to affect the public's perception of them ("Cultivation theory," 2010). Advertisements such as this could potentially place Caucasian Americans up on a pedestal in the eyes of the public, only to leave minorities to fall below.

Contrasting the portrayal of Caucasian Americans are African and Hispanic Americans, which primarily occupy advertisements for clothing, shoes, accessories, and fast food; products which are low in cost and low in nutrition (Henderson & Baldasty, 2003). In fact, according to a study conducted on fast food advertisements, minorities were disproportionally featured in McDonald's and KFC advertising and were also exposed to 50 percent more of these ads than their Caucasian counterparts ("Does fast-food marketing," 2010). By characterizing African and Hispanic Americans with these types of products, it stereotypes them as lacking wealth and legitimate concern for their health. It also fails to represent the increasing buying power of minorities in America (Kolbe & Albanese, 1996). In 2010, the total U.S. minority buying power was $1.6 trillion, which accounted for 15 percent of the nation's total buying power. In terms of African and Hispanic Americans specifically, their buying power was $957 billion and $1 trillion respectively (Fahmy, 2010). Due to the significant contribution that minorities are making to the economy, it is unfair for them to be associated solely with low cost products.

Asian Americans are often categorized by products which signify affluence and work orientation (Taylor & Stern, 1997). Research has concluded that Asians are greatly overrepresented in advertisements for technological products (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995). Portrayals within this product category reinforce the "model minority" stereotype of Asian Americans. The "model minority" stereotype typecasts Asian Americans as educated, affluent, successful, and well assimilated into American culture (Delener & Neelankavil, 1990). Although some aspects of the "model minority" stereotype are supported by the accomplishments of Asian Americans, it is considered a stereotype because it is a generalization of the entire racial group. While the stereotype may seem to be positive, it creates high expectations for Asian Americans to live up to, which may ultimately set them up for failure if they are unable to fulfill these expectations.

Largely, typecasting race in accordance with product categories in advertisements portrays an inaccurate and stereotypical image of these racial groups, which can negatively influence public understanding of who these racial groups are and what they truly represent.

Occupational Role & Perceived Importance

A vast amount of research pertaining to racial stereotypes in advertising has analyzed the occupational status as well as the perceived importance of the models in advertisements. Occupational roles are analyzed by the type of occupation represented by each model. Perceived importance is usually broken down into major, minor, and background roles dependent upon how the model is featured within the advertisement. Typically, major roles consist of a model that is of great importance to the ad, minor roles consist of a model that is of average importance to the ad, and background roles consist of a model that is difficult to find and not important to the ad (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995). Results have proven the correlation between the race of the model and the model's occupational status and perceived importance.

When analyzing occupational status, African Americans and Asian Americans are the racial groups that are stereotyped most frequently. In mainstream advertising, African Americans are most often occupied as entertainers and sports figures (Bailey, 2006). According to a study conducted to determine the frequency of appearance of black models in magazine advertising, African Americans were three times more likely to be portrayed as sports figures than the Caucasian population (Zinkhan, Cox, & Hong, n.d.). Advertisements featuring Asian

Americans have demonstrated that they most often occupy the professional and corporate setting. Results of a content analysis of minorities in magazine ads showed that Asian Americans were overrepresented in the business setting, being portrayed in this setting in 81.2 percent of the advertisements they were featured in (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995).

According to perceived importance, Caucasian Americans occupy most of the major roles within the advertising spectrum and are featured as main characters in at least two-thirds of advertisements in which they are depicted (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). Advertisements featuring Asian Americans demonstrate that they most often take on major roles and are less likely to be shown in minor and/or background roles (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995). Contrastingly, African Americans and Hispanic Americans tend to be underrepresented in major roles and overrepresented in minor roles (Maher, Herbst, Childs, & Finn, 2008).

Relationship to Others in the Ad

Research on this phenomenon has often assessed the race of the advertising model and compared it to the relationship and interaction the model has with others in the advertisement. The standard relationship categories include: family context, social context, business context, and impersonal context.

In comparison to other racial groups, research has demonstrated that Caucasian Americans are shown in familial relationships most frequently. African Americans tend to be overrepresented in social relationships and underrepresented in business relationships in comparison with other minorities. Hispanic Americans are most often portrayed in business and social relationships (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995). Asian Americans are most dominant in business relationships and are portrayed in this type of relationship more than any other racial group (Taylor & Stern, 1997). However, Asians are least likely to be portrayed in familial relationships, appearing in this context on average less than seven percent of the time (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995; Taylor, Landreth, & Bang, 2005). According to these results, the portrayal of ad model's relationships and interaction with others differs greatly dependent upon race.

Sexuality

The depiction of sexuality in advertising is immense. Sexuality is in fact one the main strategies used to advertise and market products to consumers. Due to the "sex sells"

phenomenon, advertisers have come to rely on sexuality as a means of captivating consumers and enticing them to buy certain products, and consumers have come to feed into this. This notion is supported by a study that examined the mental effects of sexual and non-sexual advertising appeals. Results demonstrated that viewers favored sexually explicit advertising and regarded it as more entertaining than non-sexual ads. Purchase intention was also higher amongst viewers of sexual advertisements as opposed to non-sexual ads (Severn, Belch, & Belch, 1990).

The vast depiction of sexuality in advertising has led to much research on the matter. Many studies have specifically focused on the stereotypical aspects associated with the portrayal of sexuality in advertising. One of the most significant stereotypes when it comes to sexuality is gender-based. The sexuality of men and women has often been portrayed in an unequal manner. Research has shown that advertisements more often portray the sexuality of women as opposed to men (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000). In 2000, a content analysis was conducted which analyzed the portrayal of Caucasian and African American men and women according to a range of variables, one being sexual objectification. The results concluded that women were depicted as sex objects in much greater proportions than men. "White women were more than twice as likely as African American women, and over three times as likely as men, to be shown as sex objects" (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000).

Similarly, another study that explored the sexuality of women was a content analysis of print advertisements which coded for the extent to which female ad models were portrayed as sex objects and sex victims. It was found that approximately half of the advertisements in the sample, 51.8 percent, portrayed women as sex objects and about 10 percent of the ads depicted women as sex victims (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008). The results of these studies demonstrate how common it has become for advertising to portray the sexuality of women.

Societal Effects of Stereotypical Advertising

As one of the most dominant forms of media communication, the advertising industry has grown to have a significant societal presence. As previously stated, it is estimated that the average American is exposed to approximately 5,000 advertisements on a daily basis (Story, 2007). With such heavy exposure, advertising has the ability to substantially influence those who consume it. This notion is supported by the cultivation theory and the expectancy theory,

both of which have been used as the foundation upon which a great deal of research on stereotypes in advertising has been based.

The cultivation theory examines the long-term effects of media exposure on public audiences. The theory suggests that exposure to media over time begins to "cultivate" and shape viewers perception of reality ("Cultivation theory," 2010). The cultivation theory came out of results from a survey conducted by George Gerbner in 1968, which segmented television viewers into light (less than 2 hours per day), medium (2-4 hours per day), and heavy viewers (more than 4 hours per day). The results showed that heavy viewers of television held beliefs that strayed away from reality and correlated directly with the portrayals of television, which demonstrates the significant influence of the media on consumers (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1986).

The expectancy theory focuses on the influence and power that negative expectations have in the shaping of social reality (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995). This theory states that the negative perceptions and expectations created by stereotypical content in advertising affect society's perception of reality regarding the understanding of the stereotyped groups. This skewed social perception may contribute to many of the social problems that the American culture is currently facing, such as prejudice and inequality (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995).

Thus, both the cultivation theory and the expectancy theory support the notion that stereotypical advertising has the ability to affect and shape its viewers perception of reality. Repeated exposure to stereotypical content within the media has the potential to have significant lasting effects on consumers of this content. Constant contact with stereotypes may result in consumers accepting them as reality which can be harmful to how groups are perceived, how groups interact, and ultimately how society functions as a whole.

