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Gender Ideology and Drinking Norms: Content Analysis of Alcohol Advertisements in Selected Magazines, 1973 to 1988

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Sherry Jo Walker entitled "Gender Ideology and Drinking Norms: Content Analysis of Alcohol Advertisements in Selected Magazines, 1973 to 1988." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.

Suzanne B. Kurth, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Samuel Wallace, Thomas Hood, Susan Becker

Accepted for the Council:


Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

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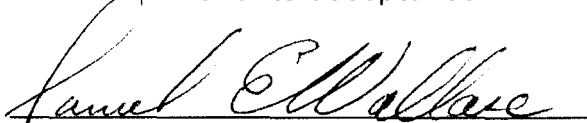
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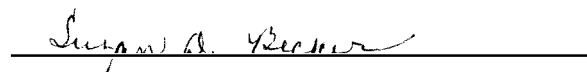


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Accepted for the Council:



Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of The Graduate School

GENDER IDEOLOGY AND DRINKING NORMS: CONTENT
ANALYSIS OF ALCOHOL ADVERTISEMENTS IN
SELECTED MAGAZINES, 1973 TO 1988

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Sherry Jo Walker

December 1992

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of
my grandfather, Brice H. Martin

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ABSTRACT

This content analysis compared gender-alcohol associations presented in alcohol advertisements in Ms. and Sports Illustrated from 1973 to 1988. Analysis focused on (1) changes in gender representations during a period of transitional female roles, (2) relative frequencies of cognitive and emotion-inducing themes appearing in sex specific alcohol advertising, and (3) drinking norms presented by alcohol advertisers during a period characterized by criticism of alcohol marketing.

Portrayals of women did not accurately reflect the actual employment status of women. Images of feminism were superficial portrayals of women imitating men (e.g., whiskey consumption) or presented feminists as decorative objects. From 1973 to 1988, alcohol ads in Ms. and Sports Illustrated increasingly presented gender stereotypes. Women were defined by their relationships with men, whereas men were defined by their accomplishments.

In both magazines, for all sample years (i.e., 1973, 1982, 1988), emotion-inducing themes predominated. Personal satisfaction was the most frequent type of emotion-inducing appeal. Frequencies of other emotion-inducing themes suggested that different images were used to target a female versus a male market (e.g., elegance in Ms. and tradition in Sports Illustrated).

Comparison of normative messages revealed that alcohol ads in Ms. more often presented alcohol as a means of emotion-management, whereas alcohol ads in Sports Illustrated more often associated drinking with hazardous

activities. In both magazines, images of heavy drinking were more frequent than images of moderation.

It was concluded that alcohol producers, and their advertisers, experimented with non-conventional gender portrayals only when it was presumed novel and/or profitable to do so. Moreover, representations of drinking (i.e., types of appeals and normative messages) apparently changed only when there were direct threats to the self-regulation of alcohol advertising.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Embellishments of societal images in advertising reinforce consumer culture materialism (Schudson 1984) and symbolically portray life as it presumably should be (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988). Advertisers on many occasions promote products people do not need so they use emotionally charged symbols to stimulate brand appeal (Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990). Thus, advertisers may glorify some cultural aspects (e.g., gender images, alcohol consumption), as they try to both generate desire and suggest how desire can be met.

Analysis of advertising is one way of studying popular culture (e.g., ideal images of femininity and masculinity). From the beginning of modern advertising, advertisers have considered women a key audience and consequently, have modified gender representations in advertising to be sensitive to what they believed were important changes in women's roles (Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990). Yet, advertisements for various types of products have been criticized for emphasizing female sexuality and male power (Courtney and Whipple 1983; Barthel 1988) and for reinforcing "gender myths" (Tuchman 1979).

Media theorists, however, do not agree about the temporal association between advertisers' created symbolic environments and the actual

environments in which people live (Voelker and Voelker 1978). Alvin Toffler (1973) calls advertisers the "people of the future" who pretest and prepare the rest of society for change. In contrast, Varda Leymore argues that "advertising plays the same role in modern societies that myth does in primitive societies . . . to conserve traditions" (1975, p. 156). A third perspective is Lee Loevinger's (1978) "reflective-projective theory" which presupposes that advertisers present ambiguous, telescopic reflections of the present. Arguing that advertising either effects or generates change in society is like the chicken-egg dilemma (Betancourt 1978); the issue should not be distilled down to a simple question of which comes first.

Interest groups may fault advertisers for presenting outmoded stereotypes (e.g., Aunt Jemimah). In the early 1970s, an organized feminist movement pushed for gender equality and expressed dissatisfaction with stereotypical images of women in the mass media (Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990). Simultaneously, in the popular culture, changes in female roles were themes in television programs (e.g., All in the Family) and music (e.g., I Am Woman). Some advertising presented a new stereotype of a "liberated" woman (e.g., "You've Come A Long Way, Baby").

Historically, the consumption and marketing of alcohol products have been gender specific (Marsteller and Karnchanapee 1980; Strate 1992). Thus, analysis of alcohol ads over time is a means of documenting changes in gender portrayals (i.e., products advertised, profiles of the alcohol consumer).

By the end of the 1970s, some companies had realized the market potential associated with new images of gender roles and targeted women as consumers of masculine-typed products (e.g., whiskey). Changing images and targets resulted in some negative results for producers. The alcohol industries were criticized for marketing aimed at vulnerable groups (e.g., people of color/women/youth), for glamorizing alcohol (Breed and DeFoe 1979; Jacobson, Atkins, and Hacker 1983; American Medical Association 1986) and for not portraying possible negative consequences of hazardous drinking (Atkins, Neuendorf, and McDermot 1983; Postman, Nystrom, Strate, and Weingartner 1987). Moreover, the liberated woman image came under attack from homemakers as not representing them, from feminists as derogatory and/or patronizing, and from men as belittling.

In the popular culture of the 1980s, feminism was blamed for a variety of social problems (e.g., violence against women, teen suicides, poverty), so having an advertising image linked to feminism was less likely to be as persuasive in the 1980s as it was in the 1970s. Subsequently, "New Traditionalist" advertising campaigns began to predominate (Faludi 1991).

The focus of this dissertation is on how gender-alcohol associations are represented in one aspect of American popular culture (i.e., print alcohol advertisements) during a period of change and debate over female roles (i.e., 1973 to 1988). This project focuses on gender representations in advertising

to see if they are grounded in reality reflecting past or present social norms or behavior, or herald emerging norms and behaviors.

One sociologist, Erving Goffman (1979) in a seminal work examined advertising to see how gender was displayed. Other social scientists and feminists (e.g., Friedan 1963; Moog 1990) analyzed how gender displays may influence individuals' perceptions and behaviors. The emphasis in this work more closely parallels Goffman's, although it takes a step in a new direction by analyzing gender-product associations and is a systematic analysis over time.

Qualitative studies of advertising are usually cross-sectional descriptions of either gender presentations (e.g., Tuckman 1974; Courtney and Whipple 1983; Kilbourne 1987, 1989; Nakayama 1989) or product images (e.g., Breed and DeFoe 1979; Kilbourne 1982, 1991; Jacobson et al., 1983). Those who study the content of product advertising look at brand images but almost completely ignore gender.

I analyze advertisements for alcohol which appeared in magazines targeted to either females or males from 1973 to 1988. Several relationships are of interest.

One, I focus on whether changes occurred in gender representations over time to see whether documented changes in women's behavior (e.g., employment levels, types of jobs held) are reflected in the advertisements. In a related vein I look to see if the times when the women's movement was most

visible, and most openly critical of advertisers' representations of women, could be linked to changes in representations of gender.

Two, I explore whether the documented levels of alcohol consumption and normative patterns of use are reflected in advertisements. To do this, I use various data sources (Beer Industry Update 1986; Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988; Wine Marketing Handbook 1988) to establish the drinking preferences and consumption patterns of females and males. I relate them to the products advertised and drinking messages presented in alcohol advertisements appearing in sex specific magazines (i.e., Ms. and Sports Illustrated).

Three, I examine whether changes occurred in the meanings of alcohol consumption presented to sex specific markets. Emphasis is on how alcohol consumption is portrayed at a time when the alcohol industries were accused of seeking new markets by targeting women, as well as other "minority" groups.

Sociologists need to develop strategies for studying how representations of types of people (e.g., female and male) in the popular culture may be modified to try to persuade people to change their behaviors. Understanding of how particular producers (e.g., the wine, distilled spirits, and beer industries) and their advertising agents draw on and try to shape popular culture should encourage sociologists to engage in the kind of research needed to move examinations of popular media beyond attempts to resolve the chicken-egg dilemma. This study is a first step in moving toward more thorough analyses

(in this case of gender role change, gender representations in advertising, and audience targeting).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW OF ADVERTISING

Everyday people are exposed to a plethora of ads on public transit vehicles, billboards, television, radio, magazines, and even in some schools. When criticized for manipulating people, advertisers defend themselves by arguing they are not scientists and they do not know what will influence people to buy a product.

This chapter is organized around the theme of (a) how advertising relates to people's everyday perceptions, (b) marketing techniques used in advertising, and (c) basic principles of brand image advertising. The "everyday perceptions" section is a review of critiques on advertising images as a "reference other." The survey of "marketing techniques" emphasizes the use of social psychological/demographic data and assumptions underlying marketing. Discussion of "principles of brand image advertising" examines metaphorical relationships, promises of social approval, and the disinterested voice of authority.

Advertising and Everyday Experiences

Advertising may shape cultural values regardless of whether it sells products (Courtney and Whipple 1983; Schudson 1984; Vestergaard and Schroder 1988; Kilbourne 1989). Many people consider ads silly and/or false, hence view themselves as detached from ad images (Maloney 1962; Krugman

1965; Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990). This detachment may account for the sleeper effect; the image may be remembered more than reasons for discounting it (Pratkanis, Greenwald, Leippe, Baumgardner 1988). Thus, recurrent images of sexism, ageism, risk-taking, and self-indulgence in advertising may normalize these phenomena in everyday life.

