

## **Content Analysis of Women in Print Advertising**

### **Abstract (100 words)**

This research aims at exploring the representation of women in print advertising in the past 10 years in Chile. This way, it will be analyzed the relationships between the various gender stereotypes and roles in relation to the categories of products advertised, through the methodology of content analysis in the magazines most read by the target segments. The main findings are related to the predominance of female image in decorative roles and the existence of positive and significant relationships in the use of decorative stereotypes and hedonic products.

### **Introduction**

The goal of advertising is to work to influence the affective, cognitive and behavioral spaces (Vakratsas & Ambler, 1999) causing unintended effects on society, new attitudes and behaviors in people (Pollay, 1986; Linder, 2004; Royo, 2007), through a persuasive communication environment that reinforces certain lifestyles and stereotypes (Royo et al., 2007). This is because advertising transforms the language of objects to the language of people and vice versa (García, 2011) whereby individuals become listeners and speakers, subjects and objects at the same time (Williamson, 1978). Some authors suggest that advertising is not a simple reflection of social reality, but it also plays the role of showing and reinforcing social aspirational models (Gill, 2003; Uribe et al., 2007), this because advertising is basically interpreted by means of personal abstractions of the stimuli received (Hall, 1980; Jhally, 1989).

In this context, gender is one of the deepest and most important features as human beings depicted in advertising, through the use of conventional codes (Jhally, 1989). This has had implications in the development of a series of studies that delve on the representation of the image and stereotypes (Wolin, 2003). Existing evidence is focused on the study of the images configuring gender subjectivity, focusing on visibilization and stereotyping (Zhang, 2009).

This visibilization is the process of media appearance of women and men through textual or visual contents, whose counting accounts for the space and role each gender has on advertising. There are two levels of visibility; on one side, a between-gender visibility, which refers to the comparison between women and men and, on the other side, an intra-gender visibility, which refers to what roles men and women appearing in the publicity do, given certain characteristics (SERNAM, 2009). Regarding stereotyping, it is defined as the process of installing dominant social stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. These are a complex of symbols and meanings that determine the condition and situation in which women and men operate in social life (SERNAM, 2009).

In this sense, both visibility and stereotyping of women in advertising have particularly drawn the attention of researchers from the 60s, becoming a prominent issue since then (Wolin, 2003). As early as in the decade of the 70s, studies began to emerge related to women's role and stereotypes of women in print and television advertising (Schneider and Schneider, 1979) which through the years resulted in researches on the development of the female image, differences of men versus women stereotypes and the representation of the latter in print advertising in different countries (Wiles et al., 1995; Zhang et al., 2009).

Investigations to know and determine the representation of gender roles in the media have been based primarily on two research methods, (1) content analysis, mainly used for the study of stereotypes and roles, and (2) frame analysis, used for the studies of visibilization and representation. (Zhang et al., 2009).

Content analysis, first introduced by Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) on gender role representation in advertising, focuses not only on the images, but also on the associated meanings of verbal messages. On the other side, frame analysis, first introduced by Goffman (1974), suggests that viewers focus primarily on images of an advertisement, for example, on the position of the hands, eyes and knees, and the exploration of the implications below visual information to avoid the interpretation of the words (Zhang et al., 2009).

Studies on women image in advertising have been conducted mainly in developed countries, and there is little evidence in developing countries. In Chile, content analysis and conceptual analysis studies generally show the existence of strong stereotypes about women (Muñoz, 2007). These are built focusing on motherhood, protected by men, devoted to home and nurturing (Olavarría, 2001). In addition, there are different product categories related to genders, relating to the image of women with lower-priced products, with a lower occupational status than men and tend to be depicted with less clothing (Uribe et al., 2007). This is very important when considering that in Chile, the representation of the image of women is often established as unequal and unjust, and that damages and devalues women compared to men (SERNAM, 2009).

In recent years, it has been observed a significant tendency to equalization of the basic skills of men and women (Royo, 2007). More specifically, these changes have been particularly significant for women image and have been a shift away from the traditional family model: equal access to education and health (UNDP, 2010) and a decline in the performance of household chores (Aguayo et al., 2011).