Prior research on this phenomenon has demonstrated the significant presence of stereotypical advertising. This research has not only helped promote the understanding of stereotypes in advertising, but has also laid the foundation for further research. Due to the amount of influence that advertising has within society, continuous exploration of this topic is necessary to understand how advertising is continuously changing and evolving. Therefore, this study seeks to further examine stereotypical portrayals of race and gender by exploring various characteristics of magazine advertising.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following are the characteristics of magazine advertisements that the study focused on and the correlating research questions:

Gender Representation

RQ1 – Is the representation of men and women in the sample proportionate to their gender groups in the U.S. population?

Racial Representation

RQ2 – Is the representation of Caucasian American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic American women in magazine advertisements proportionate to their actual racial groups in the U.S. population?

Magazine Type

RQ3 – Does the racial representation of ad models differ dependent upon magazine type?

Product Category

RQ4 – Does product category representation differ dependent upon magazine type?

RQ5 – In association with which product category are Caucasian American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic American women most commonly portrayed in magazine advertising?

Occupational Role

RQ6 – In which occupational role are Caucasian American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic American women most commonly portrayed in magazine advertising?

Perceived Importance of Ad Model

RQ7 – When Caucasian American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic American are featured in magazine advertisements, do they appear most frequently in major roles, minor roles, or background roles?

Interaction of Ad Models

RQ8 – In what type of interaction are Caucasian American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic American women most likely to be depicted in magazine advertising?

Relationship to Others in the Ad

RQ9 – In which types of relationships are Caucasian American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic American women most likely to be portrayed in magazine advertising?

Sexuality—Count of Sexual Cues & Sexual Objectification

RQ10 – When Caucasian American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic American women appear in magazine advertisements, what is the average number of sexual cues they elicit?

RQ11 – When Caucasian American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic American women appear in magazine advertisements, are they more commonly portrayed as sex objects or non-sex objects?

RQ12 – Does a relationship exist between count of sexual cues and sexual objectification?

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The method for this study was a content analysis of magazine advertisements. The content analysis included a total of six magazines—*Cosmopolitan, Glamour, Maxim, GQ, Essence,* and *Ebony*. The February 2011 issue of each publication was utilized. The magazines represented three general categories and featured two magazines per category—women's (*Cosmopolitan, Glamour*), men's (*Maxim, GQ*), and ethnic (*Essence, Ebony*) magazines. Each publication was chosen on the basis of content, category, target audience, and ranked amongst the top in circulation in their respective categories. These factors were taken into account when determining the selection to ensure that the magazines within each category were analogous as well as comparable to the other magazine categories. In order to obtain a fully representative sample and a comprehensive understanding of each magazine's advertising, the universe for the analysis was inclusive of all the advertisements from the six magazines. This research will provide information on various aspects of the sample that would otherwise be impossible to determine. In total, the sample yielded 283 advertisements.

The Coding Process

The first step in the coding process was to develop a codebook of detailed operational definitions of each variable under study. The codebook was also inclusive of general guidelines and rules for the coding process (see Appendix A for complete codebook). After developing the codebook, the code sheet was drafted, which is the document that is filled out for each unit of analysis in the study (see Appendix B for the code sheet).

In terms of the sample, all advertisements were assigned a number in numerical order and were coded for the following: magazine name, magazine type, product category, count of male and/or female models, and the presence of body parts (coded if only body parts of model were featured without the depiction of the model's face), cartoons/inanimate objects, and children in the advertisement. If the advertisement featured only men, body parts, cartoons/inanimate objects, children, or did not include people at all, these were the only variables the ad was coded for. However, advertisements that featured women were coded for the following additional variables: racial representation, occupational role, perceived importance of ad model, interaction, relationship to others in the ad, count of sexual cues, and sexual objectification. The

purpose of coding additional variables for women only correlates directly with the primary purpose of the study, which is to determine the ways in which advertisements stereotype women on the basis of race. For advertisements featuring women, the unit of analysis was the ad model meaning that each female model present in the ad was coded for all of the previously mentioned variables. After organizing the variables and the sample of advertisements, the next step was to establish inter-coder reliability.

Inter-coder Reliability

Inter-coder reliability is the amount of agreement amongst two or more individual coders (Neuendorf, 2002). To establish inter-coder reliability, an additional coder was trained on the variables and the coding process. Within the sample inter-coder reliability was calculated using Holsti's reliability formula, $R=x\ (c_{1,2})/(c_1+c_2)$. A random sample of 5 percent of the total sample of ads was included in the reliability measurement. Independently each coder coded the 5 percent sample and the results were compared. Reliability values for each variable were as follows: magazine (1.00), magazine type (1.00), product category (1.00), people in ad (1.00), number of women in ad (1.00), number of men in ad (1.00), presence of body parts (1.00), presence of cartoons/inanimate objects in ad (1.00), presence of children in ad (1.00), racial representation (1.00), occupational role (.89), perceived importance of model (.67) interaction (.78), relationship to others in the ad (.78), sexual cues (.78), sexuality (.78). The combined overall inter-coder reliability value was .947 or 94.7 percent. Although some of the reliability values for the individual variables are rather low, the overall inter-coder reliability value exceeded the acceptable standard for content analysis. After establishing sufficient inter-coder reliability, the entire sample of 283 advertisements was coded.

RESULTS

General

A total of 283 advertisements spanning six magazines were included in the sample. Each magazine's contribution to the total sample of advertisements was as follows: *Cosmopolitan*, 26.5 percent; *Glamour*, 20.5 percent; *Essence*, 23 percent; *Ebony*, 12.7 percent; *GQ*, 9.9 percent; and *Maxim*, 7.4 percent. See Table 1 for the complete breakdown of ads by magazine. In terms of magazine category, 47 percent of ads came from women's magazines, 36 percent from ethnic magazines, and 17 percent from men's magazines. See figure 1 for a total breakdown of ads by magazine category. Of the total advertisements, 201 ads (71 percent) included people, while the other 82 ads just featured product placement.

Table 1: Magazine Ad Frequency Table

Magazine	Number of Ads	%
Cosmopolitan	75	26.5
Glamour	58	20.5
Essence	65	23
Ebony	36	12.7
GQ	28	9.9
Maxim	21	7.4
TOTAL	283	100

Figure 1

Number of Ads by Magazine Category

Women's Magazines — 47.0%
Men's Magazines — 17.3%
Ethnic Magazines — 35.7%
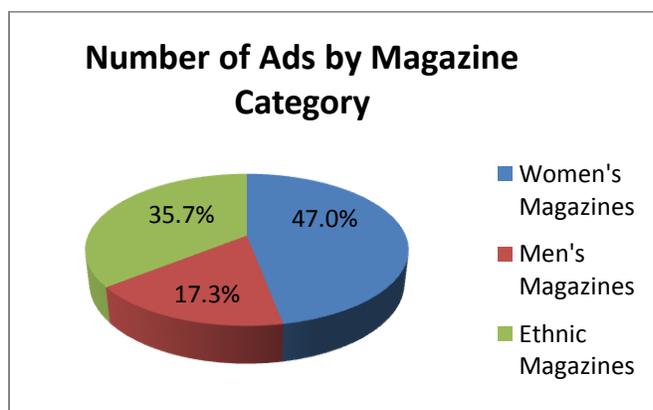
Body Parts, Cartoons/Inanimate Objects, and Children

The study coded for some very general characteristics to get a comprehensive understanding of the entire sample of advertisements and the elements that were incorporated into the advertisements. Each advertisement was coded for the following general categories— body parts, presence of cartoons/inanimate objects, and presence of children.

The body parts variable described advertisements that did not feature a complete person, only the body parts of a person. Ads were coded only under this variable if they featured only parts of a person's body without including their face. For example, to the right is an advertisement from the sample for Durex. The ad featured only the arms and legs of a man and woman, therefore it was coded under the body parts category. Within the sample, only 13 ads (4.6 percent) were coded as including body parts.

The number of advertisements that featured cartoons/inanimate objects within the sample was also relatively small. Only 8 advertisements (2.8 percent) within the sample included cartoons/inanimate objects. Similarly, only 14 advertisements (4.9 percent) included children, which was also very marginal.

