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HOW WOMEN ARE PORTRAYED IN LEGAL
MAGAZINE ADVERTISING

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
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Anthony W. Culver

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ABSTRACT

purpose
The purpose of this research was to describe the communications content of ads appearing in the legal profession's journals; assess the image of women pictured in these ads; and compare the media content to "real world" employment figures for women lawyers.

Research method
Content analysis was conducted on the top three legal journals/reviews according to published circulation figures. The sample was drawn from a twenty-year time period, 1964 to 1984, to see if the way women were characterized in the ads has changed since the beginning of the Women's Movement. Coders examined the ads to determine what percentage of the ads pictured people, and the sex, race, and occupation of the people shown in the ads.

Results
Study results indicated that although the number of women shown in legal magazine advertisements is small, the image of these women has improved over the past twenty years. There are fewer people shown in legal magazine advertising than in consumer magazine advertising, and pictures of men predominate even more in legal magazine advertising than in consumer magazine advertising. Very few of the ads examined pictured a woman who was any race other than Caucasian. During the majority of the time periods studied, the employment role in which most women were shown was office worker; however, in the most recent time period, 1984, the number of women portrayed as lawyers was greater than the number of women portrayed as office workers. Furthermore, during the earlier years, the only roles that the women in the ads

portrayed were office workers and decorative models, but in the 1979 and 1984 ads, women were also shown as salespeople, clients, and judges. The percentage of women lawyers shown in the 1984 ads was comparable to the actual percentage of women practicing law during that year.

In conclusion, modifications for the way women are portrayed in advertising directed toward the legal market were suggested. Because the percentage of female attorneys is expected to increase during the next decade, the researcher recommends that the number of women shown in legal magazine ads increase at the same rate as the number of women in the legal profession, and any images of traditional sex stereotyping be eliminated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION.	1
Public Concern About Sex Stereotyping in Advertising. . .	3
The Industry's Defense of Sex Stereotyping.	6
Social Effects of Sex Stereotyping in Advertising	10
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION	15
Content Analysis of Print Advertisements Research	15
Why Study A Specific Profession's Trade Journals.	21
Why Study Law in Particular	22
Women in the Legal Profession	24
III. METHODOLOGY	34
Sample Selection.	35
Time Frame.	36
Definition of Categories.	37
Pilot Study	39
Limitations	41
IV. FINDINGS.	43
People in Legal Magazines Advertisements.	43
Occupations and Types of Products/Services Advertised . .	49
People/Products Relationships	50
V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	53
Changing Inaccurate/Ineffective Portrayals.	53
Future Research	56

CHAPTER	PAGE
LIST OF REFERENCES.	58
APPENDICES.	63
APPENDIX A. SAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE USED BY CODERS	64
APPENDIX B. CITATIONS FOR EXAMPLES	65
VITA.	66

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Social Welfare and Economic Consequences of Sex	
Stereotyping in Advertising as Viewed by Critics.	13
2. Percentage of Women Law Students, 1963-80	26
3. Proportion of Women in the Profession of Law, 1910-80	27
4. Comparison of Intercoder Reliability Coefficients	40
5. Incidence of People in Legal Magazine Advertisements.	44
6. Sex Percentages of People Shown in Ads.	46
7. Comparison Percentages of Peer/Nonpeer Settings	47
8. Percentage of Race of People Portrayed in Ads	48
9. Percentage of Comparison of Occupations Portrayed in Ads. . .	49
10. Number of Women Shown in Various Occupational Roles	50
11. Percentage of Type of Goods or Services Advertised.	51

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Women's Movement has profoundly changed both the American lifestyle and workforce. During the 1960s and 1970s, record numbers of women began to work outside the home, and during that time, women entered in greater numbers male-dominated professions such as law and medicine. Women's role in society has certainly changed, and all aspects of society from industry to law have benefited from women's talents and intelligence; however, there continues to be concern over the lack of change in the way women are portrayed in advertising.

Feminists are concerned that sex stereotyping "keeps women in their place" and hinders the further advancement of women. Advertisers are worried that sex stereotyping is harming the overall credibility of all advertising. In 1982 J. Walter Thompson's CEO, Don Johnston, said characterizations of "the dumb blonde, the slavish housewife, the lady in love with the whiteness of her wash" are unbelievable and insult consumers' intelligence. He said that type of advertising "is damaging the effect of all advertising" (Reinhard, 1983, p. 72). From both the feminists' and some marketers' viewpoints, sex stereotyping in advertising is outdated and detrimental.

Many academic researchers have focused their attention on trying to determine how women are portrayed in TV commercials and general interest consumer magazines. Little work has been done to assess women's portrayal in more specialized print media. Only a few studies

have been done with business and industry magazines and with professional journals targeted to the medical profession.

The purpose of this study is to determine how women are portrayed in legal magazine advertising. The legal profession was chosen as the focal point of this research because it is one of the most traditionally male-dominated professions and one where women have recently made considerable gains. The legal profession is also important because women lawyers can use their profession as a stepping stone to more influential careers in the judiciary, politics and big business. Communications researchers have offered evidence that magazine advertisements have some, although a limited, effect on what the advertisement's readers expect women can and cannot do. If the advertisements in the legal journals present a limited view of women, then it can be reasoned that the ads to some degree limit women lawyers' career aspirations and shape male lawyers' expectations about how competent their female counterparts are.

This study will try to: (1) describe the communication content of ads appearing in the legal profession's journals; (2) assess the image of women pictured in these ads; (3) compare the media content to "real world" employment figures and (4) serve as a starting point for studies of media effects; for example, additional studies might try to determine how male and female lawyers react to the way this research reveals they are portrayed in legal journal's ads.

Outcomes Some of the questions that this research will try to answer are: Are people featured as often in legal magazine advertising as they are in consumer magazine advertising?; Will images of men predominate even more than in consumer magazine advertisements?; Do age stereotypes

exist in legal magazine advertising?; Will Black, Hispanic and Oriental women be shown in these ads?; Will the majority of women in these ads be shown in the traditional role of office worker, or will the percentage of women lawyers portrayed in the ads be comparable to the number of women who are actually practicing law?

Content analysis was used to try to answer these questions. The sample included the top three legal reviews/journals according to circulation figures. In order to give the study some historical context--to see if the way women were characterized has changed since the beginning of the Women's Movement, issues for study were drawn from a twenty-year time period, 1964-1984.

Public Concern About Sex Stereotyping in Advertising

The concern over the portrayal of women in print advertisements began in earnest during the mid-1960s with the publication of Friedan's The Feminine Mystique. Her book accused advertising during the 1950s and 1960s of creating a view of women limited to their roles as housewives, mothers or sex objects. Concern has continued into the 1980s although the stereotype under fire has changed from helpless housewife and sex object to the just as unrealistic Superwoman who "brings home the bacon, fries it up in a pan and never lets you forget you're a man!" (Lareau, 1983, p. 28).

During the post-war period of the 1950s women were "glad to have their men back home and ready to do their bidding and stay away from the dirty world of business" (Lareau, 1983, p. 28). Friedan documented accounts of advertisers' admitted attempts at making the American woman

a better consumer of household products by reinforcing "the concept of women's total fulfillment through the role of housewife and mother" (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 3), but all of that was about to change.

The Women's Movement altered women's perception of themselves. Many were no longer content to stay at home; they wanted not only to work outside the home, but to be treated as equals in the workplace. At first, advertisers did not pick up on this social trend. Advertisers saw the Women's Movement as something temporary--merely an outcry from a radical few. They were, of course, wrong. The Women's Movement not only lasted but it grew over the years, and in doing so it radically changed the composition of the American labor force and the American lifestyle. American women became more sophisticated consumers with more money to spend. Very, very slowly advertising's picture of women began to reflect this change.

During the 1970s a pantyhose company's ads featured a female executive stepping off a Learjet. A woman jockey won a race wearing a certain brand of perfume, and another brand of perfume created the Superwoman phenomenon (Lareau, 1983, p. 28). Women could suddenly do it all--manage a multinational corporation and still have time to take care of the perfect home and pamper husband and children. This Superwoman stereotype has received just as much criticism in the 80s as more sexist ads did during the 60s and 70s. Gloria Steinem says that type of ad has replaced the "ring-around-the-collar" ads as the one about which most women complain (Steinam, 1984, p. M-2). This Superwoman stereotype also had negative societal effects: it almost made a woman feel guilty if she wanted to be a housewife (Lareau, 1983, p. 28).