Given the above, this study aims to explore print advertising during the last decade in Chile, in order to analyze the visualization and stereotyping of female image, through the content analysis methodology of the magazines most read by this target market. The decision of analyzing print advertising is mainly due to two major reasons: (1) a magazine is read, commented, kept, borrowed and collected, often for a quiet reading, achieving a strong relationship between the reader and the media (National Advertisers Association (Asociación Nacional de Avisadores), 2004; Uribe et al., 2007) and (2) currently, difference can be made of magazines with different contents intended for a more specific, selective and involved target; which has increased the interest on this media (Royo et al, 2007).

## **Literature Review**

Gender stereotypes correspond to general beliefs about sex-linked traits and roles, psychological characteristics and behaviors that describe men and women (Browne, 1998). The earliest studies related to the analysis of gender stereotypes in print advertising placed special emphasis on the representation and comparison of work and non-work roles of men and women (Sullivan y O'Connor, 1988).

Courtney and Lockeretz in 1971 conducted a content analysis to determine the existence of stereotypes in advertising magazines, distinguishing the occupational and non-occupational categories. The occupational category relates to the different types of professions and/or activities; the non-occupational category refers mainly to the family, recreational or the decorative (or non-active) role. These authors observed that women have major presence in non-occupational categories, standing out a decorative role when they appear alone and a recreational role when accompanied by a man, concluding that women are characterized by an image of dependency, of non-involvement in decision-making processes, being mainly in the home and being considered especially as sexual objects. However, a couple of years later, Wagner and Banos (1973) conducted a study in the same context, finding different results to those posed by Courtney and Lockeretz. Wagner and Banos found: (1) an increase in the share of women who are employed (2) increase in the number and variety of occupations represented by women. This latter finding is supported by Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976), these authors also found that the increase in the appearance of women in occupational roles was mainly linked to nonprofessional or manual works (Sexton and Heberman, 1974; Kerin et al., 1979).

On the contrary, Sullivan and O'Connor (1988) concluded that, for those years, there would have been an upward trend of women depicted in job roles and even in roles with higher employment status as executives, professionals, salespeople and middle managers.

Subsequent to above findings, researches focused on a cross-cultural context, finding that the role of women in advertising differs by country, which may be due to the influences of socio-political, cultural and economic variables. (Gilly, 1988; Wiles et al., 1995; Razzouk, 2003; Zhang et al., 2009).

Given the above analysis, we propose the first set of Research Questions (RQ) and Hypotheses (H):

**RQ1: Are there significant differences in the depictions of non-occupational roles of women?**

**H1: A greater number of women are depicted in occupational roles over time.**

**H2: The evolution of the employment status of women depicted in an occupational role is positive over the years.**

Stereotypes are not given only by a work context and although empirical research is rather bounded, some authors argue that there are limited stereotypes with negative connotations towards women in advertising (Michell & Taylor, 1990). Venkatesan and Losco (1975) conducted a longitudinal study design between 1959 and 1971 in which the categorization of stereotypes was determined differently. These authors obtained 7 categories based on the analysis of claims to advertisers made by the “National Organization for Women (Organización Nacional para la Mujer)”, with regard to the representation of women in advertising. The categories were: (1) women as dependent on men, (2) women as self-sacrificing housewives, (3) women as a high standard of living, (4) women as physically beautiful, (5) women as sexual objects, (6) as sexy women and (7) none of the above categories. The authors concluded that, through the years, the role of women as sexual objects decreases considerably through the years, but there are no significant changes in the other categories. Lysonski, in 1983, concluded that women appeared in less traditional roles over time (Royo, 2007) and the same author (1985) concludes that women appear less in roles as dependent on a man.

On the contrary, Ferguson et al. (1990) found that, over time, women are depicted mostly as sexual objects. This agrees with the findings of Michell and Taylor (1990) who observed that stereotypes of women as “physical attractiveness” and “wife” are still the most common ones in England. However, later studies showed that decorative roles are much more important than traditional and nontraditional roles, reaching almost 80% of the depiction of advertising in magazines (Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2007). Furthermore, the above results would not be unique to England; it was also found in Greece that decorative roles are the most depicted ones by print advertising (Zotos and Lysonski, 1994).

In summary, the existing literature is inconclusive regarding the evolution of female stereotypes in print advertising. Given the above, we present the second set of Research Questions (RQ) and Hypothesis (H).