Gender Representation

Within the sample, 201 advertisements (71 percent) included models and 82 advertisements (29 percent) did not feature models (refer to Figure 2). Of the advertisements that did include models, the gender that had the greatest representation in the sample was women. In total, the sample included 211 women (70.1 percent) spanning 154 advertisements. Although women were significantly represented, men were depicted much less frequently. The sample featured only 90 men (29.9 percent) spanning 56 advertisements. In response to RQ1 pertaining to gender representation, the gender breakdown in the U.S. as of 2009 is 50.7 percent female and 49.3 percent male (US Census Bureau, 2010), therefore in the sample women were greatly overrepresented and men were underrepresented in comparison to their population representation. See Figure 3 for a chart of gender representation within the sample.

The interaction between males and females within the sample was very rare. Most often, advertisements either featured men or women, not both. The number of ads that featured both

men and women was 28 (9.9 percent) out of the total 283 advertisements in the sample. Although male and female interaction was rather miniscule, half (50 percent) of the male representation in the sample featured them in ads with women. Contrastingly, this did not prove to be true with ads that featured women. Only 22.2 percent of women's representation included male interaction.
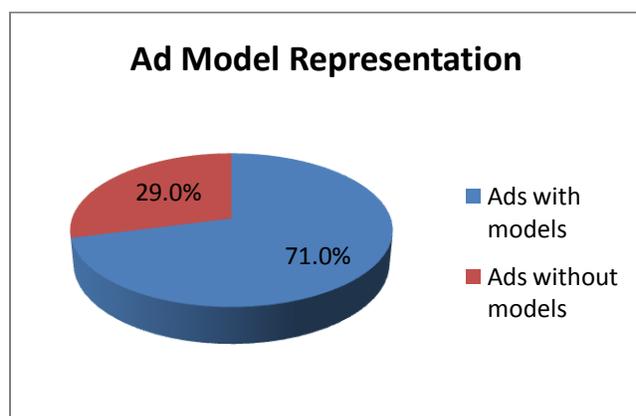
Figure 2

Figure 3

Ad Model Representation

29.0%

71.0%

■ Ads with models

■ Ads without models

Gender Representation of Ad Models

29.9%

70.1%

■ Male

■ Female
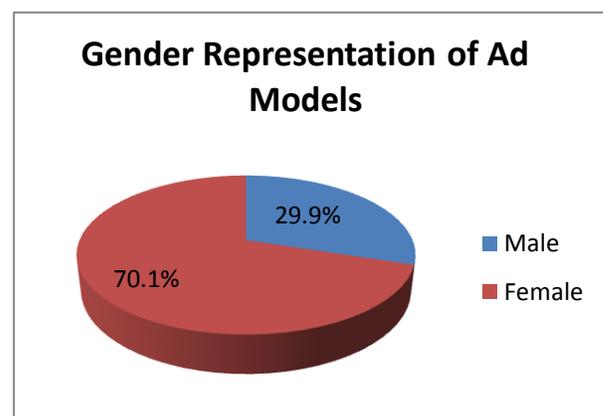
<u>Racial Representation</u>

The study coded for the following racial categories: Caucasian American, African American, Asian American, Hispanic American, and other for any models representing races other than the previously mentioned. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the racial demographics in America as of 2009 are as follows: 79.6 percent Caucasian American (65.1 percent non-Hispanic Caucasian American), 12.9 percent African American, and 4.6 percent Asian American. Hispanic Americans were listed separately and totaled 15.8 percent of the U.S. population, making them the largest minority group in America (US Census Bureau, 2010). Of the total 211 women coded for within the sample, 51.6 percent were Caucasian American, 38.9 percent were African American, 2.4 percent were Asian American, 4.3 percent were Hispanic American, and 2.8 percent represented other racial groups (see Figure 4). When examining the overall racial representation of the total sample, African Americans greatly exceeded their representation within the population while all other racial groups were underrepresented. In

response to RQ2, the proportionality criterion was not fulfilled and none of the racial groups in the sample were proportionate to their representation in the wider population.

Figure 4
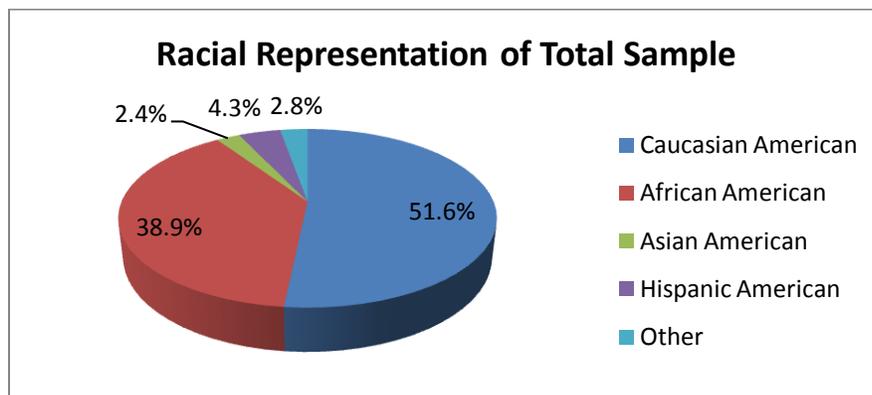
Research has shown the racial representation of advertising models to be dependent upon magazine type. The over- or underrepresentation of particular racial groups is often reflective of the type of magazine in which they are featured. Within the sample, racial representation and magazine type proved to have a statistically significant dependent relationship, $x^2(8, N = 211) = 124.40, p = .000$. Therefore, the total racial representation percentages of the sample were not proportionate to the population because they were a combination of the three different magazine categories. Once magazines were broken down by category, the racial representation percentages become more comparable to their actual population percentages.

Focusing solely on women's magazines, Caucasian women represented 77.1 percent of the category which is over representative in comparison to their 65.9 population percentage. African American and Hispanic American women were also underrepresented in the women's magazine category, being depicted in only 8.5 percent and 4.8 percent of the advertisements respectively. Asian American women were depicted in 4.7 percent of the ads making them the only racial group with accurate representation in women's magazine category. These results correlate with the results of various past studies of women's magazines which demonstrated the habitual overrepresentation of Caucasian Americans and under representation of minority groups. Although two of the racial categories were underrepresented in women's magazines, this magazine type was the most ethnically diverse in the sample because it included representation from all racial groups.

In terms of ethnic magazines, prior research has showed it to be common for minorities to be overrepresented, much like the overrepresentation of Caucasians in women's magazine advertisements. The results of this sample support past studies of ethnic magazines in that African Americans were drastically overrepresented in this magazine category, making up 83.5 percent of the ad models featured. All of the other racial groups were also inaccurately represented in comparison to their population percentages; Caucasians and Hispanic Americans were both underrepresented, and Asian American women weren't featured at all.

Men's magazine advertising featured very few women at all. In fact, between the two magazines in this category, only 20 female models total were featured. One of the reasons for the lack of women was the fact that the men's magazines had drastically fewer advertisements in general. Of the 20 women, 80 percent were Caucasian, African and Hispanic American women each represented 10 percent and Asian Americans were absent once again. Ethnic magazines and men's magazines lacked diversity, in that both categories featured no Asian American models in their advertisements. In response to RQ3, the results prove that the portrayal of women of diverse racial groups does differ greatly depending upon magazine type. See Figure 5 for a breakdown of racial representation by magazine type and Appendix C for an additional table of racial representation by magazine.