The reality is that women now have a choice. They do not fit stereotypes. Advertisers should realize that today's women are looking for many different things, and their ads should tell these women how the advertiser's products and services can help them meet those needs. In a sense, market segmentation is changing. The differences between male and female buying patterns are not nearly as clear-cut as they once were. Women buy products very much the same way men buy products. Women "see themselves as part of a segment, but not a sexual one" (Reed, 1984, p. M-1). Val Dumond outlined seven steps to help advertisers reach this new "women's" market in an article appearing in Advertising Age (Dumond, 1985, p. 20). She says:

First. Get the women in your ads down off the damned pedestal. Notice them. Listen to them. . . . Sell to them. You're losing money by constantly confronting me with advertising that implies I'm a pretty "thing," not important enough to be considered a buyer, not smart enough to talk for myself, interested only in keeping your shirts static-free.

Second. For once, assume that a buyer is a buyer--woman or man. . . .

Third. Notice the words. . . . Find alternatives to sexist terminology.

Fourth. Aim your message to me the buyer, not at my role. Not all women are mothers; not all parents are women. Don't assume that lawyers, babies, citizens, voters, doctors, mayors, congressional representatives, students, executives and advertisers are men, or that teachers, nurses, bookkeepers, secretaries, cooks and salesclerks are women. . . .

Fifth. Show me in authority, making decisions. . . .

Sixth. Consider me among the potential buyers of big ticket items. . . .

Seventh. Make up your minds. Are women to be shoved up on pedestals, pampered and adored? Or are we to be relegated to the laundry and bathrooms, to scrub and polish? . . . Women need not be marooned on pedestals nor confined to kitchens. (Dumond, 1985, p. 20)

Steinem points out that there is no reason for advertisers to turn the tables so that women are depicted as going off to work and

leaving the husband at home to deal with the kids and dirty dishes. She says "the point is not reversing the roles, but humanizing both roles" (Steinem, 1984, M-2). Steinem also suggests that a financial bonanza awaits advertisers who picture men and women, even entire families, doing things like household chores and cooking together. In reality, as more women chose to work outside the home, some of these chores are usually delegated to other family members (Loudon & Della Bitta, 1984, p. 316). However, that type of progressive advertisement is for the most part a pipedream, and unrealistic stereotypes of women persist.

The Industry's Defense of Sex Stereotyping

The arguments advertisers use to support traditional stereotypical images of women in advertising are: (1) advertising only reflects what is really in our society; (2) sexist stereotyping sells; (3) ad research has uncovered no problems with how women are characterized and (4) the people who complain about the way women are portrayed in advertising are not typical of the country as a whole.

The argument that advertising is merely a mirror of our culture, is simply not true. By its very nature, advertising does not show people as they really are but as they would like to be (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 192). Ads deal with wants, desires and dreams: the products and services in those ads claim to satisfy our wants, satiate our desires and fulfill our dreams. Ads portray a setting that is supposedly better than everyday reality in an attempt to get consumers to associate that good feeling with the product/service being advertised.

The problem occurs when ads reflect only the wants of a more traditional segment of society that is not in agreement with the values of today's society. One agency vice president suggests that older ad agency personnel, especially men, support traditional stereotypical advertising because doing so reaffirms their own value system concerning how the sexes should behave. They had been brought up in a traditional setting where this kind of behavior from women was simply unacceptable. Perhaps, advertisers also feared that their male audience would not want to be reminded that the Women's Movement was intruding into their work world. If advertisers used a more contemporary portrayal of women in their ads, then the "traditional-minded" men would have to completely reassess their attitudes about women, and this would "be cognitively discomfoting" (Scott, 1976, p. 265). The Women's Movement has changed reality, and advertising has lagged behind. In 1982 the chairman of the 4A's said, "If advertising is a mirror of the society in which it functions, it's time we [advertisers] took another look at the mirror" (Reinhard, 1983, p. 72). In 1975 the National Advertising Review Board said that "by reinforcing outmoded and traditional stereotypes of men and women, advertisers are derelict in their duty to give the public a fair, accurate and truthful presentation" (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 192). Obviously not all advertisers agree with them.

Advertisers argue that stereotyping sells products and services, but those advertisers should ask themselves two questions: (1) does it really?; and (2) could advertising without stereotyping sell more? Advertisers realize that advertising is only part of the marketing mix. Product features, price, distribution and even packaging play an

important role in purchase decisions. Advertising effectiveness doesn't correspond directly to sales figures. A product may be doing well in the marketplace in spite of its advertising. Advertisers who employ stereotypes say that if women were offended by the ads, then they would stop buying the product; therefore, the marketplace will regulate the content of advertising. But women or men who are offended by the stereotypes may continue to buy the product because they feel the brand is of superior quality; the price may be competitive; it may be the only brand their store stocks; all brands in that product category may use offensive advertising, or the product may be something the consumer must buy. The "traditional images sell" philosophy may limit the marketer's options; perhaps more progressive advertising would actually improve sales. Research has shown that for some products, modern, liberated characterizations are more effective (Courtney & Whipple, 1985, p. 8); therefore, this approach should not be discouraged before it is even tested; it might even prove profitable.

Advertisers also say that ad research has not uncovered any problems with the way women are portrayed in advertising; however, the way most ad research is designed may keep those type of comments from surfacing (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 196). For example, in a focus group setting the moderator's job is to try to get answers to specific questions about the product; therefore, he purposefully guides the discussion to try and get the group to concentrate on those answers. Unless the moderators asked specifically about role portrayals, it is not likely that topic will come up in the conversation. Until the bias is removed from ad research, this argument cannot be used to support stereotypical ads.

The final defense of this type of advertising is that a very small but very vocal group of "women libbers" are the only people complaining, and advertisers are only concerned with more mainstream American women. While people like Gloria Steinem do offer the most vocal opposition to stereotypical ads, research shows that a much larger part of society has the same complaints (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 197). Memberships in women's groups such as NOW (National Organization for Women), BPW (Business and Professional Women), Working Women and "9 to 5" continue to grow. NOW's 1985 membership was over 26,000 (Gurber, 1985, p. 1385). These organizations are generally concerned with securing equal rights and equal pay for female workers; however, there have been specific accounts in the press where a substantial number of people voiced opposition to female stereotypes in ads. For example, 2,300 men and women signed a petition to protest an offensive ad appearing in the Toronto transit media. Despite this petition and criticism from Canada's advertising's industry's self-regulatory agency, the advertisers and transit authority did not discontinue the ad. The advertisers dismissed the matter by claiming that people who sign petitions are "atypical" (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 137). Alice Courtney, a noted researcher in the area of female stereotypes in mass media, once confronted an executive from a large detergent company about the way women are depicted in laundry detergent ads. He said that because she worked outside the house he could care less about her opinions; his product was aimed at women who did four or more washes a week. When Courtney told him that she did that amount of laundry in a week, he was speechless (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 197). Advertisers

may think that protest comes from radicals only because they don't understand the modern women's lifestyles or what offends them.

Social Effects of Sex Stereotyping in Advertising

They [stereotypes] reinforce, and perhaps even shape, our view of our own capabilities and achievements, of appropriate sex roles, and of career aspirations.
(Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 45)

The majority of the research on the social effects of sex stereotyping in advertising has been conducted on children using television ads. This fact makes it difficult to make assumptions about what kind of effect magazine ads will have on adults. Methodological problems plague this type of research because it is so difficult to screen out other factors that may shape behavior such as family and peers; nevertheless, the following outlines some of the research done to see how sex stereotypes affect occupational choices.

TV does seem to be a force in modeling the attitudes and behavior of its viewers (especially children) concerning career choices. Studies have shown that children are more attentive to and acquire more knowledge from characters that are the same sex as they are (Tan, 1981, p. 257). In 1974 Beuf questioned sixty-three children about their career goals. She found that almost 70% of the boys and 73% of the girls chose stereotypical careers for themselves. There seemed to be a link to TV viewing and stereotypical thinking: only 50% of light TV viewers chose stereotypical careers, but 76% of the heavy viewers did. It seems clear that the children viewed sex as an important factor in deciding what careers they could or could not enter. One of the boys

in the study even said, "Oh, if I were a girl I'd have to grow up to be nothing" (Beuf, 1974, p. 144). A study done by Frueh and McGhee divided children into groups of heavy and light TV viewers. Then they administered a test that measures traditional sex-role development. High TV viewership corresponded to more traditional thinking. Boys were more traditional than girls, and the older the children the more traditional they became in their thinking about sex-roles and occupations (Tan, 1981, p. 258). Atkin and Miller found that TV could also change the way children think about sex roles. They found that after viewing counter-sex-role TV commercials, the children were more receptive to females carrying out nontraditional activities (Tan, 1981, p. 258). One of the commercials featured a woman judge; only 27% of the group that did not see the commercial said that it was appropriate for a woman to become a judge, but over 50% of the children who saw the counter-sex-role ad thought a female judge was acceptable (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 51).