Critiques

As the most visible portion of overall marketing strategy, advertising is often criticized. In the late 1950s, Vance Packard (1957) claimed that advertising was a powerful force that if left unchecked would control our lives by manipulating us into buying unwanted goods and services. In the 1970s Wilson Key's controversial argument was that through subliminal messages in advertisements, we have been "cheated, lied to, manipulated, exploited and . . . laughed at for being gullible" (1973, p. 196).

In the 1980s, various issues emerged concerning advertising and its effects (Meyers 1984; Schudson 1984). People with perspectives as diverse as Neo-Conservative (e.g., believing advertising encourages narcissism and undermines concern for the needs/interest of others), Neo-Marxist (e.g., perceiving advertising as part of a capitalist superstructure, operates to disperse and negate political dissent), Liberal (e.g., arguing advertising undermines the democratic process by forcing people to buy things they do not need or want), and Feminist (e.g., asserting advertising encourages women to become preoccupied with the consumer role) have debated the effects of advertising.

Many critics of advertising also decry consumer culture and blame advertising for encouraging people to become too materialistic and to place possessions before social relations (Schudson 1984). Consensus seems to be that advertising affects our perceptions of self and our lives as well as our perceptions of others and how we should relate to them (Courtney and Whipple 1983; Barthel 1988; Vestergaard and Schroder 1988).

Reference Other

As popular images, advertisements both create and reflect a common culture. It may make products appear more aesthetically pleasing and the ad may become an aesthetic object (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988). As an aesthetic object, an advertisement is an abstraction (Goffman 1979; Schudson 1984). People are not real people but images or "myths" (Tuchman 1979) of social categories or celebrities who project public personas (Meyers 1984). The abstract representation allows different kinds of people to respond emotionally and to create their own fantasies (Berger 1972; Schudson 1984).

Erving Goffman (1979) in Gender Advertisements describes rituals of everyday life as "hyper-ritualized" in ads; the social ideal is portrayed as completely or realistically as possible. Displays in advertisements reflect elements of social structure and affirm the status of persons in the structure. Using print advertisements, Goffman illustrates the reflection of gender ideology through displays of femininity (subordination) and masculinity (dominance).

As a creator of social reality, advertising often turns life into a disappointing approximation of art (Schudson 1984). By simplifying and categorizing, ads portray life not as it is but as it presumably should be. Homes and families portrayed in advertising do not reflect the homes and families of most Americans. "In picturing people as they may become, adverts act as a reverse mirror showing us what we are not" (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988, p. 118).

Advertising images as a whole create both a market ideology and a common-sense ideology. As "official state art" or "capitalist realism" (i.e., marketing ideology) advertising promotes the American way of life by portraying middle class standards of materialism as enviable, by referencing the nation as a whole, and by featuring symbols associated with patriotism (Schudson 1984). As a "reverse mirror" (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988) or common-sense ideology, images of how life presumably should be and/or could be may change as consumer lifestyles change. For example, as women's labor force participation increased throughout the 1970s, the "new frontier woman" and "superwoman" emerged in advertising. These images were designed to appeal to the new working woman by reinforcing her employment decision while at the same time suppressing the role conflict many working women experienced (Kilbourne 1987; Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990).

Marketing Techniques in Advertising

The enterprise of advertising is characterized by three general marketing schools with more exceptions than rules. The three schools are: brand image which aims for a powerful, emotional appeal; unique selling proposition (USP) which is a logical inducement; and positioning or visibility which is designed to attract attention through humor or bizarre visuals. "In general the content of advertising is subject to industry wide conventions, particular agency traditions, to the will and whim of clients, and to general trends and fads" (Schudson 1984, p. 76). There is no consensus on which is more effective: hard sell or soft sell, informational or emotional appeals, whether there is a relationship between consumers' liking an ad and remembering it or eventually buying the product (Courtney and Whipple 1983). Moreover, there is a tendency to compromise between being innovative, thus memorable, and conventional in order to minimize risk-taking (Schudson 1984).

Over the course of the twentieth century, brand image advertising (i.e., emotional appeals aimed at an impulsive consumer) replaced informational appeals aimed at a rational consumer. One reason for the trend was advertisers' realization that women were the primary audience and popular wisdom viewed women as emotional and impulsive, unlike men who were viewed as rational (Marchand 1985). Another reason was that as the number of products within a category increased there was more uncertainty as to what consumers wanted or needed (Schudson 1984); thus, it became necessary for

producers of "unnecessary goods" to make people want to acquire their products (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988). Lastly, changes in media technology led to an increased use of pictures which could convey mood; images became more important than words and reasons (McLuhan 1969; Schudson 1984).

The type of product can determine the choice of content of an advertisement. Products whose benefits are not easy to describe (e.g., scent of cologne, taste of a cigarette or beer) are more often associated with nudity, sexual suggestiveness and innuendo than are cognitive products (e.g., energy efficiency of a washing machine)(Courtney and Whipple 1983). A classification scheme based on cognitive or emotional and high-involvement or low-involvement goods was developed (i.e., Foote, Cone, and Belding model).

High-involvement, cognitive goods include cars, houses, and furniture; advertisements typically provide information (e.g., long copy). Low-involvement, cognitive products are items such as food and household supplies; the purpose of an ad is to remind consumers that a particular brand is available. High-involvement, emotional items include jewelry, cosmetics, apparel, and motorcycles; advertisements emphasize mood, image, and emotional identification with a brand. Low-involvement, emotional commodities include cigarettes, liquor, and candy; ads typically focus on the satisfaction of personal tastes. However, advertisers recognize the tendency for low-involvement, emotional goods to shift up to the high-involvement, emotional category

becoming "badge products" which express a person's social self (Vaughn 1980; O'Toole 1981). Although a consumer's economic involvement may be low, her/his ego involvement may be high.

Social Psychological/Demographic Data

Information about the advertising audience includes consumers' attitudes and purchasing habits as well as consumers' lifestyles (i.e., how and on what occasions is the product used). The focus is not on different types of consumers but consumers with different "occasions and needs." Based on psychographic profiles, successful ads may be those that reward the viewer by providing entertainment, news, a scene with which the viewer can empathize, or communicating respect for the viewer (Plummer 1980). One psychographic approach is VALS (values and lifestyles) which divides the public into five consumption categories; Belongers, Emulators, Emulator-Achievers, Societally-Conscious Achievers, and the Need-Directed (Meyers 1984). Table 1 represents my summary of VALS advertising strategy.

In general, market researchers are more interested in demographics than psychological profiles (Schudson 1984). What they want to know is sex, age, marital status, race, religion, region, income, and labor force participation. Demographic data are important in determining who has disposable income (the audience), what media will reach the target, and what strategy will appeal to the target. For example, as women's labor force participation increased and thus, women's discretionary purchasing power, women came to be viewed as

Table 1. Values and lifestyles

Category	Description	Strategy
Belonger	traditionalist	idealized images
Emulator	impressionable, searching for an identity	offer product solutions to insecurity
Emulator- Achiever	middle class materialist wants more	everyday objects transformed into success symbols
Societally- Conscious Achievers	concern with environmental safety & self fulfillment	their counter- culture values make sense (e.g., simplicity)
Need- Directed	lack disposable income	do not exist for advertisers

potential consumers of what traditionally were considered masculine only products, such as beer and whiskey (Advertising Age Yearbook 1982; Meyers 1984; Cavanagh and Clairmonte 1985). One result of this has been differential gender advertising for the same product (Scott 1989). Moreover, special demographic editions of the same magazine are sometimes printed; the editorial content is the same but the advertisements are different (Schudson 1984).

Marketing Assumptions

Pointing to a weak correlation between advertising and sales, it is assumed that advertising is generally ineffective in changing attitudes and consumption patterns (Ehrenberg 1974; Aaker and Carman 1982). Rather than

a science, creative workers within the profession refer to advertising as an artistic craft (Schudson 1984). More important than advertising to sales are product price and disposable income, product quality and distribution, competition within a commodity industry, changing general economic conditions, and government policies (Runyon 1984). Clients are aware of multiple determinants of sales. Budget decisions often suggest that increased advertising is a product of increased sales (Ackoff and Emshoff 1975; San Augustine and Foley 1975; Patti and Blasko 1981; Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988).

Advertisers respond to critics by stating that the purpose of advertising is competition for market shares (i.e., brand choices not product choices). The philosophy of marketing is that demand cannot be created; it can only be ascertained and utilized. Two exceptions are when a new industry emerges and when an existing industry is stagnant (Schudson 1984). In the former situation, all markets are viewed as potential consumers and in the latter there are attempts to attract new consumers. Based on three assumptions (i.e., ads have not been shown to be effective; good advertising kills a bad product; ads are only providing choices), the general position among advertising personnel is that the worst they can do will not hurt anyone (Schudson 1984).

Basic Principles of Brand Image Advertising

Brand image advertising is designed to create an association between an image and a specific brand. The purpose of the association is to give the brand

an extra asset in a market where most brands within a product category are indistinguishable (Runyon 1984; Katz 1989). The image created may be a quality, emotion, and/or value (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988). People do not have to think (Moog 1990) or be consciously aware of the image (Key 1973; Barthel 1988) to respond to brand image ads. If successful the brand will appear more attractive than other brand choices and people will be persuaded to buy it. In accomplishing the leap from image to brand, advertisers use identifiable techniques.

One technique is to "picture the commodity with an object/person whose possession of the quality-emotion-value is obvious to the reader" (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988, p. 153); thus, a metaphorical relationship is established. For example, an advertisement for Cuervo Tequila features Pierce Brosnan as a "Don Juan." The copy tells us that what is being witnessed is:

Impeccably Sophisticated Yet Refreshing Cuervo Gold.
But it doesn't sound like liquor.
It sounds like our suave hero and his sexual interludes.
HE is the product personality.
HE is where the action is.
HE is what is being sold.

(Moog 1990, p. 151)

Often color symbolism is used as a metaphor (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988). The "It's Miller Time When It's Time to Relax" campaign emphasized the hues of a sunset and featured late afternoon/early evening images (4 to 8 o'clock p.m.). The Miller campaign was created after marketing research revealed that

about 44% of beer consumed in the United States is at home between four and eight o'clock p.m. (Schudson 1984).