Figure 5
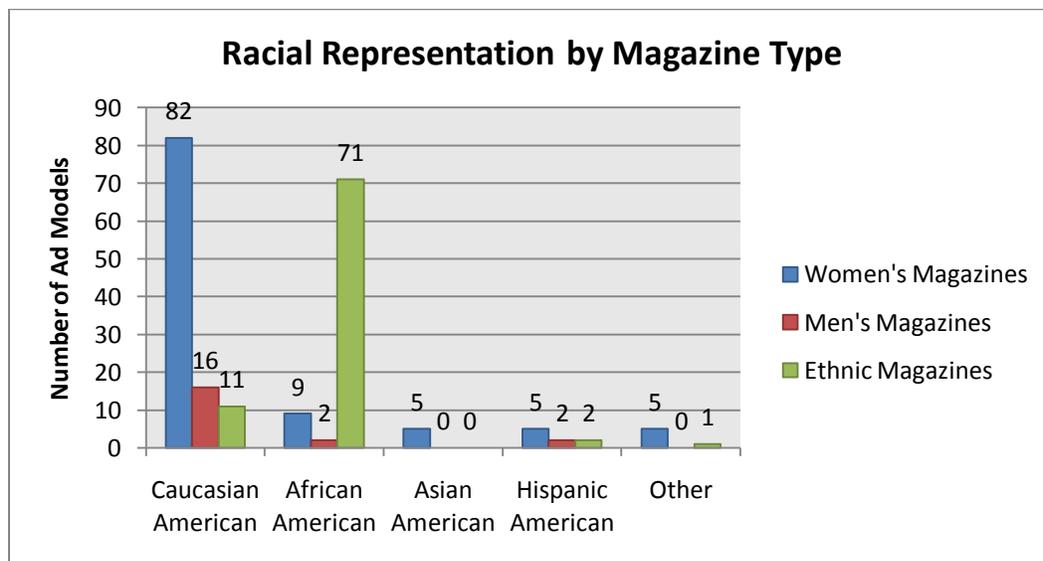
$X^2(8, N = 211) = 124.40, p = .000$

Product Category

      The study coded for 15 product categories including an other category for those ads that did not represent any of the predetermined categories. Overall, the product categories represented within the sample lacked diversity. Of the 283 advertisements, 45.6 percent were cosmetics/personal care ads, 9.9 percent were clothing/shoes/apparel/jewelry ads, and 8.8 percent represented the other category. The 25 advertisements in the other category consisted of the following types of ads: financial services, exercise/weight loss, army/air force/marines, cigarettes, travel/transportation, shopping/department store, and online dating. The remaining product categories had much less representation within the sample. See Table 2 for a complete product category breakdown of the entire sample.

      In response to RQ4, within the sample there proved to be a significant relationship between product category and magazine type, $x^2(28, N = 283) = 106.95$, $p = .000$, meaning that the product category representation in the sample was dependent upon the type of magazines that the study included. In terms of the cosmetics/personal care product category, 62 percent of these advertisements came from women's magazines. This finding was expected because women's magazines have long been known to feature an extensive amount of cosmetic advertisements due to the audience that they cater to. The other two magazine categories, ethnic and men's magazines, held 32.6 percent and 5.4 percent of cosmetic ads respectively.

Table 2: Product Category Frequency Table

Product Category	N	%
Soft drinks, candy, gum	14	4.9
Food (non-fast food)	7	2.5
Fast food	2	.7
Alcoholic beverages	6	2.1
Athletic shoes, wear, products	4	1.4
Clothing, shoes, apparel, jewelry	28	9.9
Household, domestic products	4	1.4
Automobile	14	4.9
Technology products	9	3.2
Cosmetics, personal care	129	45.6
Medicine, prescription drugs	9	3.2
Condoms, birth control, sex related products	11	3.9
Movies, theater, concert	16	5.7
Public service announcements	5	1.8
Other	25	8.8
TOTAL	283	100.0

Of the 211 female ad models that were coded for, 56.4 percent were featured in cosmetic ads, 10.4 percent were featured in movies/theater/concert ads, 6.6 percent were featured in clothing ads, and the remaining product categories had rather small representation. Contrastingly, in terms of male product category representation, men were most frequently shown in clothing advertisements. Of the 56 advertisements that included men, 19.6 percent were clothing/apparel ads; cosmetic/personal care ads and movies/theater ads each represented 17.9 percent.

The relationship between race and product category in the sample proved to be statistically significant, $x^2(52, N = 211) = 139.29, p = .000$. Thus in response to RQ5, out of the 15 product categories, the product category that each racial group had the greatest association with was in the cosmetics/personal care category; 57.8 percent of Caucasian women, 58.5 percent of African Americans, 60 percent of Asian Americans, and 44 percent of Hispanic Americans appeared in advertisements for cosmetics/personal care items. The racial representation within product categories goes against prior research which has shown African and Hispanic Americans to be mostly associated with fast food and clothing advertisements and Asian Americans to be associated with technological products. Much of the contrast in findings may be due to a lack of product category diversity within the sample, which is a result of the type of magazines included in the study.

In addition, Caucasian Americans were very present in the condoms/birth control/sex-related products category. There were a total of 11 models featured in this category, all of whom were Caucasian American. Also, 8.3 percent of Caucasian American's representation was in the clothing/shoes/apparel/jewelry category. African Americans were dominant in the movies/theater/concert category, representing 59.1 percent of this product category. Hispanic Americans made up 40 percent of the alcoholic beverage category. See Table 3 for a complete breakdown of product category by race.

Table 3: Breakdown of Product Category by Race

Product Category	Caucasian American	African American	Asian American	Hispanic American	Other	TOTAL
Soft drinks, candy, gum	1	0	1	0	3	5
Food (non-fast food)	0	1	0	0	0	1
Fast food	1	0	0	0	0	1
Alcoholic beverages	2	1	0	2	0	5
Athletic shoes, wear, products	4	0	0	0	0	4
Clothing, shoes, apparel, jewelry	9	2	1	1	1	14
Household, domestic products	0	3	0	0	0	3
Technology products	4	0	0	0	0	4
Cosmetics, personal care	63	48	3	4	1	119
Medicine, prescription drugs	6	2	0	0	0	8
Condoms, birth control, sex related products	11	0	0	0	0	11
Movies, theater, concert	7	13	0	1	1	22
Public service announcements	0	4	0	1	0	5
Other	1	8	0	0	0	9
TOTAL	109	82	5	9	6	211

$X^2(52, N = 211) = 139.29, p = .000$

Occupational Role

The sample included four types of occupations—blue collar, managerial/professional, athlete, and entertainer. There was also a non-occupational category for models who did not take on an occupational role. The vast majority of the ad models (65.4 percent) were depicted as non-occupational. Of the occupational roles, blue collar workers were barely depicted; only one model out of the entire sample featured as such. The remaining occupational roles were fulfilled as follows: 12 models (5.7 percent) fit the managerial/professional role, 12 models (5.7 percent) were athletes, and 48 models (22.7 percent) were entertainers. See Figure 6.

Figure 6
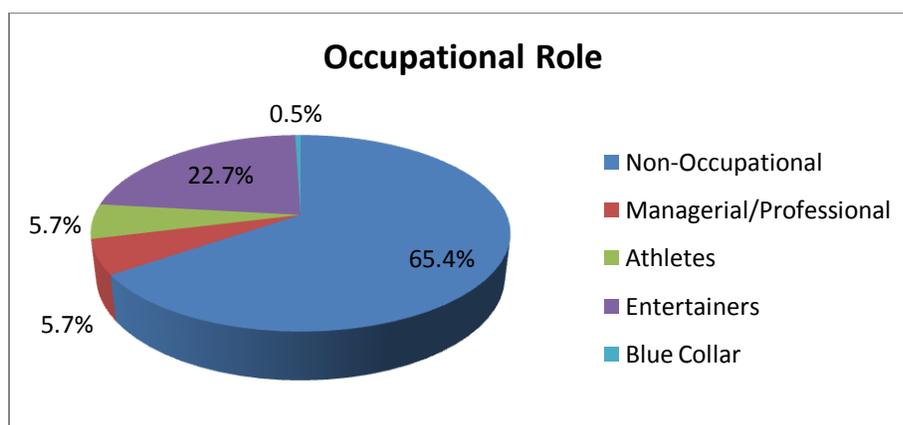
To respond to RQ6, race and occupational role did not prove to have a statistically significant relationship in the sample, $x^2(16, N = 211) = 8.48, p = .933$. Nevertheless, of the models that were depicted in occupational roles, each racial group was most commonly depicted as entertainers. The entertainer occupation made up 19.2 percent of Caucasian representation, 26.8 percent of African American representation, 20 percent of Asian American representation, and 33.3 percent of Hispanic American representation.

Of the ad models that were depicted as athletes, 58.3 percent were Caucasian while the remaining 41.7 percent were African Americans. In comparison to their representation in the overall sample, Caucasian Americans were overrepresented as athletes, African Americans were greatly overrepresented in the managerial/professional and entertainer category and Hispanic Americans were overrepresented as entertainers. See Table 4 for complete breakdown of occupational roles by race within the sample.