## **RQ2: What is the evolution of women stereotyped as sexual objects?**

### **H3: Women are mostly represented in decorative roles.**

#### **H4: The stereotype of wife decreases over time.**

In the seventies, the sociologist Erwin Goffman, using a variety of qualitative methods, developed a classification based on elements of social interaction, such as postures and positions (Manning, 1992), called frame analysis. Goffman believed that ads do not necessarily represent human behavior, but ways of thinking (Gornick, 1976). The main finding of this author is related to the “infantilization” of women in print advertising (Lawton, 2009), which would explain why women would be diminished in their social weight in advertising. This coding system was concentrated on the hands, eyes, knees, facial expressions, the posture of the head, looks, and relative sizes of the characters, their position and spatial positioning, among others. Goffman argued that one of the ways in which social weight is referred to (for example, power, authority, hierarchy, job position, fame) is expressed through the relative size of the characters. All these forms of “social detriment”, were grouped in 6 categories by Goffman: (1) Relative size, (2) Touch of woman, (3) Subordination, (4) Functions ranking, (5) Withdrawal and (6) Family.

Given these considerations, Gornick (1976) concludes with a qualitative analysis that women have a lower social weight than men in print advertising since: a woman is taller than a man only when the man is socially inferior, the hands of a woman barely touch, rub, or caress and almost never grab or manipulate objects or people; if a man and a woman are depicted showing some instructions, it is the man who most often instructs the woman; the head or the eyes of the man avoid the camera only in the social, political, intellectual or superior context, but when the sight or head of a woman avoids the camera, it is always to look at the man next to her, women are shown repeatedly as mental drifting in the scene while maintaining close physical contact with a man, as if he could protect her and, at the same time, women, much more than men, are portrayed with psychological loss or removed from a social situation.

In this sense, Belknap and Leonard (1991) replicated Goffman’s study and concluded that subordination and touch of woman are very often found in advertisements and that withdrawal and the other categories were more frequent. In the same vein, Umiker-Sebeok (1996) found that the phenomena raised by Goffman were indeed present in advertising, confirming the hypothesis that the image of women in advertising is associated with lower social weight. In addition, the author found that the spaces within the home are associated mostly with women and men are mostly associated with public spaces and that the latter are related to more movement and greater risk-taking. Movement is included arguing that the

control and space blocking and the ability to move freely are associated with social power and control, and risk-taking is associated with the control of situations.

Furthermore, Kang (1997) and Linder (2004) conducted longitudinal studies to analyze the change in the representation of the female role over the years. Kang added the variables “body display” and “independence”, concluding that the categories of relative size and function ranking appear sparingly. Meanwhile, Linder (2004) added the variable of “objectification”, understood as the relationship between the image of the woman and the product, concluding that between 1955-1975 and 1985-2002 the touch of woman, subordination and movement decreased. It is important to note that the objectification, withdrawal and subordination appear with some regularity, a situation that is consistent with the findings of Belknap and Leonard (1991). Given this, the third group of Hypotheses (H) is presented:

**H5: Women represented mainly indoors.**

**H6: Objectification and subordination are the categories more represented in advertisements.**

**H7: The category of subordination decreases over time.**

Regarding the variable of product category advertised, cleaning products, food, cosmetics, medicine and clothing are the categories that are associated mainly with women (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971; Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976), although Venkatesan and Losco (1975) noted that women also appear frequently in auto-related ads. It is noteworthy that the only categories of products clearly associated with the feminine gender in different countries are beauty products and clothing (Wiles, 1995).

However, all the above studies take different measures of the product category; because of this, it is useful in “hedonic” and “utilitarian” products (Batra and Ahtola, 1991). Hedonic products are related to sensory attributes and focused on providing an effective gratification in which the shopping experience is not seen as a job, while utilitarian products are associated with instrumental reasons with expectations of consequences, that are often purchased efficiently and deliberately (Babin et al., 1994). There is evidence that women represent mostly hedonic products as compared to utilitarian items (Plakoyiannaki and Zotos, 2007). Based on the above, the fourth group of Hypotheses (H) is raised.