Another technique employed in brand image advertising is to encourage people to view each portion of their life critically and to find the solution in a commodity (Ewen 1976). This technique is an application of Cooley's looking-glass self (1902) and is found in ads ranging from personal hygiene goods to household cleaners. By portraying negative consequences (e.g., social rejection, embarrassment) for failing to meet the social criteria proclaimed in advertisements, we are reminded of the need for social approval. The implied promise is the avoidance of social rejection and/or embarrassment by using the advertised brand.

Also, advertisers use loaded language to create a brand image. We are led to believe the text says things it could not explicitly state (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988); we fill in the missing words. Such ads often take the following form:

_____ is different
 _____ is pure and natural
 OR is of superior quality

The implication is that _____ is different because it is pure and natural/of superior quality. The message is that the brand is better than other brands in the same product category.

One reason why loaded language works is that advertisers present themselves as the "anonymous disinterested voice of authority" (Barthel 1988). Such ads assume their own mystique and are illustrated by captions like:

This is the season to _____

Now is the time to _____

As a persuasion technique, the "disinterested voice" is an application of research which shows that credibility and trustworthiness are enhanced if the speaker appears not to have a vested interest (Walster, Aronson and Abrahams 1966; Papageorgis 1968; Eagly, Wood, and Chaiken 1978).

The "disinterested voice" is perhaps most evident in good-will or corporate image advertising. Supposedly, the purpose of such advertising is to promote positive public relations rather than to stimulate sales. The image portrayed is a corporation working for the common good of all (Heath and Nelson 1985).

In general, brand image advertisements are not about objects but are about social relations (Berger 1972). Brand image advertising is persuasive because people rely on goods to satisfy social needs and form emotional attachments with commodities (i.e., badge products). Social groups identify themselves through habits of consumption; "the objects we use become carriers of information about the kind of people we are or would like to be" (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988, p. 5). Commodities are props used in the presentation of self (Goffman 1959).

The importance of badge products to the presentation of self is apparent in persuading men to use a product associated with use by women; inducing men to use such a product requires more traditional gender images/symbols than to move from male to female use (Courtney and Whipple 1983). Not only does this relate to the use of badge products in the presentation of self, but also it is a comment on the gender-typing of products and the differential status of women and men. Gender specific persuasion techniques and portrayal of gender in advertising are the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW OF PERSUASION TECHNIQUES AND PORTRAYALS OF GENDER

Historically, gender roles have been polarized in American culture. Recognizing that gender differences exist, advertisers assume that different kinds of images will be judged desirable by females and males (Meyers 1984; Barthel 1988; Vestergaard and Schroder 1988). An implication of gender polarization is that "if not a proper man then it follows you're effeminate. Or alternatively, if not a proper woman then it follows you're mannish" (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988, p. 75). Moreover, because gender is central to self-concept we tend to recognize ourselves in any representation of gender (Barthel 1988).

Presentation of gender in print advertising has been analyzed based on the roles portrayed (Friedan 1963; Courtney and Lockeretz 1971; Belkaoui and Belkaoui 1976; Wohleter and Lammers 1980), product representatives (Seidenberg 1974; Sexton and Haberman 1974; Ware and Stuck 1985), and the structure of gender displays (Goffman 1979; Marchand 1985; Kilbourne 1987). Evidence indicates that both women and men have been shown in a stereotypical fashion. Advertisers have operated on the belief that in effective advertising, "men act and women appear" (Berger 1972; Baltera 1976; Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990).

The patterns of presenting gender need to be established, so that the presentations analyzed for this research can be compared to them. The first section of this chapter reviews persuasion techniques used to target women and displays of femininity. The next section reviews persuasion techniques used to target males and displays of masculinity.

Targeting Women and Displays of Femininity

The general theme of advertising targeted to women is based on the assumption that she receives pleasure by pleasing others (Berger 1972; Barthel 1988). By evoking fear of inadequacy at pleasing others, she is persuaded to buy products that will make her adequate in meeting role demands and thus, loved (Warren 1978). Even the liberated woman (i.e., career oriented and/or feminist) "owes her independence and self-esteem to the products she uses" (Kilbourne 1989, p. 9).

A common inadequacy theme is sexuality; this is prevalent in women's beauty goods which promise youth and/or the release of passion (Courtney and Whipple 1983; Barthel 1988). Historically, female targeted brand image advertising was based on the assumption that the socio-sexual market defined a woman's job and encouraged women to look at themselves as things to be created for men (Barthel 1988; Moog 1990). Since the 1920s, ads have contained "pictures of veiled nudes and women in auto-erotic stances to encourage self-comparison and remind them of the primacy of their sexuality" (Ewen 1976, p. 179).

One technique used to evoke self-consciousness, and consequently self-criticism, is to picture a female model looking into a mirror (Ewen 1976). For example, an ad for Johnnie Walker shows three women looking into a mirror as they apply cosmetics; completely absent from the picture is the product. The image being sold attempts to combine gender equality (i.e., "He thinks its fine for me to make more than he does") and the stereotype that beauty is a woman's most important asset. A similar technique is the portrayal of women's bodies as dismembered parts (Goffman 1979). The dismemberment technique has been criticized for implying that a woman's body is not connected to her mind and emotions while the mirror technique has been criticized for encouraging narcissism (Kilbourne 1987, 1989).

Displays and Roles

Goffman's (1979) analysis of print advertisements illustrates how use of relative size (e.g., height, rank, authority) portray women as subordinate to men. The feminine touch (i.e., cradling or caressing objects) conveys an image of female delicacy and fragility. By being the recipient of assistance (i.e., function ranking) women lack self-autonomy. Displays of adult women as similar to female children suggest that girls simply unfold into womanhood. This child-like image is evident in the portrayal of women as uncommitted in their undertakings. Like children, women are shown in need of protection; they are psychologically removed from the situation and not prepared for

environmental contingencies (i.e., licensed withdrawal). Moreover, sexual availability is suggested by positioning women on floors and beds.

For the most part, in advertising, women have been shown almost exclusively as homemakers (i.e., working only in the home) or as decorative sex objects (i.e., glamour girls); both of whom are dependent on men (Scott 1976; Courtney and Whipple 1983). Analyses of advertisements running 1973-74 in Time, Newsweek, Playboy, and Ms. revealed that "sexism" (i.e., women as sex objects and/or engaged in traditional activities) was by far the most frequent portrayal of women in all four magazines (Pingree, Hawkins, Butler, and Paisley 1976).

Images of the homemaker have usually been condescending portrayals of women's intelligence and decision making capabilities; homemakers have been typically shown as dependent, unhappy, vain, insecure, and powerless to change (Courtney and Whipple 1983). Stereotypes include: the nagging wife, jealousy of other women, obsession with cleanliness, and an exaggerated need for love (Kilbourne 1989). Female bonding has been typically portrayed as the sharing of domestic trade secrets and images of motherhood have tended to play on the notion of maternal guilt (Ewen 1976). Her fulfillment has been based on gaining the approval of men, her husband or "Mr. Clean" (Meyers 1984). As the household consumption expert, what she bought or did not buy was a reflection of how much she cared (Ewen 1976). The message has been

"a woman's place is in the home and the reason for keeping her there is because she is unable to do anything else" (Kilbourne 1987, transcription).

Sexual portrayals of women to sell everything from liquor to automobiles have been widespread. One message of such displays is that a "woman's primary duty is to attract" (Ewen 1976, p. 182). Portrayals of women as decorative sex objects tend to emphasize youth (Kilbourne 1987, 1989). The young model represents more than age; youth is a symbol of innocence, malleability, pleasure-seeking, and innovation (Ewen 1976). The youth emphasis has been interpreted as an encouragement for women to remain little girls and as a disparagement of maturity (Kilbourne 1987). Decorative portrayals of women have been denounced for preying on female insecurities and for being demeaning to all women (Courtney and Whipple 1983).

The combination of youth and sensuality (e.g., "because innocence is sexier than you think") puts a woman in a double bind; she is to be sexy and virginal, experienced and naive, seductive and chaste (Kilbourne 1989). The double bind implies to stereotypes: the fair maiden and the dark lady (Barthel 1988). The fair maiden is virginal; she represents the "happily ever after" romance. Equated with a flower, the fair maiden is delicate, soft, fragrant, fresh, moist, and inviting. The other side of female sexuality is the woman of mystery. This dark lady represents sensual knowledge and the power of passion; she lives on the edge (i.e., breaking the rules).

In the 1970s, as feminists made progress toward securing an equal rights amendment, a third type of feminine portrayal reappeared in advertising (e.g., the Virginia Slims "You've Come a Long Way, Baby" campaign). Referred to as tokenism (i.e., superficial portrayal of women in the labor force) or liberation stereotyping (i.e., parody of feminism), these ads presented crude caricatures of nontraditional women and commercialized the rhetoric of the women's movement (Bartos 1982; Courtney and Whipple 1983; Meyers 1984). Associating a product with expressing oneself politically was not new in advertising; during the suffrage movement the tobacco industry presented cigarettes as "torches of freedom" (Ewen 1976) and smoking as a symbol of "stylish naughtiness" (Schudson 1984).

Historically, print advertising has not represented women as participants in the labor force (Courtney and Lockeretz 1971; Wagner and Banos 1973; Sexton and Haberman 1974; Venkatesan and Losco 1975). Moreover, when featured in work roles the occupational choices have been restricted; in both 1958 and 1972 the predominant portrayal of the working woman role was secretarial-clerical (Belkaoui and Belkaoui 1976). Then, perhaps in response to critics or demographic changes, in the 1970s advertisers began featuring women as "power-dressed professionals" in male dominant occupations. These "new frontier images" (Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990) showed women imitating a masculine style. The message: to make it in a man's world be like a man.

In the 1980s, the "new frontier" woman was replaced by the "superwoman" (Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990). She is the one "who washes with a three temperature detergent . . . uses haircolor . . . or new products such as feminine-hygiene spray" (Courtney and Whipple 1983, p. 33). The message: she can have it all or be it all (i.e., paid employee, housewife, sex kitten) with the help of a product (Kilbourne 1989).