Table 4: Breakdown of Occupational Role by Race

Occupational Role	Caucasian Americans	African Americans	Asian Americans	Hispanic Americans	Other	TOTAL
Blue Collar						
No. of Models	1	0	0	0	0	1
(Horiz. %)	(100)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(0.9)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0.5)
Managerial/ Professional						
No. of Models	4	7	0	1	0	12
(Horiz. %)	(33.3)	(58.3)	(0)	(8.3)	(0)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(3.7)	(8.5)	(0)	(11.1)	(0)	(5.7)
Athlete						
No. of Models	7	5	0	0	0	12
(Horiz. %)	(58.3)	(41.7)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(6.4)	(6.1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(5.7)
Entertainer						
No. of Models	21	22	1	3	1	48
(Horiz. %)	(43.7)	(45.8)	(2.1)	(6.3)	(2.1)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(19.3)	(26.8)	(20)	(33.3)	(16.7)	(22.7)
Non-occupational						
No. of Models	76	48	4	5	5	138
(Horiz. %)	(55.1)	(34.8)	(2.9)	(3.6)	(3.6)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(69.7)	(58.5)	(80)	(55.6)	(83.3)	(65.4)
TOTAL	109	82	5	9	6	211

$X^2(16, N = 211) = 8.48, p = .933$

Perceived Importance of Ad Models

Perceived importance was defined by three categories—major role, minor role, and background role. Of the three categories, major roles had the greatest representation by ad models. The main reason for this is that many of the models were featured alone (48.3 percent) and consequently took on the major role within the advertisement. Of the 211 female ad models, 61.6 percent took on major roles within the advertisement, 31.3 percent fulfilled minor roles, and 7.1 percent had background roles. See Figure 7.

Figure 7
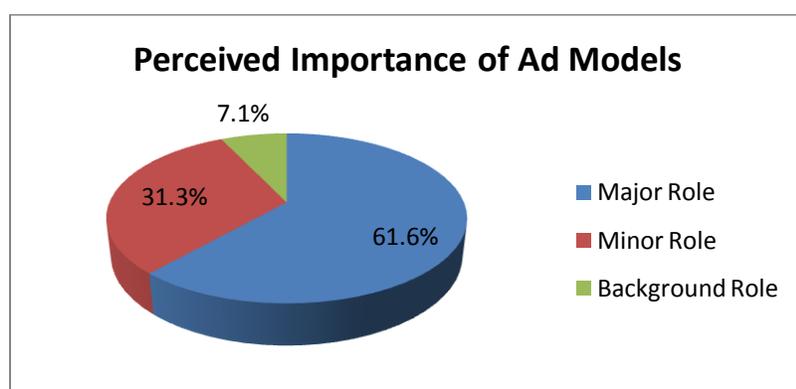
Within the sample, perceived importance of ad model proved to have a statistically significant relationship with race, $x^2(8, N = 211) = 18.24, p = .020$. To answer RQ7, each racial group appeared most frequently in major roles except Asian Americans who appeared most frequently in minor roles. Within the sample, Caucasian Americans occupied major roles in 56 percent of the advertisements they appeared in, African Americans played a major role in 70.1 percent of the ads they were featured in, and Hispanic Americans took on a major role in 55.6 percent of the ads in which they appeared. Asian Americans occupied major roles with much less frequency, only appearing in a major role once, which accounted for only 20 percent of their total representation. Rather, Asian Americans had the greatest frequency in minor roles, being portrayed in this role in the remaining 80 percent of the magazine ads they were featured in.

African Americans appeared in background roles more frequently than any other racial group, making up 60 percent of the total background roles of the entire sample. In terms of minor roles, this category was mainly represented by Caucasian women (65.2 percent). For complete perceived importance figures, see Table 5.

Table 5: Breakdown of Perceived Importance of Ad Model by Race

Perceived Importance	Caucasian Americans	African Americans	Asian Americans	Hispanic Americans	Other	TOTAL
Background Role						
No. of Models	5	9	0	1	0	15
(Horiz. %)	(33.3)	(60)	(0)	(6.7)	(0)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(4.6)	(11)	(0)	(11.1)	(0)	(7.1)
Minor Role						
No. of Models	43	15	4	3	1	66
(Horiz. %)	(65.2)	(22.7)	(6.1)	(4.5)	(1.5)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(39.4)	(18.3)	(80)	(33.3)	(16.7)	(31.3)
Major Role						
No. of Models	61	58	1	5	5	130
(Horiz. %)	(46)	(44.6)	(0.8)	(3.85)	(3.85)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(56)	(70.7)	(20)	(55.6)	(88.3)	(61.6)
TOTAL	109	82	5	9	6	211

$X^2(8, N = 211) = 18.24, p = .020$

Interaction of Ad Models

The interaction variable measured the extent to which racial groups interacted with one another. The sample coded for four categories of interaction—single race group, mixed race group, other/none obvious, and alone. When comparing the interaction variable to the race of the ad models, statistical significance was not found, $X^2(12, N = 211) = 19.42, p = .079$. In response to RQ8, interaction and race did not prove to have a relationship within the sample.

The alone category was the most frequently occupied category of interaction because 48.3 percent of the total sample of ad models were featured in advertisements alone. Of the models that were not featured alone, Caucasian American models were depicted most frequently as a part of a single race group (24.8 percent), meaning that they were most often shown in ads with other Caucasians. In fact, the single race group was dominated by Caucasian Americans which made of 69.2 percent of the category.

African American most frequently fulfilled the other/none obvious interaction category (22 percent). This category was occupied mostly by advertisements that featured more than one model but the models did not interact with one another. For example, many of the beauty advertisements had a main model but also included a picture of another model on a product

package. Although ads such as these depicted more than one model, because there was no interaction between the models the interaction was coded as other/none obvious.

Asian and Hispanic Americans were most often depicted as a part of a mixed race group, meaning that when these racial groups were featured in ads they most frequently interacted with other races. Neither Asian nor Hispanic Americans were depicted in any ads as a part of a single race group. Refer to Table 6.

Table 6: Breakdown of Interaction by Race

Interaction	Caucasian Americans	African Americans	Asian Americans	Hispanic Americans	Other	TOTAL
Single Race Group						
No. of Models	27	12	0	0	0	39
(Horiz. %)	(69.2)	(30.8)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(24.8)	(14.6)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(18.5)
Mixed Race Group						
No. of Models	13	10	2	4	1	30
(Horiz. %)	(43.3)	(33.3)	(6.7)	(13.3)	(3.3)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(11.9)	(12.2)	(40)	(44.4)	(16.7)	(14.2)
Other						
No. of Models	17	18	1	3	1	40
(Horiz. %)	(42.5)	(45)	(2.5)	(7.5)	(2.5)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(15.6)	(22)	(20)	(33.3)	16.7	(19)
Alone						
No. of Models	52	42	2	2	4	102
(Horiz. %)	(51)	(41.1)	(2)	(2)	(3.9)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(47.7)	(51.2)	(40)	(22.2)	(66.7)	(48.3)
TOTAL	109	82	5	9	6	211

$X^2(12, N = 211) = 19.42, p = .079$

Relationship to Others in the Ad

The relationship variable focused on the type of relationship that was portrayed between models within the advertisements. The relationship categories were as follows: family context, social context, business context, romantic context, impersonal context, and alone. Family and relationship context were the least frequently occupied categories, each having only 8 models. Besides the models that were alone in the advertisements, the impersonal context was the type of relationship fulfilled most by the ad models. Impersonal context was defined as more than one model appearing in the ad but no relationship was apparent between the models.

When comparing this variable to race, statistical significance was not found, $x^2(20, N = 211) = 20.55$, $p = .424$. The lack of a statistically significant relationship between relationship and race within the sample contributes to the contradiction of these findings with the results of previous research. However to describe the sample and answer RQ9, of the models that were not featured alone, Caucasian and African Americans were portrayed in impersonal relationships most frequently, 26.6 percent and 17.1 percent respectively. Asian Americans most often depicted in a social context (40 percent). Lastly, the relationship category Hispanic Americans were most frequently portrayed in was split equally between social and impersonal context (33.3 percent).