In 1980 a study was conducted to determine what effect, if any, traditional and progressive TV commercials have on female college students. The researchers concluded that women who were shown the progressive ads were more independent and selfconfident (based on their scores on a conformity test); they also had higher career goals than the group that was shown the traditional ads (Jennings, 1980, p. 210).

Research seems to show that sex stereotyping in advertising has both immediate and long-range effects. Female stereotypes may influence perceptions that women are dependent on men to make decisions and incapable of handling positions of authority including many occupations.

Sex stereotyping in advertising may also limit a future generation of women, because children use advertising to shape their perceptions of the sexes' roles and abilities. For a summary of possible social and economic effects of sex stereotyping in advertising, see Table 1.

It is important to keep the effects of sex stereotyping in advertising in some sort of perspective.

It would be, of course, a gross exaggeration to claim or imply that advertising sex stereotyping is the sole, or even a major, cause of societal problems. However, there is mounting evidence that sex stereotyping in advertising does play a role in reflecting societal ills and helping to sustain them. There is also mounting evidence, however, that more responsible advertising could play a positive and beneficial role in helping to change them. (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 58)

To summarize, this study will try to: (1) describe the communication content of ads appearing in the legal profession's journals; (2) assess the image of women pictured in these ads; (3) compare the media content to "real world" employment figures, and (4) serve as a starting point for studies of media effects.

TABLE 1
SOCIAL WELFARE AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF SEX
STEREOTYPING IN ADVERTISING
AS VIEWED BY CRITICS

Area of Stereotyping	Immediate Effects of Advertising Sex Stereotyping	Longer Range Effects to Which Advertising Contributes
How the sexes are portrayed in advertising	Advertising influences adult perceptions of male/female roles.	Women limit own access to, and are denied access to, a wide range of occupations; effects on salaries of women; working housewives forced to perform two jobs.
Portrayals of housewives	Advertising influences adults to believe housewives are unintelligent, dependent on men, subservient, have personality problems.	Affects individual self-esteem and others' perceptions of housewife; affects structure of family and divorce law; affects ability of women to organize; affects job access and salaries.
Portrayals of girls	Like adults, children similarly influenced in their perceptions of sex roles, capabilities, personalities.	Limits aspirations and levels of achievement of girls. Pro-found influence for both sexes in life-style, education, occupation, and other choices.
Portrayal of sexuality	Advertising may influence women to devote too much attention to personal appearance; may influence men to view women as sex objects.	May be linked to depersonalization of women as sexual objects.

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Area of Stereotyping	Immediate Effects of Advertising Sex Stereotyping	Longer Range Effects to Which Advertising Contributes
Presence of the sexes in advertising	Advertising influences perception that women cannot exercise authority; make decisions independently. Also it has direct impact on employment of women as announcers.	Influences aspirations of, and abilities of, women to manage and take on other authoritative roles. Influences both sexes' perceptions of women's abilities to perform these roles competently.

Source: Sex Stereotyping in Advertising (pp. 55-56) by A. E. Courtney and T. W. Whipple, 1983, Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books. Copyright 1983 by the D. C. Heath and Company.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Content Analysis of Print Advertisements Research

Since 1971 over 250 scholarly studies on sex stereotyping in advertising have been published (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 4). The subject has even received international attention with research conducted in both Canada (Christopher, 1984, p. 90) and Australia (Wyndham, 1983, pp. 182-190).

The bench mark study on sex stereotyping in advertising, "A Woman's Place: An Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Print Advertising," was done in 1971 by Courtney and Lockeretz. They examined the number, sex and occupation of the models pictured in April 1970 ads in addition to the type of product/service advertised. The sample included the following general interest consumer magazines--Life, Look, Newsweek, The New Yorker, Saturday Review, Time, U.S. News and World Report, and Reader's Digest. They found that while slightly under one half of the men were shown on the job, only 9% of the women were shown employed outside the home. Of this 9%, 58% were actresses, singers, etc., and the other 42% were shown in "low-status" occupations. After examining the relationship between the sex of the model pictured and product categories, the researchers concluded that men were more often portrayed as buyers of "big-ticket" items like automobiles, and women were pictured buying much more inexpensive items like cosmetics and cleaners. In their report, Courtney and Lockeretz identified four

female stereotypes in the ads they examined--(1) housewife and mother, (2) sex object, (3) dependent on men and (4) unable to do important things or make important decisions. Their conclusions are sound ones and form the basis for much research in this area.

Two years later, Wagner and Banos (1973) did a follow-up analysis and found that the portrayal of women had improved slightly. The percentage of women working outside the home had increased to 21%, and the types of jobs these women held were more "responsible." Wagner and Banos argued that their findings represented advertisers' responses to social change. They also said that because so many women were housewives, it is only logical that many ads depict them as such.

Another replication of the Courtney and Lockeretz study was done by Culley and Bennett in 1976. In general, their findings were very similar to Wagner and Banos; however, they placed more emphasis on whether women were pictured alone, with men, or with other women. Most of the time women were pictured with men or alone; therefore, the researchers believed that the ads gave the impression that there were "certain business and social activities which are still inappropriate for women to perform on their own."

Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976) compared the 1970 and 1972 samples used in the previously mentioned studies with one taken from 1958 issues of the same magazines. This was an attempt to see if advertising's portrayal of women had evolved as did women's changing role in our society. They found that it had not. The major occupational role for women had gone from secretarial-clerical to entertainer back to secretarial-clerical. Belkaoui and Belkaoui reasoned that pre-women's

movement stereotypes remained, and that advertisers were not depicting the variety of new occupational fields women were entering.

Other researchers have looked at different samples over similar time periods and have reached similar conclusions. Poe's (1976) findings also support Belkaoui and Belkaoui's assumption: she said "a cultural lag may exist between advertising's presentation of women and their actual changing status in society." Sexton and Haberman (1974) reported that women were rarely shown as leaders or outside the traditional roles of wife and mother. They also documented a trend (from the 50s to the 70s) toward using women solely as decorative sex objects in ads for many types of products from cars to liquor. Venkatesan and Losco (1975) agreed with these findings in general but reported an overall decrease since 1961 in the "sex object" images which contemporary women found offensive.

In 1979 Weinberger, Petroschius and Westin found that from 1972 to 1978 the number of women portrayed working outside the home had decreased, but these women were being shown in professional or middle-management situations instead of secretarial-clerical jobs.

A sexism scale with five levels was created by Pingree and others (1976). On the first level, women are merely sex objects. Level Two stereotypes women as housewives and mothers only. The third level shows them working outside the home; however, their prime responsibility is still to be a good wife and mother. In the fourth level, women are equal to men, and in the fifth level members of both sexes are shown as individuals--they fit into no stereotypical roles. The communications researchers found that 88% of the ads in the 1973-1974 issues of Playboy

were on the first two levels; so were 73% of those in Time and 78% of those in Newsweek. Ms. did not fare much better: 56% were at Level Two.

How do women and men react to these portrayals of women? Several studies have tried to answer that question (Wortzel & Frisbie, 1974, pp. 41-46; Lundstrom & Scigilimpaglia, 1977, pp. 72-79; Peterson & Kerin, 1977, pp. 59-63; Lammera & Wilkinson, 1980, p. 690). Their findings tend to suggest that (1) women are stronger critics of these ads than men; (2) while men find some stereotypical female roles appealing there tends to be a limit beyond which they do not; (3) the type of product or service advertised plays an important part in how the female should be represented and (4) "progressive" ads can be just as effective as "traditional" ones for most products/services.

In a different vein or research, Erving Goffman offers some pictorial situations that represent nonverbal communication characteristics that are often found in "traditional" advertising in his book Gender Advertisements (1976). For example, he notes that almost always women are pictured as being shorter than men--what he calls "relative size"; women often are shown gently holding or caressing an object--"the feminine touch"; or they are shown with one knee bent--"the canting pose." He suggests that these nonverbals tend to subordinate women to men. When several of these characteristics are present in a photograph this is true; however, when only one or two are present then the ad is not blatantly sexist. For example, Goffman's characteristic of "relative size" is not always an attempt to portray women in a bad light: on average women are shorter than men. Goffman concluded "that

advertisers do not create the ritualized portrayals they employ, but rather conventionalize what already exists in our society" (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 13).

Another factor in the portrayal of women in magazine advertisements is age. Older women are rarely pictured in ads, but this may be slowly changing as the large "baby-boom" segment of America's population becomes older (England, Kuhn & Gardner, 1981, pp. 468-471; Gantz, Gartengerg & Rainbow, 1980, pp. 56-60).

When determining if the portrayal of women has changed over the past decade, it is beneficial to contrast an overview article written in 1983 (English) to a review of the literature done of the 1970s (Kerin, Lundstrom & Sciglimpaglia). Some changes have been made in the way women are portrayed in general interest magazines, but they are limited. The greatest has been a move away from the housewife-mother role to the woman who works outside the home; however, as the author points out, there is still room for improvement.