Targeting Men and Displays of Masculinity

Sexual images are common in advertisements directed to males and promise sexual fulfillment with the female pictured or symbolized (Courtney and Whipple 1983; Barthel 1988). Instead of evoking fears of inadequacy, when the audience is male, sexuality is used to induce arousal or identification (Moog 1990). Since brand image advertising may operate on a subconscious level, the male target need not be aware of the imagery (Key 1973, 1976; Moog 1990). The assumption appears to be that a man pleases himself by satisfying his own desires and that to get a man's attention stimulate his sex drive.

A prevalent motif in ads directed to men is power (Courtney and Whipple 1983). Advertising targeted to men has typically conveyed images of independence, exactness, choice, performance, precision, and adventure (Barthel 1988). Power is linked to male competitiveness and the promise is that the brand will enhance his attributes and give him an advantage (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988). This promise is often conveyed by the

portrayal of a man--alone and in control, with other men each on the verge of unleashing aggression, or being dominant over women (Nakayama 1989).

Similar to the "inadequacy at pleasing others" theme found in ads targeted to women, the power theme associates a commodity with proof of appropriate gender qualities. Rather than evoking self-criticism, the goal is to create an association between the product and his control of objects and others (Berger 1972). In general, his adequacy in meeting role demands is not questioned; the issue is how he convinces others of superior role performances.

Displays and Roles

Goffman's (1979) analysis found that through function ranking, men have been shown as leaders or executives who instruct/supervise others. When shown in a traditional female domain, the male avoided contamination by appearing incompetent or non-serious about the activity. Family images which portray the father (or son) outside the family circle suggest he is the protector. Men typically are shown committed to their undertakings; rarely are they shown canted, with a bashful knee bend, sucking their fingers, or drifting from the scene. Moreover, male superiority is portrayed in mock assaults against both women and children.

Historically, advertisements have presented men as "success objects" (Farrell 1974). For the most part, images of masculinity were restricted to occupational roles (Courtney and Whipple 1983). Examination of changes in depictions of prevalent male work roles from 1958 to 1978 shows a shift from

big business leaders and military men to entertainment and sports celebrities (Wohleter and Lammers 1980). A theme common in all four work roles is competition.

In the 1970s, there were changes in portrayals of masculinity. Ads attempting to portray non-traditional women often did so through role reversals that presented men as "jerk objects" (Farrell 1974); the depreciating of males was a substitute for gender equality. Some ads, targeted to women, portrayed men as less macho and more sensitive, conveying the message that not all men are rogues--with understanding and the right product he could be gentle and caring (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988). In ads targeted to both women and men, the use of a male as a decorative object increased (Wohleter and Lammers 1980; Skelly and Lundstrom 1981). In response to criticism (i.e., women as sex objects) advertisers attempted to achieve balance by featuring men as sex objects (Renzetti and Curran 1989).

Currently, prevalent masculine roles are: cowboys, successful businessmen, construction workers, sophisticates in tuxedos, and jocks; the image presented is the "strong, silent, authoritarian, militaristic, and threatening male" (Nakayama 1989, p. 17). Decorative masculine displays tend to use the half-naked, young athlete (Junyk 1989) and male sexuality is often portrayed as animalistic (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988). Cumulatively, these roles present men as financially, sexually, and physically invulnerable.

Gender researchers have not examined displays of masculinity as presented to males to the extent that displays of femininity as presented to females have been examined (Courtney and Whipple 1983; Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990; Fejes 1992). Marketing researchers, however, have observed that more men are selecting and purchasing their own personal items (e.g., cologne and underwear) rather than leaving these tasks to the women in their lives. Recognition of a non-traditional male consumer has resulted in ads targeted to men featuring men who are "aggressive yet ethical, traditional yet adventurous, and intimate yet independent" (Gill 1991, p. 76). The 1990s may be characterized by the "neo-male," who is the counterpart of the "superwoman."

The gender specific themes (i.e., her inadequacy and self-criticism; his adequacy and self-presentation) are not different in kind; both reflect a "commodity self" (Ewen 1976). What is different is the way advertisers appeal to women versus men. Imagine an ad for men saying "Why grow old gracefully?" or an ad for women saying "For those of you who cut the big jobs down to size."

One explanation for gender specific persuasion techniques is that advertisers take for granted that male power is constantly challenged and thus, they do not need to evoke self-criticism. On the other hand, they may be unsure of a woman's perception of her role performances, and just in case she is confident, they encourage her to question herself. This explanation is based

on literature from gender role socialization which argues that the male has a more uncertain concept of masculinity than does the female of her femininity (Lynn 1959, 1969, 1974); the difference is a consequence of the indirect gender socialization males experience in childhood versus the direct experience of females (i.e., extensive daily contact with adult members of one's own sex).

Another explanation is that advertisers may assume that a woman is insecure and simply use this insecurity. Correspondingly, they may assume that a man is self-confident and would be offended by the questioning of his adequacy.

Consistent with the polarization of gender in American society, femininity and masculinity in advertising represent opposite stereotypes (Pingree et al. 1976; Goffman 1979; Barthel 1988). Historically, relationships in advertising reflected a symbiotic exchange (Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990). She traded her domestic skills and sexual attractiveness for his wage-earning potential (Ewen 1976). She was dependent and he was her protector; she could drift from the scene because he was there to anchor her (Goffman 1979). He was the independent leader while she was subordinate and child-like. He was powerful and she was powerless.

In general, advertising directed to females and males uses different persuasion techniques. Females are encouraged to be self-critical in their ability to please others while males are encouraged to seek self-reward and/or display power. These differences reflect traditional images of women and men;

women as defined by their relationships with others and men defined by what they do.

Conclusion

Comparative data on how gender is displayed to specific markets over time are lacking. Also lacking are data on changes in gender-product associations. The purpose of this project is to examine one gender-product association (i.e., alcohol products) as presented to gender specific markets for changes over time (1973 to 1988).

This study differs from content analyses by Goffman (1979) and Kilbourne (1982, 1987, 1989, 1991) in that neither of them examined images as they were presented to specific markets; nor did they examine advertisements for changes over time. Also, Goffman's description of gender presentations did not take into account product associations. Kilbourne's work focused on gender and alcohol product images separately whereas this study concurrently examines portrayals of gender and alcohol consumption. Analysis of gender-alcohol associations over time, as presented to specific markets, will contribute to work in the areas of gender roles, advertising, and patterns of alcohol use.

As gender roles changed in American society from the 1960s through the 1980s, advertisers were changing the gender images in the ads they produced (Meyers 1984; Barthel 1988; Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990). In the 1960s, advertising reflected the assumption that men's fantasies were about

control and power while women's fantasies were about being desired; a common image was the "cool, impenetrable rogue surrounded by adoring women" (Gill 1991, p. 77). In the 1970s, the women's movement was spoofed in "new frontier" and "superwoman" stereotypes while men were ridiculed. Forced into a defensive position, the sensitive male (e.g., Phil Donahue and Alan Alda) appeared in the 1980s (Gill 1991); female-male relationships tended to show tension without resolution (i.e., she blamed him for trying to dominate her and he blamed her for trying to emasculate him). Data are not available on the frequency with which these various images have been presented to a female audience compared to a male audience.

Moreover, failure to examine gender-product associations in advertising has resulted in an inadequate understanding of the gender specific markets which characterize some consumer goods (e.g., cigarettes and alcohol). Profiles of the occasions for use as they appear in advertisements may reflect perceived consumer needs or be an attempt to create a new market. In either case, analysis of advertisers' use of gender-product associations over time is one source of information on changes in gender specific consumer behavior in the popular culture.

Images in alcohol advertisements both create and reflect drinking norms; thus, advertisers are sensitive to social changes that may affect socially approved patterns of drinking (e.g., alcohol consumption among women). The industry is prohibited from seeking to make drinkers out of non-drinkers;

however, it does attempt to influence drinker preferences (e.g., product and brand choices) and patterns of consumption (e.g., motivations for drinking). Comparison of gender-alcohol associations is one method for examining gender specific drinking norms.

CHAPTER 4

LITERATURE REVIEW OF DRINKING NORMS
AND ALCOHOL ADVERTISING

Assuming that preference for an alcohol beverage is an acquired taste, differences in the proportion of female and male drinkers as well as differences in what they drink are indicators of gender specific drinking norms. One source of drinking norms is alcohol advertising (Atkin et al. 1983; Jacobson et al. 1983; Lieberman and Orlandi 1987). Not only do alcohol advertisements create images for brands, but also in alcohol trade publications some magazines profile their readers' drinking habits in order to solicit alcohol advertising (Katzper, Rayback and Hertzman 1978). For example, an advertisement in the Wine Marketing Handbook (1988) states, "almost 75% of SAVVY women enjoy wine at their table--compared to less than 35% of all American women."

Historically, attitudes toward alcohol consumption in the United States have been associated with a variety of lifestyles and political ideologies. Moreover, changes in drinking norms (e.g., appropriate consumption levels, drinker characteristics, and preferred beverages) have coincided with changes in American society. Producers of alcohol beverages are cognizant of the symbolic importance of drinking, thus alcohol advertisers seek to present favorable meanings of alcohol consumption.

The first section of this chapter summarizes drinking norms in the United States and describes gender specific consumption patterns for beer, distilled spirits, and wine. The second section reviews empirical studies and public debates on the content of alcohol advertising.

Drinking Norms and Consumption Patterns

Since the early nineteenth century, attitudes toward drinking in the United States have varied as have approved levels of alcohol consumption. In general, social control issues (e.g., age restrictions) and pluralism (i.e., subcultural diversity) politicized drinking (Lender and Martin 1982). Accompanying politicization of drinking, tolerance for drinkers and drinking-related problems has vacillated. For most of the twentieth century attitudes toward drinking, drinkers, and drinking-related problems have been ambivalent (Lender and Martin 1982; Royce 1989; Maisto, Galizio, and Connors 1990).