**H8: The categories most depicted by advertising in magazines are cosmetics and weight-loss, clothing and personal care.**

**H9: Hedonic products significantly exceed utilitarian products in advertisements depicting female image.**

The crossing between the various stereotypes in the product category was apparently only made by Plakoyiannaki and Zotos (2007), using the stereotypes set by Lysonski (1985) and the product categories of Crowley et al. (1992). The authors determined that hedonic products are associated with decorative female role stereotypes. This result could be explained by considering that decorative images of women seem to arouse emotional signals and communicate ideas of self-gratification which is a central attribute of the positioning offered by hedonic products. In this context, the fifth group of Research Questions (RQ) and Hypotheses (H) is raised.

**RQ3: What is the association between product categories and the different stereotypes of women in print advertising?**

**H10: Hedonic products are mainly related to decorative roles.**

Despite number of studies conducted through content analysis and frame analysis, there is scarce evidence regarding the relationship between them. However, Fennel and Weber (1984) found that 8 subjective categories or stereotypes could be measured by 56 objective variables or visibilization. Given this, we present the last group of Research Questions (RQ) and Hypotheses (H):

**RQ4: What is the relation between different stereotypes and the categories of frame analysis in print advertising?**

**H11: Stereotypes of sexual objects and women as physical attraction are associated with objectification and body display categories respectively.**

## **Methodology**

The selection of the ads was obtained from the 3 Chilean magazines aimed at women most read by this segment during the period between 2001 and 2010 (Kantar Media Chile, 2010), which are Caras, Cosas and Paula. It is noteworthy that they are the three fortnightly magazines with the largest selling in the domestic market (ACHAP, 2010). The sample was obtained using a two-stage sampling: in stage 1, a stratified magazine sampling was carried out choosing 4 issues randomly of each one per quarter, which yielded a selection of 480 magazine issues; the second stage was the choice of ads, by random sampling (Kang, 1997). Finally, 901 ads were analyzed.

In relation to content analysis, two categories were used; one from the point of view of Lysonski (1985) and the other from the viewpoint of Courtney and Lockeretz (1971). In both cases, the categories were mutually exclusive, being possible to select only one stereotype in each one. The categories used for the frame analysis were the five ones used by

Goffman (1976) and the categories of location and risk-taking of Umiker-Sebeok (1996) were included. It was also included body display proposed by Kang (1997) and objectivization proposed by Linder (2004). Finally, a socio-demographic variable was added, such as age, as well as an anthropomorphic variable such as the figure.

Regarding reliability, two independent coders were used. From this, we calculated the percentage of agreement proposed by Holsti (1969) to establish the reliability of the categorization of nominal variables (Royo, 2007), which showed a rate of 0,8 on average, optimal level (Holsti, 1969)

## Results

In relation to the first research question, significant differences exist regarding non-occupational roles represented by women ( $\chi^2=1050$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p<0,001$ ). However, these differences are explained by the large number of decorative roles played, unlike the family and recreational roles, among which there are no significant differences. (See Table N°1).

**Table N°1: Non-occupational stereotypes**

<b>Stereotypes</b>				
	<b>Decorative</b>	<b>Family</b>	<b>Recreational</b>	
	(c1)	(c2)	(c3)	<b>Sum</b>
<b>Sum</b>	759	68	74	901
<b>%</b>	84,2%	7,5%	8,2%	100,0%
<b>Significant Difference</b>	c2c3 <sup>1</sup>			

Source: Prepared by the author.

Regarding Hypotheses 1, i.e., if there is a greater number of women depicted in occupational roles over time, we can see that the opposite phenomenon occurred, although this trend is not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=8,741$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $p=0,068>0,05$ ).

On the other hand, hypothesis 2 related to the evolution of the employment status of women who are depicted in occupational roles, a decrease can be appreciated in the representation of women as executives or professionals (See Table N°2), but the changes experienced by female images with regard to the different occupational roles through the years has not been significant ( $\chi^2=16,181$ ,  $df=20$ ,  $p=0,705>0,05$ ).