There have been two studies done on industrial advertising. The first was done by a female engineering student, Diane McKnight, in 1974. She used a convenience sample of the November 1973 issues of 130 engineering and trade magazines available at M.I.T.'s Barker Library. McKnight found that 35% had at least one "sexist" ad. Her definition of "sexist" ads are

those ads which presented women in a derogatory manner, or which used women as a come-on in a manner entirely irrelevant to the engineering product. I did not consider ads that were subtly sexist, such as those that excluded women altogether. If I had included those ads which showed only men in action situations, the percentage of magazines with sexist ads would have been more than 90%, which is not very informative. (McKnight, p. 20)

It is easy to see by her definition of categories that McKnight's work is rather subjective.

A more objective study was done by two English researchers in 1983. Easton and Toner used a sample of seventy-one magazine issues. These issues were drawn at random from an alphabetical listing of the commercial, industrial and business magazines available at a large UK municipal library. They found that models/people were featured less often in industrial ads than they were in consumer ads. Only 15% of the ads in their sample featured people while almost 50% of consumer ads contain models. Photographs and drawings of men dominate industrial advertising according to the researchers. Their "man or men alone" category was greater than the "woman or women alone" and "both sexes" categories combined.

In examining the occupations women portray in industrial advertising, they concluded that the number of women shown in upper and middle management positions were very similar to actual employment statistics; however, they did find that the women portrayed in their ads were over represented in the white collar category--secretaries, typists and clerks and under represented in blue collar jobs. The researchers reasoned that there might be a bias toward showing office products/services as opposed to shop-floor products/services in the ads they examined, or it could be industrial advertisers still don't think women can or should do manual labor.

Like McKnight, Easton and Toner also wanted to see if ads featuring women used sexual imagery to try and sell the product. They used a scale developed by Alexander and Judd to measure the occurrence of this

type of ad: over 25% of the ads featuring women were placed in the alluring to nude categories, categories that are likely to be offensive to women; however, they pointed out that this type of ad made up only about 1% of the total number of ads they studied. The researchers suggested that while sexually oriented ads may not be a problem now, they will be in the future as younger men and more women move into executive positions.

Finally, the researchers outlined an important difference between industrial and consumer advertising. Industrial ads portrayed how the product of service is used in the work setting--blue collar works with machinery. Consumer ads often used more of an identification strategy. In this kind of ad, the person pictured would be someone with whom the potential buyer could identify, i.e., male middle or upper-level managers.

Why Study A Specific Profession's Trade Journals

Communications researchers have neglected the professional journal division of the print media almost entirely. Very little attention has been paid to the way women are portrayed in specialized media such as professional journals, according to both Easton and Toner (1983, p. 145) and the pioneers in this area of research, Courtney and Whipple (1983, p. 148). Although there has been criticism of publications aimed at specific professions (including law) and industries, few studies have been done to actually determine if the criticism is justified. One profession that has received some attention is medicine, and in that instance researchers found a very disturbing picture of women in ads for

psychotropic drugs. Seidenberg concluded that the ads he examined encouraged doctors to be prejudiced toward women and unnecessarily prescribe tranquilizers to ease the boredom of routine household chores or problems associated with menstrual symptoms (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 14).

Research indicates that general interest consumer magazines' ads have become more realistic in their portrayal of women's occupational roles, but it is not known if this is true for the trade press. Also by examining a particular profession's trade press, "real world" employment statistics are available with which communications researchers can compare their findings. Along a similar line of thought, in 1964 DeFleur compared television's picture of the work world with employment data provided from U.S. census information (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983, p. 140).

Why Study Law in Particular

This profession should be studied for a variety of reasons. Recently women have made great gains in the legal profession. In the past decade, the number of lawyers doubled, but the number of female attorneys increased sevenfold. Of the approximately 606,000 lawyers in our country, about 94,000 are women. Their percentage as a part of the legal profession climbed from about 5% to about 15% in just ten years (Fossum, 1983, p. 1389). Fifteen percent of the judges, 16% of the law professors and anywhere from 38% (Press, 1984, p. 85) to 50% (in some schools) of the law students are women (Fossum, 1983, p. 1389). Clearly women attorneys are still in the minority, but in the future as women

make up larger and larger percentages of law school and bar graduates, women's presence in the legal profession will become more and more important.

There is another good reason to choose this profession:

Law is one of the most traditional and exclusive professions in the United States. It also provides access to important positions in business, government and politics. We can, for example, partly explain women's poor participation in political life and certain kinds of business by the fact that such a small percentage of women have been lawyers. (Epstein, 1981, p. 7)

The connection between a career in law and one in politics is close and understandable, for in a democracy the citizens who are best equipped to participate in and lead the government are those who are well versed in its laws. Therefore, if women are to assume a greater leadership role in government and have more influence in shaping our nation's policies and institutions, becoming members of the legal profession may be a critical first step. (Fossum, 1983, p. 1393)

It is evident that law should be studied because it has such far-reaching implications for other important areas (such as politics and big business) where women are trying to gain equality.

Law is also well suited for this research because there seems to be three somewhat distinct stages in women's movement into the profession; this will help greatly in setting the time frame for the study. On a more practical side, law is also a highly regulated field so it is easier to obtain statistical data about the percentage of females in the profession during the years under study.

The following section outlines women's role in the legal profession.

Women in the Legal Profession

The paramount mission and destiny of women are to fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother. This is the law of the Creator. (Foot Soldiers of the Law, p. 17)

It was also the law of the U.S. circa 1873; that was the year when Supreme Court Justice Joseph Bradley wrote the preceding passage in a decision allowing Illinois the right to deny Myra Bradwell a license to practice law in that state. Two years later Chief Justice C. J. Ryan of the Wisconsin Supreme Court used a similar argument to prohibit a woman from being admitted to Wisconsin's bar.

Nature has tempered women as little for the judicial conflicts of the courtroom as for the physical conflicts of the battlefield. Woman is modeled for gentler and better things. (Epstein, 1981, p. 269)

In spite of these rulings, women were already becoming lawyers in other states. In 1869 Belle Mansfield was admitted to the bar of Iowa and became the first woman lawyer in U.S. history (Fossum, 1981, p. 578), but the legal profession was slow to accept the idea of women lawyers. It was 1917 before the American Bar Association accepted a female member (Kane, 1981, p. 346), and the number of women lawyers remained extremely small in the early part of the 19th century.

In the 1920s the ABA officially endorsed law school as the means for preparation for the legal profession as opposed to the traditional apprenticeship at a law office, so it became very important for women to gain access to law schools. A very few women were being admitted to select schools at that time, but women would have to wait

before they would be accepted to prestigious schools such as Harvard and Columbia. Harvard did not admit women until 1950, and it was 1972 before all ABA approved schools had women on their class rolls (Fossum 1981, p. 579).

The first real gain in the number of female law students was during the Vietnam War (see Tables 2 and 3). Then many schools opened their doors wider to women for purely financial reasons: they needed the tuition lost to male students who had been drafted.

Prior to 1965 and the major commitment of combat forces to the war in Vietnam, only a handful of law schools had student bodies that included 10% women and none had student bodies with 20% women. . . . By 1975 and the end of the Vietnam War, almost all law schools had 10% women students and close to two thirds had 20%. (Fossum, 1981, p. 580)

Female law students were treated as oddities, and sexism was the norm during the 1960s to the early 1970s. "Ladies' Days" were common on many campuses. The specifics varied from school to school, but on those days female students were singled out and drilled by law professors on embarrassing subjects such as rape. Often the women were required to stand at the front of the room or on their chairs while being questioned. One woman lawyer remembers the Ladies' Day as "an entertainment, a show put on at our expense" (Epstein, 1981, p. 66).

However by 1970 some male students and professors were beginning to realize that women law students were not to be taken lightly. In 1966 only 6.5% of the students taking the LSAT were women, and their mean test results was 17 points lower than the men's, but by 1970 the percentage of women taking the test was up to 13.3, and their mean test score was 7 points higher than the men's (Fossum, 1981, p. 580). Women

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN LAW STUDENTS, 1963-80

Year	Total Enrollment	Women Enrolled	Percentage Women
1963	49,552	1,883	3.8
1964	54,265	2,183	4.0
1965	59,744	2,537	4.3
1966	62,556	2,678	4.3
1967	64,406	2,906	4.5
1968	62,779	3,704	5.9
1969	68,386	4,715	6.9
1970	82,499	7,031	8.5
1971	94,468	8,914	9.4
1972	101,707	12,173	11.9
1973	106,102	16,760	15.8
1974	110,713	21,788	19.7
1975	116,991	26,737	22.9
1976	117,451	29,982	25.5
1977	118,557	32,538	27.5
1978	121,606	36,808	30.3
1979	122,860	38,627	31.4
1980	125,397	42,045	33.5

Source: Women in Law (p. 53) by C. F. Epstein, 1981, New York: Basic Books Inc. Copyright 1981 by Cynthia Fuchs Epstein.