As the end of the twentieth century approaches, one-third of the U.S. population ages 18 and older are non-drinkers, one-third are moderate drinkers and one-third are heavy drinkers (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 1987). The proportion of non-drinkers increases with age (Bucholz and Robins 1989) while the proportion of drinkers increases with education and income (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988). More women than men are non-drinkers and, among drinkers, men consume more than women (Fillmore 1984). The southeast is the driest region (DHHS 1987) and, historically, male drinkers

in high abstinence areas had higher problem rates, suggesting an interplay between gender and region (Hilton 1988).

Against a backdrop of ambivalence and heterogeneous drinking norms, per capita alcohol consumption in the U.S. ranks eighteenth in the world (Bucholz and Robins 1989). Ten percent of drinkers account for half of all alcohol consumed (DHHS 1987) and annual cost attributed to alcohol abuse has been estimated at one hundred twenty billion dollars (Crandell 1987).

Historical Overview

For men, women, and children alcohol consumption was a habitual feature of daily colonial life (i.e., 1621 to 1830). Among early colonists, as for Europeans, the beverage of choice was beer. Problems associated with alcohol abuse, when addressed, focused on threat to social stability and problem drinking was seen as the failing of individual deviants (Mendelson and Mello 1985).

By the end of the seventeenth century, colonial taste preference shifted to American-made whiskey; this symbolized the Americanization of drinking habits. Annual consumption per capita from 1810 to 1830 was 7.1 gallons absolute alcohol. Symbolizing patriotism, social equality, and individualism, drinking patterns reflected Jeffersonian-Jacksonian philosophy (Lender and Martin 1982).

Concurrent with heavy daily consumption and characterized by an anti-foreign sentiment, a dry revival swept the United States in the first half of the

nineteenth century and gave birth to neo-republicanism (i.e., political philosophy of moral stewardship). By 1840 per capita consumption fell to slightly more than three gallons absolute alcohol and an increasing number of people considered drinking a social problem (Lender and Martin 1982; Avis 1990).

After the civil war, temperance efforts were combined with assaults on pluralism, individualism, and potential social disorder as the nation sought to address the upheaval of the war, urbanization, industrialization, and immigration. Consumption, which had dropped to about two gallons absolute alcohol annually, was condemned for what it symbolized (e.g., family instability and a non-productive labor force). Legal liquor sales were seen as the cause of alcohol-related problems (Lender and Martin 1982; Chatam 1990; Maistro et al. 1991).

By 1913 about half of the U.S. population was living under some type of legal prohibition. The outbreak of World War I, and with it anti-German hostility, strengthened temperance efforts as abstinence came to be associated with patriotism (Lender and Martin 1982). The National Prohibition amendment easily passed Congress and was quickly ratified by the states. Despite initial popularity, "The Noble Experiment" was short-lived (i.e., 1920 to 1933) and when repeal came it was even more popular than Prohibition had been (Avis 1990; Maistro et al. 1991).

The dramatic change in public opinion reflects emergence of a pluralist society/consumer culture and, consequently, a re-evaluation of social and moral

issues. As consumer culture emerged in the 1920s, consumption became a substitute for concrete accomplishment and it was via common consumer goods that ordinary people and exceptional people were linked. Moreover, during the Volstead years only the wealthy could afford alcohol thus, drinking came to symbolize success and merited emulation. By 1930, temperance values and neo-republican ideals were at variance with a consumption lifestyle deemed necessary to industry (Carter 1975).

Despite its brief existence, "The Noble Experiment" affected the alcohol industries. Realizing that the excesses of the pre-prohibition era would not be tolerated, breweries never went back into the saloon business. In the 1940s and 1950s, advertising avoided themes of immoderation and portrayed drinking as part of a tasteful and sophisticated lifestyle. Rather than scoff at problems associated with alcohol abuse, the industries presented themselves as working to alleviate these problems (Lender and Martin 1982).

Since repeal of national Prohibition, alcohol-related concerns as social problems have been linked to consumption patterns. Consumption rose slowly from about one gallon absolute alcohol annually during Prohibition (75% of which was distilled spirits) to the pre-Volstead level of about two gallons by the mid-1940s and beer emerged as the beverage of choice. During these years, attempts to secure grassroots support for dry positions were unsuccessful and the public ignored the plight of the alcoholic (Lender and Martin 1982).

By the late 1970s, consumption peaked at 2.82 gallons of absolute alcohol (the highest level since the 1840 level of 3.10) and distilled spirits challenged beer as the preferred beverage (40% and 48% of absolute alcohol consumed respectively). Linked to a variety of social ills, the 1970s were characterized by a level of alcohol-related research, treatment, and prevention activities not seen since the height of the anti-liquor crusade (Fillmore 1984).

In 1980 beverage volume of wine exceeded that of distilled spirits for the first time in U.S. history (Wine Marketing Handbook 1983). Throughout the 1980s wine consumption increased and distilled spirits consumption steadily decreased (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988). Concurrent with the unpopularity of higher proof beverages, organizations concerned with alcohol-related issues flourished. Unlike earlier attempts to curb consumption, women were targeted as a major subgroup in need of prevention and treatment (Chatam 1990). Despite lack of data supporting claims of increased alcoholism among women, the spread of alcohol-related problems was emphasized via sex-role theory (i.e., as women take on roles traditionally reserved for men this produces conflict and causes deviant drinking) (Fillmore 1984).

Various factors account for recent changes in alcohol beverage choices. Increased health consciousness and greater public awareness of alcohol abuse problems may have caused some people to choose lower proof products (Wine Marketing Handbook 1986; Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988). Also, the introduction of new products (e.g., wine coolers) and the introduction of brand

image advertising to the beer industry (Meyer 1984; Cavanagh and Clairmonte 1985) stimulated wine and beer sales. Lastly, economic downturns resulting in shrinking expense accounts (i.e., fewer executive lunches), as well as a more youth-oriented market (e.g., preference for light and sweet beverages) contributed to decreased distilled spirits consumption (Advertising Age Yearbook 1982).

Gender Specific Consumption Patterns

As the proportion of the U.S. population who abstain from alcohol beverages has varied (i.e., range of 42% to 31% between 1939 and 1987) so have the proportions of female and male drinkers (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988). From 1939 to 1987, the male drinking population varied 9%, while for females the variation was 20%. In both 1939 and 1949, 58% of the U.S. adult population consumed alcohol products. The gender gap was 25% in 1939 (70% of men drank, 45% of women drank), but in 1949 the gender gap was only 17% (66% of men drank, 49% of women drank). By 1979, the national average was 69% drinkers and the gender gap had narrowed to 10% (74% of men drank, 64% of women drank). By 1987, the national average dropped slightly (65%) while the gender gap widened slightly (72% of men drank, 57% of women drank). Differences in the ratio of male and female drinkers over time suggest that women's drinking patterns may be more sensitive to social evaluations of drinking (Berkowitz and Perkins 1987) and that the appropriateness of women's drinking is more subject to change.

Women were as likely as men to be drinkers in early America (Lender and Martin 1982). After 1750, female alcohol consumption was proscribed by the "cult of true womanhood" (Welter 1966). Controlled by norms that limited her activities to maintenance of home and hearth, a woman who drank, particularly in public, was stigmatized as promiscuous. As guardians of social morality women were not allowed to drink, whereas men were allowed to not only drink but to get drunk (Fillmore 1984). Temperance efforts in the nineteenth century strengthened women's role as the sober conscience of society via the Women's Christian Temperance Union (Lender and Martin 1982).

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Victorian ideals of "true womanhood" found expression in middle class descriptions of dance halls. Characterized as dangerous places where innocent young women were led astray by the excitement of dance and drink, middle class reformers accused owners of using young working class women as bait to lure male customers into their establishments (Israels 1989). These allegations were instrumental in the creation of a dance hall licensing law in New York (Ware 1989). Moreover, some states passed laws which forbade women to drink standing at the bar (Maistro et al. 1991).

From 1936 to 1978, the advertising code of the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States reflected a drinking double standard; it explicitly prohibited use of women in liquor advertising (Jacobson et al. 1983). In the mid-1970s, federal agencies (e.g., National Council on Alcoholism and National Institute on

Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse) institutionalized the drinking double standard by establishing lower problem drinking criteria for women than men (Fillmore 1984). Lower criteria enabled moral entrepreneurs to exaggerate alcohol problems among women and to use warnings of alcoholism caused by sex-role conflict as a means to reinforce traditional gender roles (Robinson 1976).

One consequence of women's increased economic and political power has been tolerance of public alcohol consumption by women and the solicitation of distilled spirits advertising by women's magazines (Liquor Industry Marketing 1977; Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988). Moreover, Ms. assisted in breaking the association between beer and masculinity by persuading beer companies to advertise in the magazine (Steinem 1990) and beer ads targeted to women were praised as examples of progressive gender advertising (Courtney and Whipple 1983; Meyers 1984).

Beer

Over two-thirds (69%) of American men who drink prefer beer (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988). Twenty percent of the population, predominantly male, account for 70% of beer consumed (Marketing and Media Decisions 1982).

The age of maximum beer drinking coincides with the age of maximum sports involvement (i.e., 18 to 29); the beer industry utilizes the demographics of sports and beer drinking in creating advertising campaigns (McDowell 1981). Former athletes endorse brands and the beer industry is U.S. sports number one

corporate team sponsor; Anheuser-Busch, which controls 40% of the U.S. beer market, invests two-thirds of its advertising budget in sports related areas (Johnson 1988). Advertising expenditures targeted at sports enthusiasts are profitable; Miller went from number seven to number two with the introduction of Miller Lite to "fitness freaks" (Cavanagh and Clairmonte 1985).

Although 27% of female drinkers most frequently consume beer (Wine Marketing Handbook 1988) and women are "nearly as likely as men to drink light beer and to have consumed 2 - 4 glasses in previous week" (Beer Industry Update 1986, p. 66), most beer advertisements, including ads for light beers, are targeted to males (Jacobson et al. 1983; Postman et al. 1987). In the early 1980s, an exception to the heavy targeting of males was advertising for Michelob Light and Natural Light; by taking beer out of the tavern and associating it with food, Anheuser-Busch sought to increase its share of the light beer market by appealing to women (Advertising Age Yearbook 1982).