Table 7: Breakdown of Relationship to Others by Race

Relationship	Caucasian Americans	African Americans	Asian Americans	Hispanic Americans	Other	TOTAL
Family						
No. of Models	4	4	0	0	0	8
(Horiz. %)	(50)	(50)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(3.7)	(13.4)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(3.8)
Social						
No. of Models	11	11	2	3	0	27
(Horiz. %)	(40.7)	(40.7)	(7.4)	(11.1)	(0)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(10.1)	(8.5)	(40)	(33.3)	(0)	(12.8)
Business						
No. of Models	6	10	0	1	0	17
(Horiz. %)	(35.3)	(58.8)	(0)	(5.9)	(0)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(5.5)	(12.2)	(0)	(11.1)	(0)	(8.1)
Romantic						
No. of Models	7	1	0	0	0	8
(Horiz. %)	(87.5)	(12.5)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(6.4)	(1.2)	(0)	0	(0)	(3.8)
Impersonal						
No. of Models	29	14	1	3	2	49
(Horiz. %)	(59.2)	(28.6)	(2)	(6.1)	(4.1)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(26.6)	(17.1)	(20)	(33.3)	(33.3)	(23.2)
Alone						
No. of Models	52	42	2	2	4	102
(Horiz. %)	(51)	(41.1)	(2)	(2)	(3.9)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(47.7)	(51.2)	(40)	(22.2)	(66.7)	(48.3)
TOTAL	109	82	5	9	6	211

$x^2(20, N = 211) = 20.55$, $p = .424$

In terms of the relationship categories, the family and social relationship categories were equally dominated by Caucasian and African American women who each represented 50 percent

of the category. Business relationships were dominated by African American models, being featured in 58.8 percent of the ads in that category. Finally, the romantic relationship category mostly consisted of Caucasian Americans (87.5 percent). See Table 7 for a complete breakdown of the relationship variable in accordance with race.

Sexuality— Count of Sexual Cues & Sexual Objectification

The count of sexual cues variable was a measure of the number of sexually suggestive characteristics portrayed by each female ad model. There were a total of seven categories of sexual cues that each female model was analyzed on—facial expression, posture, activity, clothing, make-up, camera angle, and headline. The categories were counted as sexual cues if they were portrayed in a sexually suggestive or explicit manner by the ad model.   See Appendix A for a complete explanation of each sexual cue. The total number of the sexual cues depicted by each model was counted and totaled.

The results were as follows: 61.6 percent of models within the sample did not possess any of the previously mentioned sexual cues, while the remaining 48.4 percent portrayed at least one sexual cue. None of the models met all seven cues. See Table 8 for a breakdown of the frequency of sexual cues in the sample.

Table 8: Count of Sexual Cues Frequency Table

Count of Sexual Cues	No. of Models	%
0	130	61.6
1	36	17.1
2	19	9
3	13	6.2
4	4	1.9
5	8	3.8
6	1	0.5
7	0	0
TOTAL	211	100

To respond to RQ10, a one-way ANOVA was performed which determined that a statistically significant relationship existed between race and count of sexual cues within the sample, $F(4, 206) = 2.79$, $p = .028$. Thus, there were differences in the average number of sexual cues possessed by each racial group. On average, Caucasian Americans portrayed 1.1

sexual cues, making them the racial group with the highest average of number sexual cues. African and Hispanic Americans followed with an average of 0.59 and 0.44 sexual cues respectively. Asian Americans did not portray any sexual cues within the sample. The differences between the average numbers of sexual cues within each racial group were partially due to the differences in the maximum number of sexual cues possessed by each racial group. Caucasian Americans were depicted with a maximum of six sexual cues, African Americans had a maximum of five, and Hispanic Americans had a maximum of two sexual cues. This demonstrates that on average within the sample Caucasian Americans were portrayed with more sexually suggestive characteristics than the other racial groups.

In terms of sexual objectification, each ad model in the sample was coded as either a sex object or non-sex object depending upon how they were portrayed within the advertisement and perceived by the viewer. Women were defined as sex objects if their sexuality was being used to sell a product and her major function within the advertisement was being looked at. Although this variable was defined by certain criteria (see Appendix A), the category was relatively subjective and for the most part was left up to the overall impression of the coder. If a woman did not meet the criteria for sex object, she was coded as non-sex object. The following are examples of advertisements in the sample featuring models that were coded as sex objects:


Within the sample, the relationship between sexual objectification and race proved to be statistically significant, $x^2(4, N = 211) = 9.94$, $p = .042$. To describe the sample, 41 models (19.4 percent) were categorized as sex object and 170 models (80.6 percent) were categorized as non-

sex objects. In response to RQ11, all of racial groups were most frequently portrayed as non-sex objects. However of the models that were portrayed as sex objects, 73.2 percent were Caucasian Americans, 22 percent were African Americans, 2.4 percent were Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans were not portrayed as sex objects at all. See Figure 8 for a breakdown of sexual objectification by race, and Appendix C for an additional table of sexual objectification.

To answer RQ12 and determine if a difference existed between ad models that were coded as sex objects/non-sex objects in terms of the count of sexual cues possessed by each, an independent t-test was performed. The results proved to be significant, $t(209) = -21.17$, $p < .000$, meaning that there was a distinct difference between the number of sexual cues that a sex object possessed in comparison to a non-sex object. The average number of sexual cues portrayed by a sex object was 3.10, whereas the average number of sexual cues that a non-sex object possessed was 0.28. Thus on average, ad models that were coded as sex objects possessed more sexually suggestive characteristics than non-sex objects.

Figure 8

Sexual Objectification by Race
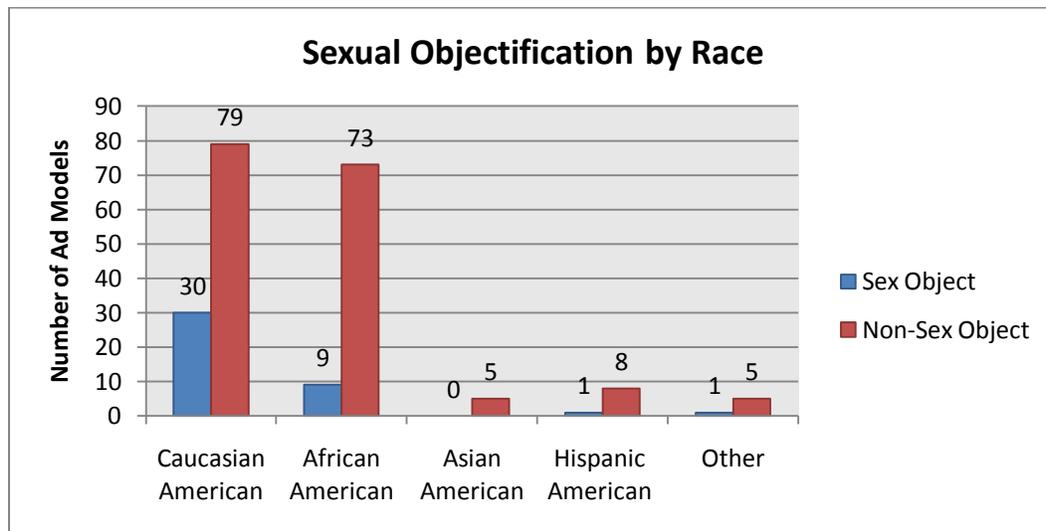
$X^2(4, N = 211) = 9.94$, $p = .042$

DISCUSSION

Due to the fact that stereotypes have long been a part of advertising, this study explored the extent to which magazine advertising portrays stereotypical content. Overall, the results proved that the magazine advertisements within the sample possessed stereotypical content in terms of both race and gender. The results of the study both supported as well as contrasted some of the well-known findings of previous research on the subject.

Summary of Results

In terms of gender, males were the minority and were drastically underrepresented in comparison to their female counterparts in the sample of advertisements. Since the purpose of advertising is to market products and services to consumers, the great overrepresentation of women may be hinting at the fact that female consumers are valued more within this medium than are male consumers.