<sup>1</sup>It must be interpreted as a significant difference in column 2 (c2) and column 3 (c3)

**Table N°2: Occupational Stereotypes**

Occupational Activity	Years				
	2001-02	2003-04	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10
Senior executive	5	3	0	2	1
Professional	8	5	4	5	4
Entertainment/ athlete	6	1	2	3	3
Salesperson /middle manager /semi professional.	0	1	1	2	0
Office staff /unprofessional	1	0	1	0	0
Manual labor	0	1	0	0	0
	(c1)	(c2)	(c3)	(c4)	(c5)
<b>Sum</b>	20	11	8	12	8
<b>%</b>	33,9%	18,6%	13,6%	20,3%	13,6%
<b>Significant Difference</b>	c2c3c4c5			c3c5	

With regard to general stereotypes of women (RQ2), it was observed that there have been significant changes over the years in the sexual object representation: 2001-02 (23,9%); 2003-04 (18,2%); 2005-06 (16,3%); 2007-08 (19,1%); 2009-10 (22,5%) ( $\chi^2=5,284$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $p=0,259>0,05$ ).

Hypothesis 3, which stated that women are depicted mostly in decorative roles, is accepted ( $\chi^2=600,858$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p=0,000<0,05$ ), reaching more than 54% of the female stereotypes in print advertising.

**Table N°3: Frequency of female stereotypes.**

Stereotypes	Advertising	% Number of Ads
<b>Traditional</b>		
Dependent	14	57
Wife	43	
<b>Decorative</b>		
Women as sexual object	209	520
Women related to their physical attractiveness	311	
<b>Non-traditional</b>		
Women in non-traditional activities	20	74
Women oriented to their careers	21	
Voice of authority	33	
<b>Neutral</b>		
No stereotypes	309	309

Regarding Hypotheses 4, it is observed the nonexistence of a downward trend of the stereotype through the years, which is significant ( $\chi^2=4,041$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $p=0,400>0,05$ ). However, a significant difference can be seen in the decline of the wife

stereotype between 2009 and 2010 compared to the first period (2001-2002) and the previous period (2006-2007) (See Table N°4).

**Table N°4: Evolution of women stereotyped as wives.**

	Years					Sum
	2001-02	2003-04	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10	
	(c1)	(c2)	(c3)	(c4)	(c5)	
<b>Wife</b>	8	9	11	11	4	43
<b>%</b>	18,6%	20,9%	25,6%	25,6%	9,3%	100,0%
<b>Significant Difference</b>	c5	c5	c1c5	c1c5		

Regarding Hypothesis 5, women appear mostly in non-identifiable or empty spaces and outdoors, and this difference is statistically significant (See Table N°5)

**Table N°5: Frequency of locations of the ads.**

Location	Ads	% of ads	
<b>Indoors</b>			
Bathroom	4	<b>127</b>	<b>13%</b>
Kitchen	12		
Bedroom	105		
Study room	6		
<b>Outdoors</b>			
Rural environment	132	<b>257</b>	<b>27%</b>
Urban environment	115		
Sports facilities	6		
Workplace	4		
<b>Others</b>			
Empty spaces	467	<b>576</b>	<b>60%</b>
Not identifiable	109		

Hypothesis 6 is accepted, which proposed that objectification and subordination were the categories most represented in advertisements: Relative size (8%); Touch of woman (29%); Functions ranking (2%); Subordination (44%); Withdrawal from the scene (30%); body display (18%); risk-taking (2%); Objectification (55%). It is important to note the low frequency of the phenomena of function ranking and risk-taking.

On the other hand, as seen in Table N°6, the phenomena of subordination does not diminish over time, so hypothesis 7 is rejected. It is important to note that touch of woman and withdrawal decreased in recent years.

**Table N°6: Evolution of the categories of visibilization.**

Categories	Years					$\chi^2$	df	p
	2001-02	2003-04	2005-06	2007-08	2009-10			
Relative size	22	16	10	14	10	7,447	4	,114

Touch of woman	58	46	65	73	39	19,19	4	,001
Ranking	4	3	8	4	1	6,638	4	,156
Subordination	79	74	93	93	84	6,027	4	,197
Withdrawal	82	50	62	57	35	29,45	4	,000
Display	44	28	36	37	26	7,571	4	,109
Risks	2	4	6	4	2	3,171	4	,530
Objectification	115	113	107	89	101	9,248	4	,055