TABLE 3
PROPORTION OF WOMEN IN THE PROFESSION OF LAW, 1910-80

Year	Number	Percentage
1910	558	1.1
1920	1,738	1.4
1930	3,385	2.1
1940	4,447	2.4
1950	6,348	3.5
1960	7,543	3.3
1970	13,000	4.7
1976	38,000	9.2
1980	62,000	12.0

Source: Women in Law (p. 4) by C. F. Epstein, 1981, New York: Basic Books Inc. Copyright 1981 by Cynthia Fuchs Epstein.

continued to both enter and excel in law school in record numbers. In 1970 one out of every nine law students was a woman; a decade later, one in three was a woman (Fossum, 1981, p. 580).

Many of the women who went to law school during the 1970s were active feminists who viewed their involvement in the legal system as a means of social change. They planned to fight sexual discrimination on many fronts, but their first fight was often in their own backyard (Cory, 1974, p. 75). Discrimination against women has been called "the last publicly acceptable form of discrimination in our country" (Schafran, 1983, p. 37), and women lawyers were not immune.

As more and more women graduated from law school and passed the bar, they began looking for careers comparable to those acquired by their male counterparts, but finding those jobs were not easy. Many firms simply did not interview women for associate positions (Fossum, 1983, p. 1390). In 1963 the Harvard Law Record conducted a survey of 430 private firms about their hiring practices. Negative ratings were given to three groups of potential employers--Jews, Blacks and females. Females received the most negative rating of the three--meaning that they were least likely to be hired (Epstein, 1981, p. 83). The law schools eventually helped increase the number of interviews for female students by threatening to deny the use of their facilities for on-campus interviews to any firms which practiced discriminatory practices (Fossum, 1983, p. 1390).

However, data from the National Association for Law Placement survey continues to reveal that a slightly smaller percentage of female graduates find law-related work than do male graduates (Fossum, 1981,

p. 582). A more recent survey conducted in 1983 found that 65% of the male lawyers interviewed have no women lawyers as co-workers (Winter, p. 1386). Even Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor "celebrated her Stanford Law School graduation (with honors) by being refused employment in every major law firm in Southern California except one. That firm offered her a position as a paralegal secretary" (Sheridan, 1981, p. 45).

Some firms would hire women but would let them handle only the less challenging and less prestigious legal assignments. Women became the "foot soldiers of the profession" (Foot Soldiers of the Law, 1981, p. 17). The "back room" areas of the law to which women are often assigned include government work, trusts and estates, tax and domestic problems (Fossum, 1981, p. 580). Little seems to have changed since a U.S. government publication published in 1958 advised women to specialize in real estate, women's and juvenile legal problems and patent law (Epstein, 1981, p. 81). A 1983 survey conducted for the ABA Journal revealed just how little things have changed. Most of the women interviewed said that in their present job, they spend the majority of their time writing pleadings, motions and briefs; preparing cases in litigation; performing research; and making court appearances, but the men who were questioned were much more likely to describe their work as more challenging (Winter, p. 1385). Womens' poor representation in the Association of Trial Lawyers of America charts their absence in one of the traditionally male-dominated areas of law: ATLA's female membership was only 6% in 1983 (Cook, p. 49).

Partnerships are another area where women lawyers have not yet

made significant gains. A 1984 study found that the percentage of female associates in major law firms is "embarrassingly larger" than the percentage of female partners (Press, p. 86). Almost 70% of women lawyers are salaried employees; however, 60% of the male lawyers are self-employed either as partners or sole practitioners (Fossum, 1983, p. 1391). This large discrepancy can be explained, in part, by two reasons. The first is that clients have yet to really trust women as competent lawyers; therefore, it is difficult for women to bring new clients into their firm (often a must for promotion) or to be successful in business on their own (Fossum, 1983, p. 1391). Secondly, women simply haven't been around long enough to reach top positions--positions that "require experience and seasoning that many women lawyers have yet to acquire" (Fossum, 1983, p. 1389). However, the process of women gaining partnerships may be helped along by a June 1984 U.S. Supreme Court ruling which applied federal antidiscrimination laws to law partnerships (Press, 1984, p. 85).

The fact that women are relative newcomers to the legal profession also explains the scarcity of women judges. "You can't appoint women judges if you don't have a large number of women lawyers who are trained" (Foot Soldiers of the Law, 1981, p. 17); however, the number of women judges has increased dramatically in the early 1980s (Press, 1984, p. 85).

Something that hasn't increased dramatically is women lawyers' salaries in comparison with men's. Blaustein and Porter's 1950 survey of the legal profession revealed salary discrimination based on sex along: "women lawyers received considerably less pay than men lawyers"

(Fossum, 1981, p. 580), and there is still a discrepancy between male and female lawyers' income. A telephone survey of 605 of its members commissioned by the ABA Journal found that 57% of the female respondents made less than \$35,000 while only 25% of the men did. The study also reported that 18% of the men made over \$100,000 compared to only 1% of the women (Winter, 1983, p. 1384). This can be explained by the disproportionate number of women in jobs such as government work that are at the lower end of the legal profession's income spectrum (Fossum, 1981, p. 580).

Despite the problems outlined above, the majority of women in two different surveys said that they were treated as equals on the job (White, 1967, p. 1051; Winter, 1983, p. 1384). Some say that being a woman is even an advantage. Gabrielle McDonald, now a Houston federal district court judge, said that when she was in practice, male lawyers expected her to be a "pushover" so her preparation and ability as a trial lawyer "came as a shock, giving her a terrific advantage" (Schafran, 1983, p. 38). Some even say that women's lack of a "male ego" will help both clients and the court system. Because women are more willing to settle out of court, they may save their clients money and reduce the number of cases that appear on the court dockets (Kole, 1983, p. 228).

The obstacles for women lawyers are far fewer than just a decade ago, but some sexual bias remains (Biggest Step Yet, 1981, p. 7). Examples are numerous: law professors telling female students who stumble in recitation to "go back to the kitchen" (Epstein, 1981, p. 67); judges asking women lawyers whose secretary they are (Women Have Their

Day in Court, p. 87) or calling both male and female counsel "gentlemen" (Schafran, 1983, p. 38); men asking them to fetch coffee or take notes, and women being excluded from business that is conducted in clubs that do not allow women (Fossum, 1983, p. 1390).

These little remarks may eventually take their toll on women lawyers' self-confidence. As one woman said, "a trial is demanding enough without having to jump over the additional hurdles of sexism on the part of judge, jury or adversary" (Schafran, 1983, p. 38). Another said:

Some judges call you "young ladies" and do not take you seriously as they take male lawyers. There's nothing you can put your finger on and it's nothing where I can say I'm mistreated, but the case may be coming out the wrong way because of it. It is a very unpleasant situation. What I've always found is that when other people are not taking me seriously, it makes it that much harder for me to take myself seriously. (Schafran, 1983, p. 38)

Eleanor Alter, a partner in a large private firm agrees, "the biggest psychological obstacle for a woman is learning to see herself in a professional role. Self-confidence is the key. Anything that nurtures self-confidence will help professionally" (Schoenthal, 1978, p. 69). A 1983 survey seems to confirm that women lawyers are not as ambitious as men; they do not seem to be as interested in politics or judgeships (Cook, 1983, p. 52). This is not to suggest that all women lawyers are not ambitious. Certainly many are, but evidence suggests that some women are not as confident in their abilities. When people think that they do not or never will do as well as others, they may be realistic, but they may also be suffering from what Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb have called "the hidden injuries of class" which may

keep them from setting ambitious goals for themselves (Epstein, 1981, p. 90). Sexism and discrimination cause such injuries, and only because of their sex women lawyers may unconsciously disqualify themselves from positions such as judgeships, no matter how well qualified they are (Cook, 1983, p. 49).

The inaccurate portrayal of women lawyers in professional journals' advertisements would be another of these "hidden injuries" that chip away their self-confidence, and that is why this research should be done. "Discrimination is perceived differently, and discrimination is dispensed differently. Some women lawyers were confronted with discrimination head on, some indirectly and some not at all" (Epstein, 1981, p. 80). It is important to see if legal magazine advertisements were or are a part of this indirect discrimination.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Previous research has found that advertising that appears in specialized media such as business periodicals and trade journals contains fewer images of people than consumer magazine advertising. Traditionally, an overwhelming majority of the women depicted in ads have been shown in roles that are subordinate to men. When women have been shown working outside the home, they have been most often employed in low status jobs such as secretaries, elementary school teachers and nurses. Recent research indicates that the image of women in consumer magazine advertising has become more realistic. This research also indicates that a "lag" exists in the way women are portrayed in advertising; it takes time before a change in women's roles in society is reflected in advertising. The fact that women have only recently made real gains in the legal profession suggests women in legal magazine advertising may be shown less often than men and will most likely appear in the traditional occupational roles of office workers. Images of Black, Hispanic or Oriental women may be rare in legal magazine advertising because there are so few of these women in the legal profession.