Distilled Spirits

Up until the 1950s, the popular distilled spirits were whiskey, gin, rum, and brandy. Market research conducted by Hueblin revealed that women did not like the harshness of these liquors. Hueblin subsequently purchased the label of a then little known beverage, vodka, and created a "Recipe Revolution;" this was designed to encourage women to drink (Bottom Line 1978). Women were offered a variety of drinks that had the "spirit" without the taste. Unlike whiskeys, which were a "man's drink," a "lady" could drink a recipe drink. By

1974, vodka replaced bourbon as the number one class of distilled spirits sold in the United States (Liquor Industry Marketing 1977).

Currently, the distilled spirits market is about evenly split between females and males (49% and 51%, respectively). Whiskey, however, continues to be a "man's drink"; males account for three-fifths of whiskey consumption (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988). Liqueurs, on the other hand, are a "lady's drink"; in 1987 women consumed about 13% more liqueurs than men (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988). Due to the popularity of flavored schnapps, liqueurs have been the third largest category of distilled spirits since 1983 (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988).

Wine

Among women drinkers, half prefer wine (Wine Marketing Handbook 1988). Unlike distilled spirits, the wine market is not characterized by a gender split (Wine Marketing Handbook 1986). While a decrease in the consumption of distilled spirits may be a factor in the growth experienced by the wine industry during the 1980s, other factors appear to be more salient. Among these were Madison Avenue's two-prong advertising approach and the development of wine coolers.

One advertising strategy emphasized the mystique of wine and associated wine with sophistication. An image of elegance was aimed at the "snobbish segment of society" (Meyers 1984). Endorsements by "authority figures" and "award presentations" promoted wine's status enhancing

properties. Orson Welles told consumers that Paul Masson would "sell no wine before its time;" the intention was to link Welles' public persona which was synonymous with taste, quality, and attention to detail with the wine.

The second advertising strategy promoted wine as an informal, anytime beverage. Ads for Riunite and Cella were aimed at young drinkers and sold wine as a substitute for soda and beer; the emphasis was on wine's thirst-quenching properties (Wine Marketing Handbook 1983). With the development of new packaging (e.g., cardboard boxes, six packs, and plastic bottles) wine was transformed into an all occasion drink (Meyers 1984). The "all occasion" approach was part of a marketing strategy that promoted each major type of wine for specific enjoyment situations (Wine Marketing Handbook 1983).

Capitalizing on the trend toward lower alcohol content beverages, in the 1980s, wine coolers entered the wine market. The early ads were targeted at the 24 to 34 year old beer drinking set; the California Cooler aimed its message at a male audience using a "Real Stuff" theme (Wine Marketing Handbook 1986). Representing less than 2% of total wine sales in 1983, cooler sales increased at such a rate that by 1986 they had 20% to 25% of the wine market. The popularity of wine coolers accounts for the total increase in wine consumption (Wine Marketing Handbook 1988).

Empirical Studies and Public Debates

The causal connection between alcohol consumption and advertising is unclear. "Few people claim that alcohol advertising is the main influence in

initiating or establishing drinking patterns" (Smart 1988, p. 315). Factors such as price, availability, trends, and peer influences are more important than advertising (AcKoff and Emshoff 1975; Franke and Wilcox 1987; Kohn and Smart 1987). However, due to limited data and inadequate methodology, the conclusion that advertising has no effect on consumption is not justified (DHHS 1987; Smart 1988).

The Michigan Studies (Atkin and Block 1981; Atkin, Neuendorf, and McDermot 1983; Atkin, Hocking, and Block 1984) concluded that alcohol advertising stimulates consumption by shaping attitudes. A critique of the Michigan Studies points out that the conclusion offered by Atkin et al. is based on correlational data and offers an alternative explanation: heavy drinkers are exposed to, notice, and recall alcohol advertisements more than do other people (Strickland 1984). A compromise position is that advertising may frame norms and values regarding drinking, as well as providing cues on how to respond to others and one's own drinking (Breed, DeFoe, and Wallack 1984).

Studies have focused on the targeting of alcohol advertising (Katzper et al. 1978; Postman et al. 1987; Strickland and Finn 1987) and the effects of alcohol advertising on the development of beliefs about alcohol (Atkin et al. 1983; Neuendorf 1985; Lieberman and Orlandi 1987). Results are inconclusive as to whether alcohol advertising is designed to persuade vulnerable subgroups by being intentionally misleading (DHHS 1987). Findings do support the

assertion that images in alcohol advertisements are an agent of drinking socialization.

Print Alcohol Advertisements

The most extensive content analyses of alcohol print advertisements have been by Breed and DeFoe (1979) and Strickland, Finn, and Lambert (1982). Different conclusions were reached. Breed and DeFoe concluded that images in alcohol advertising are primarily motivational or psychographic appeals. Strickland et al. concluded that alcohol advertising is based on demographic profiles of the alcohol consumer (i.e., level of disposable income and education).

Breed and DeFoe (1979) found most alcohol ads try to associate the product with desired lifestyle characteristics (i.e., what will subsequently be termed emotional appeals). Predominant themes were wealth and success, social approval, hedonism, exotic surroundings, and sex. They found that "little product information appeared; rather the appeals were to ideal outcome states, or an escape from present reality" (Breed et al. 1984, p. 661).

The most common images found by Strickland et al. (1982) were product quality, tradition or heritage, product information, foreign settings, and special occasions. Themes of sociability were found in about 6% of the ads, psychologically oriented themes in less than 5%, and lifestyle portrayals occurred in less than 3%. In contrast to the conclusion reached by Breed et al. (1984), these researchers concluded that the majority of alcohol ads provided

information (i.e., what will subsequently be termed cognitive appeals). Also, messages of moderation were found to be three times more frequent than suggestions of heavy consumption.

Public Debates

Supporters of more stringent alcohol advertising regulation argue that alcohol advertising encourages heavy consumption, targets vulnerable subgroups (e.g., heavy drinkers, youth, people of color, women) and establishes abnormal drinking norms by associating alcohol with personal success via social psychological and lifestyle appeals (U.S. CONGRESS 1985; AMA 1986). Alcohol ads have been described as representations which neutralize symptoms of problem drinking (Kilbourne 1982, 1991) and moderation messages have been described as subtle justifications for drinking (Jacobson et al. 1983). A major criticism of the content of alcohol advertising is the association of alcohol with "indirect promises of self-esteem, wealth, peer acceptance, and sexual prowess" (DHHS 1987, p. 101).

Alcohol beverage industries have replied claiming that advertising encourages brand switching/loyalty and was not intended/did not encourage heavy consumption. The outcome provided a "victory" for each side. The anti-alcohol advertising movement secured mandatory warning labels on alcohol products and the alcohol industries defeated a proposed ban on broadcast media advertising. The alcohol beverage industries, however, could not ignore

public sentiment; the voluntary advertising codes of the beer, distilled spirits, and wine industries were revised (1984, 1987, 1987 respectively).

Conclusion

This project examines the frequency of cognitive (i.e., informational) and emotional (i.e., psychological and lifestyle) appeals appearing in alcohol print advertisements targeted to one sex. Also, drinking norms presented to sex specific markets are analyzed. The goal is to document any changes over time (i.e., 1973 to 1988) in the meanings of alcohol consumption presented to female and male audiences.

Patterns observed may be the result of multiple forces. The alcohol industry and the advertising industry have different agendas (e.g., selling ad images versus increased share of the market). Both industries influence the content of alcohol advertising making it difficult to determine which images are reflections of advertising practices (e.g., liberation stereotypes) and which are examples of the alcohol industry pressing to get more business (e.g., trying to change perceptions of drinking norms).

Possible explanations for observed differences and/or changes in alcohol advertising include (a) differential drinking norms and challenges of them, (b) efforts to increase alcohol sales by establishing a female market, and (c) advertising practices which prescribe and proscribe the advertising of specific products to specific audiences. Historically, alcohol consumption has been a male privilege (Fillmore 1984); as part of traditional gender ideology, this belief

was subject to change during the transitional gender role period of the 1970s and 1980s. Aware of changing gender roles, the alcohol industry may have seen this as an opportunity to associate alcohol with the consumer needs of the transitional female; brand image alcohol advertising may reflect experimentation with the kinds of ads and products that would appeal to the "liberated" woman. Lastly, traditional norms of advertising made it problematic for a non-traditional magazine (i.e., Ms.) to secure advertising (Steinem 1990).

CHAPTER 5

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Discussion is divided into two sections (a) demographic changes and the female consumer, and (b) sociology of emotions. "Demographic changes and the female consumer" reviews the influence of gender role changes (e.g., female labor force participation) and the re-emergence of an organized women's movement on advertising. The second section is a survey of literature on the sociology of emotions and a discussion of the effects of brand image advertising (i.e., alcohol expectancies) from a sociology of emotions perspective.

Demographic Changes and the Female Consumer

There is a simple demographic fact at the heart of a quiet revolution that has affected every man, woman, and child in the United States. The ripple effect of that one demographic fact could eventually touch almost every institution in our society and every aspect of our lives.

(Bartos 1982, p. 3)

The simple demographic fact referred to is the increased labor force participation of women. The labor force participation of women increased from 33% in 1950 to 56% in 1987 (Blau and Winkler 1990). This increased labor force participation characterizes both married and unmarried women, young and mature women, and mothers as well as non-mothers. Since 1970, the percentage of women employed full-time has doubled and there have been

dramatic increases in the proportion of women in professional occupations (Rotella 1990).

The working mother and wife challenged conventional images of female consumers. Traditionally, advertisers

. . . aimed their messages at any housewife, 18 to 49, assuming that the motivations of this woman are to prove herself a competent housewife, to get the job of housework done faster than her neighbor, and to persuade those around her that she is not taking shortcuts in performing household chores when she really is. The other picture of the buying female [was] any girl, 18 to 25, and her primary motivation [was] presumed to be to find a man and get married.