The results showed that the product categories most exposed by advertising in magazines by women are: cosmetics and weight-loss, clothing and footwear and personal care, confirming what was stated in hypothesis 8 (See Table N°7)

**Table N°7: Frequency of product categories.**

Category		Frequency	% Of appearance in ads	Significant Difference
<b>Hedonic</b>	Recreation and travel	f(1) 32	3,3%	
	Automobile or related products	f(2) 13	1,4%	
	Jewelry	f(3) 26	2,7%	
	High-tech devices	f(4) 14	1,5%	
	Clothing and accessories	f(5) 232	24,2%	f1f2f3f4f7 f8f9f11f12 f13f14
	Cosmetics and weight-loss	f(6) 259	27,0%	f1f2f3f4f7f8 f9f10f11 f12f13f14
	Movies and entertainment	f(7) 15	1,6%	
	Alcohol	f(8) 25	2,6%	
<b>Utilitarian</b>	Food	f(9) 84	8,8%	
	Domestic products	f(10) 8	0,8%	
	Hygiene and personal care	f(11) 122	12,7%	
	Financial services	f(12) 20	2,1%	
	Electrical household appliances	f(13) 21	2,2%	
<b>Others</b>	f(14) 89	89	9,3%	

In the same vein, Hypothesis 9, it is confirmed that hedonic products significantly outnumber utilitarian products in advertisements in which female image appears<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>Binomial test rejects the hypothesis that hedonic products are presented in the same proportion as utilitarian products. (0=12,198, p=0,000)

With respect to research question 3, the stereotype of “independent woman” is significantly more used by the categories of recreation and travel and alcoholic drinks in equal proportion, followed by financial services. The case of the stereotype of wife is different, where the categories of food and cosmetics and weight-loss represent significantly more that stereotype of woman. The stereotypes of women related to their physical attractiveness and voice of authority are also more used by the categories of cosmetics and weight-loss products, but followed by the category of clothing and accessories. Whereas the stereotype of women as sexual objects is significantly related to the categories of cosmetics and weight-loss and hygiene and personal care, the stereotype of neutral women is more used by the categories of clothing and accessories, followed by cosmetics and weight-loss and food.

With regard to the Hypothesis 10, it is accepted; i.e., hedonic products are mainly related to decorative roles ( $\chi^2=11,753$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p=0,008<0,05$ ) (See Table N°8)

**Table N°8: Relation between product categories and general stereotypes.**

Products	Stereotype			
	Traditional	Decorative	Nontraditional	Neutral
Hedonic	25	354	39	198
Utilitarian	24	134	22	75

Finally, regarding RQ4, the results indicate that when women are stereotyped as dependent and wife, the phenomenon of relative size and function ranking is proportionately presented to a greater extent. On the other hand, if the woman is stereotype in relation to their physical attractiveness, she is categorized with body display, withdrawal from the scene and objectification. In addition, objectification is the category that is most present when the woman is stereotyped as sexual object, so we can accept Hypothesis 11 that states that the stereotypes of sexual object and woman as physical attractiveness are associated with the categories of objectification and body display respectively. It should be noted that the stereotypes of women in nontraditional activities, career-oriented women and neutral women are proportionately more associated with risk-taking, although it is important to note that the low presence of the latter category does not allow determining whether the difference is significant.

## Conclusion

The messages transmitted in advertisements shape our ideas about appropriate gender roles, as well as our attitudes and expectations as men and women (Signorielli, 1989). Exposure to gender stereotypes is advertising is associated with negative attitudes towards women and about the ideas of how they should behave and the roles they should play in society (Kilbourne, 1999).

In the context of this study, using content analysis and frame analysis, it is shown that the representation of female image has not varied significantly over the last 10 years, but there are differences in the results with respect to the stereotyping of women. Firstly, the widespread existence of decorative role in print advertising, at the expense of family and recreational roles, mainly agrees with the findings found by Wiles et al. (1995). In both studies, the decorative role exceeds 80% of non-occupational roles, deferring significantly from the representation of all the non-occupational roles. This may be due to the wide existence of print advertising products categories such as cosmetics and personal care, in which women are not engaged in any activity and only their faces and torso are shown, apparently using the products.