These suppositions lead to the following hypotheses:

H₁: There will be fewer people shown in legal professional journal advertising compared with consumer magazine advertising.

H₂: Pictures of men will predominate even more than in consumer magazine advertisements.

H₃: Very few, if any, of the ads will show a woman who is any race other than Caucasian.

H₄: Over the entire time period under study, the employment role in which most women will be shown will be as office worker.

H₅: The percentage of women lawyers shown in the ads will be below the actual percentage of women practicing law today.

Content analysis was used to test these hypotheses. This method has been used with much success to answer similar hypotheses about how groups have been portrayed in advertising (Kassarjian, 1977, p. 10; Wimmer & Dominick, 1983, pp. 140-141).

Sample Selection

The August 24, 1985, Standard Rate and Data Service report was used to determine which legal magazines, journals, and/or reviews sold ad space. The researcher chose the top three journals according to published circulation figures; Barrister (#2 with a circulation of 140,591) was excluded from this list because it has not been published or did not sell ad space during the first three time periods under study. The three magazines chosen and their circulations are: ABA Journal--333,650; Case & Comment--106,790; and Trial--58,501. The following is a brief description of each of these publications.

The ABA Journal is published monthly by the American Bar Association. It is edited "primarily for lawyers in private practice or judges of trial or appellate courts, federal and state" (SRDS, p. 883). Articles in the magazine cover contemporary issues that have legal implications as well as more traditional reports on significant Supreme

Court rulings and decisions from other courts. Book reviews of technical legal works as well as general interest works are also included on a regular basis. This is perhaps the most well respected of the three magazines chosen due to its close ties with the ABA. The ABA Journal was established in 1915.

Case & Comment was established in 1894. It is a bi-monthly publication of The Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Co. directed toward "actively practicing" members of the legal profession. Case & Comment's editorial focus and content are much like the ABA Journal's with a bit more emphasis placed on "office economics and management."

The third publication, Trial, has a more limited focus. Its Publisher's Editorial Profile says it is directed to trial attorneys who are members of the ATLA, the Association of Trial Lawyers of America. Articles in Trial are much the same as in the preceding two publications but more limited to issues dealing only with trial law (SRDS, p. 889). As mentioned earlier, few women are members of the ATLA; therefore, this magazine probably has the lowest percentage of female readers of any of the publications included in the research. The magazine was established in December of 1964, the first year studied in this research.

Time Frame

The period under study is twenty years, from 1964 to 1984. Samples were taken at five-year intervals; all issues of each of the three magazines from the years 1964, 1969, 1974, 1979 and 1984 were examined. (An exception was made because Trial was not published for

the entire year during 1964; the 1965 issues of that publication were used instead.) The year 1964 represents the pre-women's movement period. As mentioned earlier, the real increase in the number of women law students did not occur until the Vietnam War (approximately 1965). Epstein writes "1965 and 1966, [were] the years in which the women's movement was beginning to grow although most people, including the lawyers [she] interviewed, were still unaware of it" (Epstein, 1981, pp. 5-6). In the midst of 1974 was the feminists' movement and was also about the time the first big group of female law graduates were finding employment. A sort of an awareness period was 1984, a time when it is not really not all that unusual for a woman to become a lawyer, and is the most current time period that can be included in this research.

Definition of Categories

This is probably the most important and most difficult part of the methodology; if exact categories were defined, then the research is a success. The categories used are outlined below and closely follow the pattern of Courtney and Lockertz's benchmark study with some modifications due to the nature of the journals included in the current sample.

This research examines the number, sex, occupation, age and race of models pictures in photographs or line drawings (excluding cartoons) that appear in ads sized one page or larger. Ads which feature only body parts (except the face)--e.g., hands--were excluded. Ads picturing over five people were excluded because of the difficulty in coding.

Also ads which pictured only children or fictional/historical characters were not included in this study.

The initial categories were peer/nonpeer categories: man only, woman only, men only, women only and both sexes. When more than one model was pictured, the researcher recorded if he/she was pictured with members of the same sex or of the opposite sex; however, no attempt was made to determine whether the male or female character has the superior role. Attempts at trying to determine authority relationships have had little success in past communications research efforts (Kassarjian, 1977, p. 14).

Another factor recorded was the type of product or service that was advertised. These categories include: professional good/service, office equipment, personal service and personal good. Research books, electronic research sources such as Lexis and Westlaw, long distance phone service, and visual aids for courtroom use, were classified as professional goods/services. The office equipment classification included ads for photo copiers, computers, phone systems, furniture, filing systems, etc. Ads for services such as insurance, auto financing/leasing and brokerage firms were coded as personal service. Personal goods were items such as cars, suits, and cigars.

The sex and race categories should be obvious; therefore, they presented few problems for the coders. For the occupation category, the choices were judge, attorney, office worker, client and other. Judges were those models wearing judicial robes. Office workers were models shown taking notes, typing, using office equipment such as a computer, photocopier, etc. Age proved to be a more difficult category

to define. The researcher wanted to use categories that would correspond with survey information about the legal profession; therefore, the proposed age divisions were 26 years old or less; 27-44 years old; and over 45 years old. It was thought that the younger age bracket would not be that difficult to code, and pictorial indicators such as gray hair and/or facial wrinkles were used to determine the upper age level, then the remaining models were to be placed in the middle age bracket. The two studies mentioned in the literature review pointed out the difficulties in trying to set up and code age categories; therefore, the researcher realizes that it may not be possible to reach a satisfactory intercoder reliability coefficient in the age categories. If this proves to be the case in the pilot study, then the question of age will be dropped from the research.

Pilot Study

As Wimmer and Dominick (1983, p. 142) suggested, a pilot study was conducted to establish reliability. Three coders were used. Each was given the definitions of the categories individually and shown two examples of how to code an advertisement, then the researcher answered general questions that each coder asked. Once they began coding no questions were answered by the researcher. The coders each examined two sets of ads. A set of ads refers to all the issues of one title for one year; for example, the ads found in the twelve issues of the ABA Journal for the year 1974 were one of the sets coded in this pilot study. These two sets represent about 10% of the data to be coded. Wimmer and Dominick recommend anywhere from 10% to 25% of the sample be

analyzed to calculate an overall intercoder reliability coefficient (1983, p. 154). See Appendix A for an example of an ad and how each coder classified the ad.

As was suspected, the intercoder reliability coefficient for the age category did not reach acceptable levels. The age coefficients were around .60 (see Table 4), far below the level of about .90 reported in most of the published content analyses that used the Holsti formula to derive an intercoder reliability coefficient (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983, p. 156). It is interesting to note that coders A and B who are both male and of similar age agreed with each other many more times than they did with coder C who is a female a few years older than they are. The other categories fared much better in the pretest. See Table 4 for a summary of the intercoder reliability coefficients after the age decisions were eliminated.

TABLE 4
COMPARISON OF INTERCODER RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS

Coders	All Categories	Age Categories Only	Excluding Age Category
A & B	.90	.68	.95
B & C	.83	.53	.90
A & C	.85	.55	.93

The pilot study also proved to be very valuable in modifying and improving the classification system. Two new occupational categories were added. Enough ads in the pilot study showed salesmen to warrant a

category. This category included people who are identified in the copy or headline of the ad as a sales representative. Professional spokespersons (i.e., entertainers) who endorse particular products were also included in the salesperson category. The second category added was decorative model which included women and men who simply do not fit into the legal setting in any way. Women in evening gowns and men in tuxedos posed with cars, Cuban cigar makers shown with their products, a wife waiting for her husband to come home for dinner, are some of the examples included in the decorative model category. The inclusion of this category also eliminated the need for the "other" category.

Limitations

There were some problems with the sample because the researcher was unable to obtain complete sample sets. As mentioned earlier, since Trial did not begin publication until December 1964, the 1965 issues of that magazine were analyzed. The researcher also could not obtain all of the 1979 issues of Trial; only five of the twelve issues were available. The researcher acknowledges this problem, but points out that Stempel compared samples of six and twelve issues of publications against the total for the entire year and found that both of the sample sizes were "adequate" (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983, p. 145).

There was an additional problem with the sample. On three separate occasions the coders found notices from the library that advertising pages had been deleted from three issues in order to facilitate binding. No more than ten pages of advertising could have been omitted from the research because of this binding procedure. Although this is a flaw in sample, it cannot be considered a major one.