Supportive Findings

The study explored various aspects of the advertisements and proved the presence of racially based stereotypes. The following variables had dependent relationships with race: magazine type, product category, perceived importance of ad models, and sexual objectification. When comparing racial representation and magazine type, the results of this study showed mainstream magazines (i.e. women's and men's magazines) to be over representative of Caucasian Americans, which correlates directly with the findings of past studies. The problem with the habitual overrepresentation of Caucasian Americans is that it results in the underrepresentation of minorities.

Due to the fact that advertising is often reflective of the culture in which it represents, this depiction of race in mainstream advertising could be symbolic of the values of American society. America has long been known as a nation which harbors a great deal of inequality on the basis of race. Historically, more privilege and value has been placed on Caucasian Americans as the majority in America, while minorities have faced great deals of discrimination and unequal treatment. Racism against minorities has been reflected in the nation's economy, education, employment, housing, politics, and various other spectrums. Although great strides have been

made over the years, the stereotypical and under representative portrayal of minorities in mainstream advertising is proof that minorities are still struggling to bridge the gap of inequality.

The continuous underrepresentation of minorities within mainstream advertising is contrasted by the overrepresentation of minority groups in ethnic media advertising. This is supported within this sample. Results showed the sample of ethnic magazines to be extremely over representative of African Americans and under representative of all other racial groups. Ethnic media and advertising has been known to be over representative of a particular racial minority in accordance with the audience the media is targeting. The overrepresentation of African Americans in the sample of ethnic magazines was rather expected because *Ebony* and *Essence* are magazines which both target the African American community.

In terms of the history of ethnic media, one can only speculate that ethnic media originated as a means of counteracting the inadequate portrayal of minorities in mainstream media. According to a study of ethnic media within the American culture, it was stated "throughout the history of ethnic media one can see patterns of growing dissatisfaction with mainstream media" (Deuze, 2006). The exclusion of minorities from mainstream media may have contributed to their distaste of this type of media. Thus, it is possible that minorities utilize ethnic media as a means of counteracting their underrepresentation in mainstream because it affords them the opportunity to have a greater media presence.

Contrasting Findings

Although racial representation of the sample correlated with past research, a great portion of the results from this study did not directly support the results of previous research. Contrasting previous research was the racial representation within product categories. Previous research concluded that Caucasian Americans were portrayed most often in advertisements for cosmetics and products high in value, African and Hispanic Americans most often represented low cost and low nutrition items, and Asian Americans were depicted most often in ads for technological products. However, due to the fact that cosmetics/personal care advertisements dominated the sample, each racial group was portrayed within this product category the majority of the time.

The perceived importance variable also did not reflect the findings of past research. Results showed Caucasian and Asian Americans to be portrayed most often in major roles and

African and Hispanic Americans to be overrepresented in minor roles and underrepresented in major roles. Rather, this study found all racial groups except Asian Americans to be depicted most often in major roles within the advertisements in the sample. Asian Americans were portrayed most frequently in minor roles.

Previous research exploring sexual objectification in advertisements concluded that half of the women in the sample were portrayed as sex objects. This study went against the results of previous research in that approximately only 20 percent of the women featured in the sample were portrayed as sex objects. This contrast in results is most likely due to the fact that coding for sexual objectification is extremely subjective and for the most part is left up to the overall impression of the coder, thus the interpretation of sexual objectification within this study may not have been the same as within past studies. Largely, much of the contrasting results between this study and various prior studies are due to the various limitations the study presented.

Limitations of the Study

The study was limited in terms of the number of magazines included within the study and subsequently the sample size of advertisements. The study included only two magazines per category and focused on one issue of each magazine. Including a greater amount of magazines per category and multiple issues of each magazine could have greatly improved the study. Expanding the sample would have provided more accurate results which would have been more representative of magazine advertising as a whole. Due to the limitations of the sample, the results of this study are not representative of the entire scope of magazine advertising and should not be translated as such.

Furthermore, the ethnic magazine category could have included more diversity in terms of the intended target. Both ethnic magazines in the sample were magazines which targeted African Americans; hence the majority of the models featured within these magazines were African American. By expanding the study to include a more diverse sample of ethnic magazines, the sample could have had greater representation of the other minority groups.

The study was also limited in terms of the number of coders. Due to a lack of accessibility of additional coders, the entire coding process was conducted by one individual. This lack of coders increased the chance of coding bias within the study, which had the ability to

affect the results. The inclusion of multiple coders in the study would have lessened the chance of bias as well as improved the accuracy of the study's results.

Areas for Future Research

       This research can be used to inform a more extensive future study of racial and gender stereotypes in advertising. This study could be extended by expanding the focus to include a more in-depth analysis of male stereotypical content within magazine advertising. The focus on males was rather marginal because the majority of the focus was directed towards the analysis of stereotypes of women in magazines. Nevertheless, a more extensive analysis of male stereotypes could be extremely beneficial and informative.

       This study can also be foundation for future studies to expand upon because this study included the analysis of a broader spectrum of general characteristics of magazine advertising. Most studies of stereotypical advertising selectively limit the sample to advertisements that meet a certain criteria (i.e. ads only featuring women). By expanding the study to include all of the advertisements from each magazine in the sample, the study was able to analyze various characteristics of the magazine's advertising that would otherwise have been impossible to determine. Therefore, this study was able to obtain a more complete understanding of each magazine's advertising in its entirety.

Conclusion

       As evidenced in this research as well as a host of past research, stereotypes in advertising are extremely prominent. The fact is that a great deal of advertising portrays race and gender in a manner that is inaccurate and skewed from reality. This stereotypical portrayal can be detrimental in a variety of ways. First, due to the fact that the public is becoming increasingly aware of these stereotypical aspects of the media, the inaccurate portrayal of race and gender can be damaging when considering the relationship between the media and the public.

       In support of the cultivation theory which suggests that exposure to media over time begins to shape viewers perception of reality, this type of stereotypical content in advertising has the potential to have a lasting negative impact (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1986). From a societal standpoint, if the public is constantly exposed to these portrayals of race and gender, they may come to regard these stereotypes as truth. The acceptance of stereotypes as

truth can be extremely harmful not only to the perception of particular groups of people, but also to the interaction of groups as well as the entire functioning of society.

In order to create change, the advertising industry must recognize the error of its ways, realize the amount of power and influence that it has in our culture, and take the initiative to put an end to the dissemination of stereotypical content. Then and only then, will it be possible to begin to dispel the stereotypes that are so engrained in the minds of the public.

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APPENDIX A

<u>**Codebook**</u>

Magazines
A total of six magazines will be examined, two women's magazines (Cosmopolitan, Glamour) two men's magazines (Maxim, GQ), and two ethnic magazines (Ebony, Essence). These magazines were chosen based on their circulation, target audience, and content. The purpose of including women's, men's, and ethnic magazines is to compare and contrast the way that women are portrayed in advertisements dependent upon magazine type.

Basic Instructions
1. Code only *full* page advertisements – *do not code editorials, fashion photographs, etc.*
2. Complete Part A of the code sheet for every advertisement
3. Complete Part B of the code sheet if there are people in the advertisement
4. Complete Part C of the code sheet if there are women in the advertisement – *not including body parts, cartoons/inanimate objects, or children*
   - If an advertisement features more than one woman, fill out a separate code sheet for each woman in the advertisement
   - If a single advertisement features more than one image of the same woman, code the woman only once

Definition of Variables
<u>Racial Representation</u> (Taylor & Stern, 1997; Sengupta, 2006)
1. Caucasian American – this racial group includes all models of European descent
2. African American – this racial group includes all models of African descent
3. Asian American – this racial group includes all models of Asian descent
4. Hispanic American – this racial group includes all models of Hispanic descent
5. Other – representing none of the previous racial categories

<u>Product Category</u> (Henderson & Baldasty, 2003)
1. Soft drinks, candy, gum
2. Non-fast food
3. Fast food
4. Alcoholic beverages
5. Athletic shoes, wear, products
6. Clothing, shoes, apparel, jewelry
7. Household and domestic products (cleaners, sponges, soap)
8. Automobile
9. Technology products
10. Cosmetics, personal care
11. Medicine, prescription drugs
12. Condoms, birth control, sex-related products
13. Movies, theater, CDs, concerts
14. Public service announcements, non-profit organization
15. Other (financial services, toys, etc.)