(Courtney and Whipple 1983, p. 67)

In contrast to "any housewife/any girl" are the results of marketing studies which show that employment status, marital status, lifestyle, and attitudinal variables all affect consumer behavior including reactions to advertising images (Venkatesh 1971, Wortzel and Frisbie 1974; Ducker and Tucker 1977; Leavitt 1978; Bettinger and Dawson 1979). Rather than a simple employed versus non-employed dichotomy, Rena Bartos (1982) states that the female consumer is better understood using a four-fold classification that takes into account expectations of labor force participation and that differentiates jobs from careers. The title to her work, The Moving Target, emphasized the necessity of recognizing that women were changing.

As a social category with disposable income, employed women represent tremendous potential. In the 1970s, "women in professions were buying as much liquor and insurance, purchasing as many cars, taking as many trips, and

making as many investments as their male counterparts" (Courtney and Whipple 1983, p. 66). As consumers, employed women may have different "occasions and needs" than women who stay-at-home (Meyers 1984); women in the labor force may be personal rather than family consumers and may have different status symbols (Miles 1971). Compared to men in the labor force, these women may be more likely to be "societally-conscious achievers" (Meyers 1984). As an advertising audience, employed women comprise a distinct market.

The fact that women were changing and had personal disposable income was dramatically illustrated by the re-emergence of an organized feminist movement. Advertisers, subsequently, appropriated political dissent and feminist concepts (i.e., liberation, equality, freedom) into the language of consumerism. This occurred during the feminist movement of the early twentieth century with products as diverse as toasters and cigarettes (Ewen 1976); it has occurred in recent decades with commodities ranging from personal hygiene products (e.g., New Freedom) to alcohol (Kilbourne 1987, 1989). Feminists claim that advertising has presented images of feminism which belittle liberation, use it as a vehicle to show dominant women and stupid men, or as a strategy for selling beauty products (Bartos 1982; Courtney and Whipple 1983; Meyers 1984; Kilbourne 1987, 1989; Faludi 1991).

Sociology of Emotions

A symbolic interaction approach views emotions as meaningful objects to be interpreted, created, and managed. They are signals to self (e.g., role identity and role performance), signals to others, and the objects of other's response to be interpreted, transformed, and regulated. There are norms which guide the interpretation, control, and management of emotions (i.e., Hochschild's feeling rules 1977, 1983, 1989) and norms which regulate the expression of emotion in public (i.e., Vander Zanden's display rules 1990). In general, emotions are viewed as being interpreted in a social milieu, as socially constructed (Shott 1979), and then evaluated in relation to cultural norms.

Denzin (1984) says emotions are self-feelings lodged in the body, in self-consciousness, and in the person's social worlds. These three components cannot be separated, although one may dominate at any time. Others (Gordon 1981; Thoits 1989) describe emotions as consisting of four components: situational stimuli, physiological sensations, expressive behaviors, and a cultural label. All four components need not be present simultaneously for an emotion to be experienced or recognized by others.

Emotions are distinct from sentiments (i.e., affective elements of enduring relationships) and affective responses (i.e., evaluative reactions of a very general type). Although feelings are sometimes considered distinct from emotions (Thoits 1989), the terms are often used interchangeably (Hochschild 1977, 1983, 1989; Denzin 1984, 1985, 1990). I will use the term emotion

unless referring to a specific concept in the sociology of emotions (e.g., Hochschild's feeling rules; Denzin's feelings of the lived body, meta-feelings, or feelings of the self and moral person).

"Feelings of the lived body" communicate a definition of a specific situation and can be vicariously shared by others; cultural labels corresponding to this category of emotion are sadness, sorrow, anger, despair, and happiness (Denzin 1985). Another category of emotion is "meta-feelings;" they transcend a specific situation, are reflections on previous emotional experiences, and are part of one's interpretative framework or emotional career (Denzin 1985). Included in this category are guilt, self-loathing, a feeling of lost innocence, resentment, love, intense attraction to another, sexual desire, loathing, and hatred.

One emotional experience can give rise to the need for another (Denzin 1984, 1990). For example, a desire for self-reward may be a consequence of "feelings of the self and moral person" (i.e., dignity, respect, responsibility, sense of moral worth). On a darker side, a lack of sense of moral worth (i.e., shame) may give rise to the desire to escape from self (e.g., alcohol abuse as self-medication).

Hochschild (1983) argues that emotions have become commodities due to the alienation of the labor process; because of alienation we are concerned with the search for authenticity. This is relevant to brand image advertising because this type of advertising tends to either promise "problem reduction

through product solution" (Vestergaard and Schroder 1988; Kilbourne 1989) or attempts to transform a commodity into an object of desire (Ewen 1976). Advertising images that show satisfaction of emotional needs via consumption may contribute to alienation as people turn to products in their search for authenticity.

Symbolic representations in advertising have been shown to affect attitudes (Jennings-Walstedt, Geis and Brown 1980; Neuendorf 1985; Liberman and Orlandi 1987) and may influence the construction of what Denzin (1985) calls "meta-feelings." In portraying social relationships, advertisers present "feeling rules" (Hochschild 1977, 1983, 1989) and "display rules" (Vander Zanden 1990) that link the product-brand with a situation, an emotion, and a kind of person(s). Moreover, promises of "problem reduction" may become internalized leading individuals to expect certain emotional outcomes when they engage in specific kinds of consumer behavior.

"Problem reduction" promises and created desires via metaphorical associations are salient in drinking expectations and subsequently drinking patterns. In addition to the effects of pharmacological and physiological factors, social variables contribute to that condition known as "being under the influence" (MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969; Hills 1980; Frieze and Schafer 1984). Often it is expectations of alcohol consumption (i.e., alcohol expectancies) not the actual outcomes that establish drinking patterns. Alcohol expectancies are crucial to treatment of abusive drinking and include attitudes

toward self, emotional states associated with drinking, and imagined evaluations of others' judgements of self "under the influence" (Emrick, Hansen and Maytag 1985). As part of an individual's interpretative framework, alcohol expectancies are an example of "meta-feelings."

Alcohol expectancies are not restricted to those who abuse alcohol. Most people expect a different ambience in drinking versus non-drinking situations. Also, "normal drinkers" as well as "abusive drinkers" may use alcohol as a means to intensify or discharge emotions (McClelland, Davis, Kalin and Wanner 1972; Wilsnack 1984). Moreover, choosing a specific alcohol product has been described as an emotional decision.

A symbolic interaction perspective on emotions provides the rationale for this product. This literature recognizes that emotional practices (e.g., drinking) portrayed by "mass-mediated reality" ideologically represent emotional bonding and that the viewer's emotional biography influences the construction of brand and emotional gratification associations (Denzin 1990). In general, alcohol consumption is recognized as a vehicle for doing what Hochschild (1990) calls "emotion work" (i.e., emotion management in one's private life).

Categories used for coding and analyzing emotional appeals in print alcohol advertisements are based on descriptions of representations that are emotion-inducing. The categories per se are not necessarily emotions.

Relationship images in advertising are static presentations of "interaction rituals" (Goffman 1967; Collins 1990) and educate the audience on ways to

maximize "affective gratification" (Hammond 1990). By associating a product choice with an affective gratification source (i.e., type of social relationship) the audience is reminded of the almost continuous emotional monitoring of self (Scheff 1990) and is often informed of means to maintain/secure social approval (i.e., self-pride) or avoid social disapproval (i.e., shame).

Through identification with advertising portrayals of femininity and masculinity the audience emotionally responds to the images presented. Audience affect may be either inner-directed (i.e., desire to adhere to internalized goals) or other-directed (i.e., desire to gain others' approval) (Zinkhan and Shermohamad 1986) and is a consequence of the pleasure derived from the representation (Brown 1990).

Emotional responses associated with various types of social relationships are listed in Table 2. I have described the emotional experience (i.e., feelings of the self and moral person) as positive (i.e., self-pride); yet, in each instance the self-feeling could be the result of a negative evaluation (i.e., shame).

The remaining emotion-inducing categories used in this study (i.e., tradition, conformity, individuality, elegance, and personal satisfaction) symbolize and/or promise emotional structures characteristic of the portrayed theme(s). The advertising representations are pseudorealistic solutions to the search for authenticity (i.e., an emotion is a commodity obtained via the advertised brand).

Table 2. Social relationships and emotional responses

Social Relationship	Emotional Response
Friendship	sense of affiliation and affection based on approval of self by significant other(s)
Camaraderie	esprit de corps associated with group cohesion
Sexual	identification with or attraction to the model(s) derived from self as an object of desire
Love	desire to emulate the devotion and intimate bonding depicted
Impressing Others	admiration for meeting standards set by a reference other

Through identification with an advertised image of tradition, the audience may experience nostalgia and emotions associated with the epoch. Images of conformity may appeal to individuals experiencing alienation from others whereas images of individuality may be more appealing to individuals experiencing alienation from self. In both instances, use of the advertised brand may be a substitute for authentic role performances and identities. Advertisements that associate a brand with elegance transform a product into an object of desire; for those who envy an opulent lifestyle use of the product enables them to share something with the elite. Themes of personal

satisfaction suggest that use of the brand is an emotional experience per se (e.g., the brand will intensify or discharge emotions).

My use of the symbolic interaction perspective does not suggest specific hypotheses or propositions for testing. The perspective is used as a guide in the development of coding categories and analysis of data.

CHAPTER 6

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this content analysis is to examine gender-alcohol associations presented to gender specific audiences from 1973 to 1988. This period was characterized by gender role changes in American society as well as changes in drinking norms. Print alcohol advertisements are analyzed for their display of gender and representation of alcohol consumption (i.e., types of appeals and normative messages).

Sample

Examination of gender-alcohol associations is based on an analysis of alcohol advertisements appearing in gender specific magazines (i.e., Ms. and Sports Illustrated). It is assumed that appeals and normative messages related to gender ideology are more apparent in periodicals primarily read by gender specific audiences.