Another point that must be considered is validity. This research relies on face validity. Face validity "assumes that an instrument adequately measures what it purports to if the categories are rigidly and satisfactorily defined and if the procedures of the analysis have been adequately conducted" (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983, p. 157). Despite its problems, this particular validation technique is commonly used in descriptive content.

Finally, there is the "fully-only" dilemma (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983, p. 152). For example, if the research reveals 5% of the lawyers pictured are women, then is this percentage high or low? The researcher must have some sort of benchmark in order to make comparisons when interpreting the study's findings. Unfortunately benchmark data are not available for all of the areas this study examined.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Analysis of the sample's advertisements resulted in the acceptance of the first three hypotheses and the rejection of the fourth and fifth hypotheses. A smaller percentage of the ads in the legal journals featured people than ads in consumer magazines, and pictures of men predominated even more than in consumer magazine advertising. Very few Black and no Hispanic or Oriental women were shown in the ads. The employment role in which most women were portrayed was "office worker" except in the 1984 advertisements. In that year more female attorneys were shown than office workers, and the percentage of women lawyers shown in the 1984 ads was very close to the actual percentage of female attorneys.

People in Legal Magazines Advertisements

Table 5 provides the data which tend to support the hypothesis that images of people feature less frequently in advertising directed to the legal community than they do in ads targeted to general consumers. Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) found that approximately 43% of the ads included in their sample of consumer magazines featured people. The data in this study suggest that percentage falls to around 20% for legal journal ads. The 20% figure is comparable to the percentage of "people ads" in industrial and business magazines; Easton and Toner (1983, p. 146) report that number to be around 15%. Like ads found in

TABLE 5
INCIDENCE OF PEOPLE IN LEGAL MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS

	1964	1969	1974	1979	1984
Number of Ads Sized One Page or Larger:					
<u>ABA Journal</u>	121	171	295	289	520
<u>Case & Comment</u>	107	57	106	69	94
<u>Trial</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>43*</u>	<u>256</u>
Totals	253	260	456	401*	870
Number of Ads That Picture People:					
<u>ABA Journal</u>	45	25	31	54	91
<u>Case & Comment</u>	31	14	14	17	31
<u>Trial</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4*</u>	<u>53</u>
Totals	79	50	51	75*	175
Percentage of Ads That Picture People	31	19	11	19	20

*Only five of the twelve issues were coded.

industrial magazines, legal journal ads often show only the product--i.e., a reference book or photocopier and no person.

The ads in this study also differ from consumer ads in another creative aspect. The legal magazine ads are more copy heavy and tend to be less "creative" or "attention getting" than their consumer magazine counterparts. It can be argued that since the readers of the professional journals are likely to be more interested in the products or services that are being advertised in their journal, the "attention getting" graphics and headlines found in consumer magazines are not as necessary, but may no longer be the case. Table 5 shows the dramatic increase in the number of ads placed in these journals from 1964 to 1984. Issues that once had about ten one-page ads now have four times that many. As more and more ads compete for the reader's attention, advertisers in these publications may have to do something to get readers' attention.

Table 5 also suggests a creative trend away from and then back to using people in advertisements. In 1964 approximately 30% of the ads pictured models. The percentage fell to around 10% in 1974, but climbed back to around 20% in 1984.

Images of men clearly dominate legal professional journal's advertising (see Table 6); these findings support the second hypothesis. Pictures of men outnumber pictures of women about five to one in most of the years studied. Pictures of women did increase above this norm during the years 1974 and 1979; however, even in those years, men outnumbered women approximately two to one and three to one respectively. Table 6 also shows that from 1974 to 1984 the percentage of women in

TABLE 6
SEX PERCENTAGES OF PEOPLE SHOWN IN ADS

Sex	1964 (N=113)	1969 (N=59)	1974 (N=60)	1979 (N=110)	1984 (N=204)
Men	87	86	62	72	82
Women	13	14	38	28	18

ads that feature people decreased. The "man only" or "men only" categories in Table 7 consistently comprised over 50% of the "people ads," and in three of the five time periods studied they made up over 80% of these ads. While this percentage may seem high, it closely parallels the percentage of male lawyers in the U.S. today--85%. It is only logical for advertisers to picture the typical consumer (in this case a man) in most of their advertising. Also, the readership of these three publications is predominately male. Women have made significant inroads into the legal profession since 1964, but they are still a long way for parity (Fossum, 1983, p. 1393).

Table 7 reveals that women are rarely shown by themselves (with the exception of one time period) and are almost never shown with other women. Some researchers have interpreted this to mean advertisers do not think that women are capable of doing things on their own, without the help of men.

The trend in recent years toward using both sexes in ads (see Table 7) is encouraging. The male-female pair, especially if the man and woman are peers, is an effective way of appealing to both sexes

TABLE 7
COMPARISON PERCENTAGES OF PEER/NONPEER SETTINGS

Peer/Nonpeer	1964 (N=113)	1969 (N=59)	1974 (N=60)	1979 (N=110)	1984 (N=204)
Man Only	48	53	42	36	62
Men	35	31	18	13	12
Woman Only	4	10	32	15	11
Women	5	--	3	6	--
Both Sexes	7	6	5	30	15

without offending either (Courtney & Whipple, 1985, p. 6). Feminists say that problems occur when both sexes appear in ads, but the woman is always portrayed in a subordinate role. One woman lawyer criticized advertisements in legal publications that "continue to depict male attorneys wisely and patiently instructing female office personnel in the use of the newest, most efficient business machinery" (Sheridan, 1981, p. 45). This patronizing "mentor" image was very evident in the earlier time periods included in this research, but in 1984 most of the ads that featured both sexes portrayed them as peers. All of the ads that featured more than one female depicted the women as peers; no ads showed a situation where a female lawyer was "mentoring" a female office worker.

The findings also support the third hypothesis. It is not surprising that almost all of the people pictured in the ads this study examined were Caucasian (see Table 8). Just as it has taken years for the civil rights movement to have any noticeable impact on the number

TABLE 8
PERCENTAGE OF RACE OF PEOPLE PORTRAYED IN ADS

Race	1964 (N=113)	1969 (N=59)	1974 (N=60)	1969 (N=110)	1984 (N=204)
White	100	100	98	96	98
Black	--	--	2	4	1
Hispanic	--	--	--	--	1

of black lawyers, it took quite some time before Blacks were shown in legal reviews' advertisements. It was 1974 before a black person appeared in the ads this study examined. Four blacks were pictured in 1979 and two in 1984. Of these seven blacks, four were women. While these advertisers can be criticized for not providing roles models for black women in their ads, they can be praised for not using "tokenism" to try to sell products. Such an ad would feature only a black woman. The ads examined in this study all showed black women with white female co-workers. Blacks and whites alike are likely to have a negative reaction to ads having any "tokenism" connotations. Black women are especially sensitive to insinuations that they are successful only because of the combination of their sex and race and unofficial "quota" systems. As one black woman lawyer said, "I'm a show woman and a show nigger, all for one salary" (Epstein, 1981, p. 87).

Occupations and Types of Products/Services Advertised

It is no surprise that the majority of the employment roles shown in these magazines' ads were lawyers (see Table 9). The percentage of models pictured as clients or decorative models seems to have declined over the twenty-year period while the percentage of people shown as salespeople has increased. In recent years there seems to be a trend away from showing office workers.

TABLE 9
PERCENTAGE OF COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS
PORTRAYED IN ADS

Occupations	1964 (N=113)	1969 (N=59)	1974 (N=60)	1979 (N=110)	1984 (N=204)
Lawyer	61	66	33	45	66
Office Worker	10	10	32	25	7
Salesperson	5	--	8	17	12
Judge	6	10	12	7	7
Client	7	7	3	4	1
Decorative Model	11	7	12	2	7

This study's fourth hypothesis is more concerned with the employment roles held by women. Appendix B contains citations for some of the more interesting portrayals of women that appeared in the ads this study examined. Over the years, the vast majority of women were shown as office workers (see Table 10). In each year, there was about fifteen

TABLE 10
NUMBER OF WOMEN SHOWN IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL ROLES

Occupations	1964	1969	1974	1979	1984
Office Worker	11	6	19	24	14
Model	4	2	4	1	3
Lawyer	--	--	--	4	17
Salesperson	--	--	--	2	--
Judge	--	--	--	--	1
Client	--	--	--	--	<u>1</u>
Totals	15	8	23	31	36

portrayals of female office workers. Up until 1979, the only other role in which women were shown was as a decorative model. From 1979 to 1984 the number of women shown as lawyers increased over fourfold. In 1984 there were 17 women lawyers compared to 118 male attorneys. The percentage of women lawyers in ads was 13%; this percentage is very close to the "real world" percentage of 15%; these findings disprove this research's fifth hypothesis. The number of women judges, clients and salespeople is still very, very low.