On the other hand, it is concluded that there is no increase in the number of women who are represented in occupational roles over time, nor that they are of higher employment status. This point contradicts the existing literature in the sense that, although not necessarily significant, there was an increase in occupational roles (Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976) and that these women appeared in roles of greater employment status (Sullivan and O'Connor, 1988; Wagner and Banos, 1973). This may be due to the low amount of ads that depict women in a particular labor activity. In relation to general stereotypes that are represented in print advertising, it is observed the absence of significant changes in the evolution of the stereotype of women as sexual objects, a situation opposite to the points made by Venkatesan and Losco (1975).

The results also indicate that women in magazine ads were represented mainly in decorative roles, related to the notion of retro-sexism (Gill, 2003), which highlights the assumption that role stereotypes of women are not just a phenomenon of 1960 or 1970, but rather a contemporary global issue (Bordo, 1995). This finding adds to the trend of literature documenting sexist representation of women in print advertising (Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976; Ferguson et al, 1990; Sexton and Haberman, 1974).

In relation to this, the traditional stereotype of wife has fallen slightly in the last two years, contrary to what was stated by Michell & Taylor (1990), which may be because women have greater autonomy and their consumption decisions are not associated exclusively to the family, thus companies have had to change their advertising proposal (SERNAM, 2009).

With regard to the visibilization of women, spatial representation occurs primarily in outdoor locations, as opposed to the points made by Umiker-Sebeok (1996). This difference could be due to changes in the instrument between the two studies. While Umiker-Sebeok considered empty spaces as indoors, they were considered as other places in this study.

Moreover, objectification and subordination are the categories most depicted in advertisements (Linder, 2004; Zimmerman & Dahlberg, 2008). However, subordination has not declined over the years, as stated by this author. This

difference may be due to the time periods analyzed, since while Linder analyzes periods of nearly 20 years, this study only analyzes differences every two years.

With respect to product categories, we observed that it is true that the categories of cosmetics and weight-loss, clothing and personal care are mostly advertised in print media directed at women, as well as the predominance of hedonic products rather than utilitarian ones. The same conclusion was reached by Plakoyiannaki and Zotos (2007), but this finding differs from the literature of the 70s, which stated that women are associated primarily to utilitarian products, such as cleaning products and food (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971; Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976; Venkatesan and Losco, 1975), which may be mainly due to recent social changes related to their entry into the workforce and the increase in the purchase power of women, which has transformed them into a desired target audience (UNDP, 2010)

In addition, there is a clear relationship between different product categories and general stereotypes of women. Thus the dependent woman stereotype is mainly used by the categories of travel and recreation and alcoholic beverages, while the wife stereotype is represented in the categories of food and cosmetics and weight-loss. Cosmetics and weight-loss products are also associated with female stereotypes related to physical attractiveness, voice of authority and sexual objects, but they are also associated with the categories of clothing and personal care.

It is noteworthy that the same associations were found by Plakoyiannaki and Zotos (2007), further emphasizing the relation between decorative roles and hedonic products. This finding can be explained by considering that decorative images seemed to awaken emotional signals and communicate ideas of self-gratification (Ford et al., 1991), which is a central attribute of hedonic products. Also note the relationship between the wife stereotype and the food category, which is because domestic functions are related with the concept of utilitarian consumption (Batra and Ahtola, 1991).

Regarding the relation between general stereotypes and categories of frame analysis, the stereotypes of dependent woman or wife are associated with the phenomena presented by Goffman (1979) of relative size and ranking of functions, which state that women appear in smaller size and in functions with lower status respectively.

In summary, from the social point of view, stereotypical depiction of women in print advertising might negatively influence the trust they have of themselves. This has affected women with a series of problems such as low self-esteem, eating disorders, alcohol abuse and domestic violence, stemming from an attempt by women to be more "feminine" (Kilbourne, 1999).

Moreover, there is concern that the stereotypes depicted in advertising could have an important influence on cognitive development, attitude formation and socialization of children from the media, perpetuating female stereotypes (Plakoyiannaki and Zotos, 2007)

The limitations of this study are given mainly by two factors: (1) The research is bound to a particular medium, magazines targeted at women; (2) No comparisons were made with the representation of male image in advertising. Also noteworthy is the lack of research in Chile with regard to the representation of female image, making it impossible to compare the conclusions obtained in the national context.

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