Occupational Role (Bailey, 2006)
1. Blue-collar – model depicted as laborer, waiter, maintenance employee, person engaged in non-skilled task
2. Managerial/professional – model depicted in performance of skilled tasks, such as supervisor, engineer, sales professional, physician, manager, and so on
3. Athlete – model depicted as sports personality (professional or amateur)
4. Entertainer – model depicted as rapper, comedian, singer, actor/actress, television personality
5. Non-occupational – model not depicted in work or business context, or in any of the roles above

Perceived Importance of Ad Models (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995)
1. Background role – a model who is difficult to find in an ad (i.e., not likely to be noticed by a reader glancing at the ad) and is not important to its theme or layout
2. Minor role – a model that is of average importance to the advertising theme or layout. Generally, such characters are not spotlighted in the ad and do not hold the product, but are not difficult to find in the ad while casually looking at it
3. Major role – a model who is very important to the advertising theme or layout, shown in the foreground or shown holding the product

Interaction (the extent to which the model is depicted by herself or as part of a group of people— Bailey, 2006)
1. Alone – single model in ad
2. Single race couple – female is depicted in an ad with only one male of the same race
3. Mixed race couple – female is depicted in an ad with only one male of a different race
4. Female group/single race – group of females representing a single racial group (i.e., only African American women depicted in the ad)
5. Female group/mixed race – group of females representing more than one race
6. Male & female group/single race – three or more male and female models are present, but only one race depicted in the ad
7. Male & female group/mixed race – three or more male and female models are present, and more than one race of models are also depicted in the ad
8. Other

Relationship to Others in the Ad (Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1997)
1. Family context – includes husband and wife and any relationship between relatives, including children as well as extended family such as aunts/uncles, grandparents, grandchildren, adopted children, foster children
2. Social context – includes friends or any other two people depicted in a social setting, with the exception of family members depicted in a social context
3. Business context – the depiction of members of or workers who are employed by the same company also colleagues in the same profession or occupation even though they may be employed by different companies; any relationship between employees or professionals who work together

4. Impersonal context – more than one character appears in the ad, but there is no apparent relationship between the characters
5. Relationship context – the depiction of a romantic couple that may not fit the criteria for a family context
6. Other relationship – any relationship other than those listed above
7. Nobody else in ad – only one model appears in the advertisement

Count of Sexual Cues (Reichert & Carpenter, 2004)
The total number of sexual cues that are portrayed by the model in the advertisement should be counted (0-7). The sexual cues are as follows:
- Facial expression (e.g. a woman's looks suggests sexual desire)
- Posture – model's posture has sexual connotations (e.g. a woman is positioned with her legs spread open)
- Activity – model's behavior depicts or suggests intimate or sexual activity (e.g. a woman is caressing another person in a sexually suggestive manner)
- Clothing – a model is wearing clothing that is sexually suggestive (e.g. unbuttoned blouse, very short-shorts, swim suit, underwear, towel, or nude)
- Seductive make-up (e.g. a woman with bright red lipstick)
- Camera angle – the camera angle is positioned to emphasize a woman's body parts in a sexual manner (e.g. breasts, hips, buttock, lower abdomen, or inner thighs)
- Headline – verbal sexual reference or sexual connotation portrayed through language in headline

Sexual Objectification (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008; Coltrane & Messineo, 2000)
1. Sex object – a woman is defined as a sex object if her sexuality is being used to sell a product or if she is portrayed in such a way as to suggest that her major function in the advertisement is to be looked at. Whether or not a woman is coded as "sex object" is subjective and is left up to the impression of the coder assisted by the list of criteria. For example, it is possible that a woman wearing bright red lipstick might not be coded as a sex object, whereas a fully-dressed woman with a sexually suggestive posture might be defined as sex object. Also it is possible for a woman to meet some of the sexual cues criteria, but not be considered a sex object. For example, a woman wearing a swim suit playing on the beach may meet criteria for the sexual cue for clothing, but she may not give off the impression of a sex object. Therefore, the coder should use their discretion and code based on overall impression of the model in the advertisement.
2. Non-sex object – a woman is coded as "non-sex object" if her sexuality is not being used to sell a product and is not portrayed in such a way as to suggest that her major function in the advertisement is to be looked at.

APPENDIX B

Code Sheet

PART A

Ad # _____

Magazine _____
1. Cosmopolitan
2. Glamour
3. Essence
4. Ebony
5. Maxim
6. GQ

Magazine Type _____
1. Women's
2. Men's
3. Ethnic

Product Category _____
1. Soft drinks, candy, gum
2. Food (non-fast food)
3. Fast food
4. Alcoholic beverages
5. Athletic shoes, wear, products
6. Clothing, shoes, apparel
7. Household and domestic products
8. Automobile
9. Technology products
10. Cosmetics, personal care
11. Medicine, prescription drugs, birth control
12. Condoms, sex-related products
13. Movies, theater
14. Public service announcements
15. Other _____

People in Ad? _____
1. Yes
2. No

PART B – People (coding is complete if there are no people in the ad)

of Women _____

# of Men _____

*Do not include body parts, cartoons/inanimate objects, or children in the count of women and/or men

Body Parts _____
1. Yes
2. No

Cartoons/Inanimate Objects _____
1. Yes
2. No

Children _____
1. Yes
2. No

PART C – Women (coding is complete if there are no women in the ad; if there is more than one woman, fill out a code sheet for each woman)

Racial Representation _____
1. Caucasian American
2. African American
3. Asian American
4. Hispanic American
5. Other

Occupational Role _____
1. Blue-collar
2. Managerial/prof
3. Athlete
4. Entertainer
5. Non-occupational

Perceived Importance _____
1. Background role
2. Minor role
3. Major role

Interaction _____
1. Alone
2. Single race couple
3. Mixed race couple
4. Female group/single race
5. Female group/mixed race
6. Male & female group/single race
7. Male & female group/mixed race
8. None obvious

Relationship to Others _____
1. Family context
2. Social context
3. Business context
4. Impersonal context
5. Relationship context
6. Other relationship
7. Nobody else in ad

Sexual Cues _____
- Facial expression
- Posture
- Activity
- Clothing
- Seductive make-up
- Camera angle
- Headline

*Count the total number of sexual cues (0-7) from the list above that is portrayed by the model in the advertisement

Sexual Objectification _____
1. Sex object
2. Non-sex object

APPENDIX C

Additional Tables

Table 9: Breakdown of Racial Representation of Women by Magazine Type

Magazine Type	Caucasian Americans	African Americans	Asian Americans	Hispanic Americans	Other	TOTAL
Women's						
No. of Models	82	9	5	5	5	106
(Horiz. %)	(77.4)	(8.5)	(4.7)	(4.7)	(4.7)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(75.2)	(11)	(100)	(55.6)	(83.3)	(50.2)
Men's						
No. of Models	16	2	0	2	0	20
(Horiz. %)	(80)	(10)	(0)	(10)	(0)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(14.7)	(2.4)	(0)	(22.2)	(0)	(9.5)
Ethnic						
No. of Models	11	71	0	2	1	85
(Horiz. %)	(12.9)	(83.5)	(0)	(2.4)	(1.2)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(10.1)	(86.6)	(0)	(22.2)	(16.7)	(40.3)
TOTAL	109	82	5	9	6	211

$X^2(8, N = 211) = 124.40, p = .000$

Table 10: Breakdown of Sexual Objectification by Race

Sexual Objectification	Caucasian Americans	African Americans	Asian Americans	Hispanic Americans	Other	TOTAL
Sex Object						
No. of Models	30	9	0	1	1	41
(Horiz. %)	(73.2)	(22)	(0)	(2.4)	(2.4)	(100)
(Vert. %)	27.5	(11)	(0)	(11.1)	(16.7)	(19.4)
Non-Sex Object						
No. of Models	79	73	5	8	5	170
(Horiz. %)	(46.5)	(42.9)	(2.9)	(4.7)	(2.9)	(100)
(Vert. %)	(72.5)	(89)	(100)	(88.9)	(83.3)	(80.6)
TOTAL	109	82	5	9	6	211

$X^2(4, N = 211) = 9.94, p = .042$

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