People/Products Relationships

The dominant product categories advertised in the legal magazines were professional goods and services and office equipment (Table 11). An ad for the ABA Journal appearing in the Standard Rate & Data Service

TABLE 11
PERCENTAGE OF TYPE OF GOODS OR SERVICES ADVERTISED

Goods or Services	1964 (N=113)	1969 (N=59)	1974 (N=60)	1979 (N=110)	1984 (N=204)
Professional Goods or Services	75	75	47	56	59
Office Equipment	14	8	47	35	24
Personal Service	14	10	3	7	15
Personal Good	--	7	3	2	2

report used to draw this study's sample pointed out the legal profession spends a great deal of money on office equipment. The ad claims that the 100,000 law firms represented by the ABA Journal's readers spend approximately \$500 million on computers and \$11 billion on photocopiers each year (SRDS, p. 883). Personal goods are rarely advertised, and personal services are only featured in ads slightly more frequently. The personal service most heavily advertised was insurance.

For some reason, the 1974 and 1979 samples contained far fewer (1) ads for professional goods and services and (2) ads that portrayed lawyers. A possible explanation for this decline is that during those years there was a controversy over whether or not lawyers should be able to advertise their services; therefore, advertisers to the legal community may have been wary about using advertising that featured portrayals of lawyers.

As expected, there seems to be a link between various employment roles shown in ads and the types of goods or services advertised. When

the percentage of office equipment ads increased so did the number of ads featuring office workers (see Tables 10 and 11). In the earlier years under study, many of the female office workers were shown as "helpless" and totally incapable of doing their job without the advertised brand of office equipment (see examples in Appendix B). That type of portrayal was not apparent in the later issues of the legal magazines. In those issues, legal secretaries were shown as competent employees, and office equipment was advertised as a means of simply increasing their productivity.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The major conclusion of the current study is that although the number of women shown in legal magazine advertisements is small, the image of these women has improved over the past twenty years. Today ads in these journals present a fairly realistic portrayal of women lawyers and legal secretaries. However, it is recommended that advertisers in these journals continue to adapt their advertising as women's role in the legal profession evolves. Analysts predict that by the year 2000, between 33% (Fossum, 1981, p. 582) and 40% of the nation's lawyers will be women (Biggest Step Yet . . . , 1981, p. 7). The small number of women shown in the ads is not a problem today, but what of tomorrow? If the number of women lawyers shown in ads does not increase at a similar rate, then advertisers will not be presenting an accurate portrayal of women in the legal profession.

Changing Inaccurate/Ineffective Portrayals

Even if advertisers do not believe that traditional images of women in advertising has a negative effect on women in our society, then they should perhaps consider changing the images of women in their ads for another reason. Traditional images of women are simply no longer effective in selling some products and services. The results of this research seems to indicate that advertisers (in legal magazines) are learning that this is true.

X The relationship between advertising and buying behavior is still

somewhat of a mystery to researchers both in academic and marketing circles; however, both groups believe that "affective measures" such as whether or not the consumer likes or dislikes the ad help shape purchase decisions. Much of the research dealing with role portrayals in ads is based on this "like or dislike" principle. If ads are disliked because of the way they portray women, then they are ineffective as promotion for the good or service they feature and should be changed. ✕

Obviously, ads which keep women in traditional roles are offensive to both female and male feminists. When feminists see the stereotype, that is usually all they see, and either the communication ends before the person reads the headline or the copy, or the person associates negative connotations with the product advertised. In either case, the ad was not effective in delivering its selling message to the consumer. This type of ad should especially be avoided when the message is targeted toward women because research has shown they are more aware of female stereotypes, and as the number of women lawyers increases then the number of ads targeted to them should also increase. (C)

✕ In order to increase the communication effectiveness of an ad, care should be taken to match the type of product or service advertised to the appropriate female role. For example, the office worker's role is effective for selling office equipment, liquid paper, typewriter ribbons, overnight delivery service and other traditional office products and services; but the career role is better for selling legal reference books, insurance policies, and more expensive "career" clothing that improves a woman's professional appearance. This pairing of role and a product is an almost common sense way of increasing

communication effectiveness that seems to have gained acceptance from many advertisers. The next step in increasing communication effectiveness is to make the ad's portrayal of women somewhat more realistic. Some communications researchers argue that this realism is the key "while a traditional role portrayed realistically will be persuasive, a modern, liberated role portrayed realistically will be even more so" (Courtney & Whipple, 1985, p. 8). Several of the ads in the 1984 sample are realistic in the way they portray female attorneys.

Both focus groups conducted by advertisers and more structured academic investigations support the use of contemporary and realistic characterizations of women no matter what the setting. Whether the ad depicts a woman working outside the home or a homemaker, it should be "contemporary and nonsexist" (Courtney & Whipple, 1985, p. 6). Research conducted on a larger sample consisting of 622 women aged 16-60 who were users of particular brands found that "a less restricted, modern, female role-portrayal was consistently found to enhance the marketing effectiveness of the brands' advertising" (Courtney & Whipple, 1985, p. 7). The research, therefore, indicates that advertisers should eliminate traditional female stereotypes if for no other reason than the economic one. Advertisers in legal journals should be especially sensitive to sex stereotyping because women lawyers like other professional women read more magazines than the typical female (Loudon & Della Bitta, 1984, p. 320) and are likely to be more perceptive to offensive female role portrayals than less educated women.

Future Research

Women's involvement in the legal profession is still in its very early stages. This research should be replicated in the future when women will make up a much larger percentage of lawyers and when more women have become partners in firms. At that time, the influence of women on their firms' purchase decisions will be greater than their influence is today.

The current research has described the way legal magazines' advertisements portray women lawyers. The next step should be to find out what women lawyers think about this image. Research should be done to see if female attorneys are aware of how the magazines portray them and what sort of impact, if any, female role portrayals have on both their personal and corporate purchasing behavior.

The "effects" area of mass communications research is still in its infancy. Additional research should be conducted using adults instead of children and using other media beside TV. Only when more research of that nature is conducted, can it be determined to what degree magazine advertising shapes individual's views concerning sex roles.

When communications researchers determine a reliable way to code age, this research should be replicated. Although there is no valid data to support these suppositions, there seems to be numerous examples of age stereotypes in these professional journals' advertisements. One of these stereotypes is the "wise old judge." The vast majority of attorneys, both male and female, were also shown as middle aged or

older; however, in 1980, 75% of women lawyers in this country were 40 years old or younger, and their median age was 32 (Sheridan, 1981, p. 46). In contrast, office workers pictured in the ads were almost always shown as young, although many of America's secretaries are middle-aged.

Other interesting studies using legal professional journals would be content analyses of cartoons that appear in these publications and the magazines' covers. Analysis of the journals' covers would give some indication of how women and other minorities are treated in the publication's editorial content. Gender-related humor, like sex stereotyping in advertising, is acceptable to some, but offensive to others. Several cartoons in the earlier issues of the legal journals are humorous at the expense of women; a content analysis would determine if that type of humor has been eliminated from the journals since the number of the magazines' women subscribers has increased.

Finally, the entire aspect of sex stereotyping in professional journal advertising needs to be studied from the advertiser's viewpoint. Advertisers need to answer such questions as: "Do you feel the increasing number of female professionals has had any effect on the way you advertise in legal journals?"; "How would you describe the way women are portrayed in advertising targeted toward the legal profession?"; "What changes, if any, have you made in your advertising following the beginning of the Women's Movement?" Answers to these questions, when compared with the women lawyers' viewpoints, would help determine what gaps still exist between advertisers and female consumers in relation to the portrayal of women in professional journal advertising and suggest still further research needed to bring the two groups together.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE USED BY CODERS

A	B	C	<u>ABA Journal</u>	<u>Case & Comment</u>	<u>Trial</u>	64	69	74	79	84	
J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
						PAGE #					

man only	judge
woman only	lawyer
men only	office worker
women only	client
both sexes	salesperson
-man	decorative model
-woman	

White	Black	Hispanic	Oriental	<26	27	44	>45
professional	G/S	office equipment	personal service	personal good			

EXAMPLES OF CODING

(for the ad appearing on page 599 of the May 1974 issue of ABA Journal)

<u>Coder A</u>	<u>Coder B</u>	<u>Coder C</u>
woman only	woman only	woman only
white	white	white
<26	<26	27 44
office worker	decorative model	office worker
office equipment	office equipment	office equipment

APPENDIX B

CITATIONS FOR EXAMPLES

January 1964, ABA Journal, p. 2.

September 1964, ABA Journal, p. 809.

May 1969, ABA Journal, p. 407.

January 1974, ABA Journal, p. 31.

May 1974, ABA Journal, p. 513.

May 1979, ABA Journal, p. 777.

VITA

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