Initially two women's magazines, Ms. and Redbook, were selected for the sample. Ms. was the first of the "new woman" periodicals and, in its early years, advertising in Ms. reflected marketers' perceptions of the feminist (Steinem 1990). Between 1983 and 1986, alcohol products represented the largest class of commodities advertised in Ms. (Minkler, Wallack, and Madden 1987); yet, Ms. was not included in systematic comparative studies of alcohol advertising. Redbook was initially included because it is a conventional

"entertainment and service" magazine read by women with socio-demographic characteristics similar to Ms. readers (i.e., middle class, college education, and full-time labor force participation) (Freedman and Krieger 1983).

Readership profiles appearing in The Writer's Guide to Magazine Markets (1983) indicates that the major socio-demographic difference between Ms. and Redbook readers is that the majority of Redbook readers were described as "married with children" whereas half of Ms. readers were described as single and parental status was not reported. Redbook was dropped from the sample because too few alcohol ads appeared in the magazine (i.e., 12 in 1973, 6 in 1982, and 0 in 1988). Differences in the editorial policies of Ms. and Redbook may account for differences in the relative frequencies of alcohol ads appearing in the magazines. Or, the alcohol and advertising industries may have perceived a new woman's magazine as more desirable. Review of advertising trade publications indicated that various women's magazines (e.g., Ladies Home Journal, Vogue) sought alcohol advertising dollars.

For comparison, Sports Illustrated was chosen as the men's magazine. One reason for selecting Sports Illustrated is that the major target of the beer brand war of the 1970s was the sports fan (Johnson 1988). Also, of men's periodicals, Sports Illustrated is second in circulation only to Playboy (Freedman and Krieger 1983). It is assumed that advertising in Sports Illustrated would represent gender ideology perceived by marketers to be acceptable to many American males. Lastly, like the readership of Ms., the Sports Illustrated

audience is middle class, college educated, and the core of readers are aged 18 to 34; data on marital and parental status of Sports Illustrated readers were not reported (Freedman and Krieger 1983).

To analyze changes over time the years 1973, 1982, and 1988 were chosen. The first full year of Ms. publication was 1973. In 1982, beer advertisements first appeared in women's magazines (Advertising Age Yearbook 1982), thus 1982 was selected for a mid-period comparison. Due to financial difficulties Ms. ceased publication in 1989; when publication resumed Ms. was ad-free. Subsequently, 1988 was the last full year Ms. relied on advertising revenue.

The magazine sample includes 35 issues of Ms. and 36 issues of Sports Illustrated. All issues of Ms. for years 1973, 1982, and 1988 are included as are 12 issues of Sports Illustrated for each of the sample years. The 12 per year for Sports Illustrated represent the week each month containing the most alcohol ads; if any month contained two or more issues with the same highest frequency of alcohol ads, the issue published first was chosen for the sample. All special edition issues of Sports Illustrated were excluded.

The types include advertisements for distilled spirits, beers, wines, alcohol mixers, and corporate image advertising sponsored by an alcohol beverage company. Sample size is 508 ads (188 from Ms. and 320 from Sports Illustrated). About 70% of the Ms. sample were ads that appeared once and about 79% of the Sports Illustrated sample were ads that appeared once.

The alcohol advertisements in all issues of Sports Illustrated (1973, 1982, 1988) were counted; the sample ads represent about 37% of alcohol ads appearing in all issues of Sports Illustrated for the sample years.

Coding

Categories used to examine alcohol advertisements are based on previous research (Breed and DeFoe 1979, 1984; Atkin and Block 1981; Atkin et al. 1983; Finn and Strickland 1982; Strickland et al. 1982; Neuendorf 1985; Postman et al. 1987; Strickland and Finn 1987), criticisms of the content of alcohol advertising (U.S. CONGRESS 1976, 1985; Kilbourne 1982, 1991; Jacobson et al. 1983; AMA 1986), the advertising codes of the distilled spirits, wine, and beer industries, and preliminary analyses/group discussions of sociology students. For each ad, the magazine issue in which it appears, the product brand, ad headline, and if it is a repeat ad are recorded. Advertising images are analyzed in relation to (1) gender, (2) types of appeals (i.e., cognitive and/or emotional) and (3) normative messages.

Gender

Ads representing femininity and/or masculinity are described using coding categories based primarily on the work of Goffman (1979) in Gender Advertisements and Kilbourne (1987) in Still Killing Us Softly. First, portrayals are coded for the presence of a human image as decoration (Courtney and

Whipple 1983; Kilbourne 1987, 1989). Then, they are coded for masculine and feminine displays.

Decoration is coded as the presence or absence of a masculine and/or feminine image used to attract attention via sexual arousal. Use of a human image as decoration is more than simply featuring a sexy model; the decorative model/object is not doing anything or conveying information. The human image is depersonalized; this includes using only parts of the body (excluding hands and face), as well as using objects to explicitly represent a human (e.g., cases of beer stacked with the caption, "The perfect 36-24-36").

Masculine displays are coded by brief descriptions of the portrayals (e.g., "good ole boy," "Don Juan," "jock," "family man") and adjectives used in the ad to describe him (e.g., "civilized rouge"). Comments about the kind of man who drinks a particular brand of alcohol or specific type of alcohol beverage are noted. Examples include:

He's _____ because he drinks

He's _____ and he drinks

Compares the man and the product

Male bonding based on the product.

Feminine displays are coded by brief descriptions of the portrayals (e.g., "the liberated woman," "the good hostess," "sex kitten," "good friend") and adjectives used in the ad to describe her (e.g., "strong, candid individual").

Comments about the kind of woman who drinks a particular brand of alcohol or specific type of alcohol beverage are noted. Examples include:

She's _____ because she drinks

She's _____ and she drinks

Compares the woman and the product

Female bonding based on the product.

Types of Appeals

Categories for the coding of appeals are adapted primarily from content analyses of alcohol advertisements by Finn and Strickland (1982) and Strickland et al. (1982). Findings of other researchers (Breed and DeFoe 1979, 1984; Atkin and Block 1981; Atkin et al. 1983; Neuendorf 1985; Postman et al. 1987), criticisms of alcohol advertising (U.S. CONGRESS 1976, 1985; Kilbourne 1982, 1991; Jacobson et al. 1983; AMA 1986), the advertising codes of the alcohol beverage industries, and preliminary analyses were used to modify the categories used by Finn and Strickland (1982) and Strickland et al. (1982). In the process of modification some categories were dropped and others were consolidated.

Each ad is coded as a cognitive appeal only, an emotional appeal only, or as a cognitive-emotional appeal. Ads with emotional appeals (i.e., emotional only and cognitive-emotional) further are described using 11 themes.

Advertisements which contain information or create the image of giving information are coded as the presence of a cognitive appeal. Product

information may be in reference to price, calories, product process, quality of product (e.g. richer, better) and/or purity of ingredients.

Emotional appeals focus on lifestyle or promises about the future for a product consumer. Ads coded as cognitive-emotional both give information and suggest a lifestyle.

Emotional appeals whether alone or with cognitive appeals are coded for the presence or absence of eleven themes. Six themes are of relationship images. Ads with relationship presentations are identified by one of these six themes. Five non-mutually exclusive images also are used to code ads with emotional appeals.

Mutually exclusive social relationship images are coded based on the gestalt of the ad (i.e., type of emotional relationship suggested by the text and picture). Descriptions of relationship categories are listed in Table 3.

Non-mutually exclusive images are based on the association of the product with an emotion-inducing symbol and/or promise. An ad may present more than one of these images. Table 4 lists descriptions and examples of non-mutually exclusive emotion-inducing images.

Normative Messages

Six categories for normative messages were developed from Strickland and Finn's (1987) structural analysis of alcohol advertisements, evaluations of the targeting of alcohol advertising (U.S. CONGRESS 1976, 1985; Jacobson

Table 3. Mutually exclusive relationship images

Category	Description
Friendship	suggestion of sharing product portrayal of companionship
Camaraderie	alcohol as a social lubricant a social occasion/get together party, bar scene, outing
Sexual	sexual availability suggested sexual encounter implied
Love	commitment or history together wedding rings or home setting romance more important than sex
Impressing Others	snob appeal (most expensive) serve the best
Mixed	not a miscellaneous category explicit reference to more than one social relationship (e.g., double date = friendship + love)

Table 4. Non-mutually exclusive images

Category	Description/Examples
Tradition	family formula/method earlier era/"good ole days" history of product use religious symbolism (Old Friar) American patriotism (eagle, flag) European roots (legends/tales) historical places/events antiques
Conformity	join the "in crowd" or "winners" bandwagon conformity conforming to a subcultural norm "America's fastest growing brand"
Individuality	be unique, be a leader description of type of person who drinks _____ "it's not for everybody" different glasses or drinks suggesting different tastes
Elegance	references to riches or wealth surroundings suggest affluence expensive cars, jewelry, houses
Personal Satisfaction	self-reward/you deserve it hedonism adventure or escape fantasies promise of mood transformation "you only go around once, make the most of it" taste per se is an experience

et al. 1983; AMA 1986), and the advertising codes of the distilled spirits, wine, and beer industries. Three of the normative message categories (i.e., time to drink, gift-giving, and "neutralization of abuse") are defined in Table 5.

The remaining three normative categories (i.e., moderation messages, recipes, and appeal to youth) are described below. Moderation messages include statements such as "don't drink and drive" and "enjoy our product in moderation." Recipes include explicit instructions for serving and how to drink the product (e.g., on the rocks), as well as directions for mixing the product with other substances (e.g., using Midori liqueur to "toss a melon-ball").

Table 5. Norms described

Category	Examples
Time to Drink	before/during/after an activity specific achievement/occasion time of day, week, month "What time <u>today</u> will you ___?"
Gift-giving	explicit reference to giving the product to someone (giver, recipient, occasion)
Neutralization of Abuse	association with risk-taking suggestion that alcohol is magic heavy consumption preoccupation with supply drinking as proof of _____

Coding for appeal to youth is based on standards established by alcohol beverage industries in the United States. Although all three industries (i.e., brewing, wine, and distilled spirits) prohibit advertising targeted toward persons below the legal drinking age, the clarity of the guidelines varies. Brewing industry standards are the most vague whereas the code adopted by the wine industry is the most explicit. Images identified as youth appeal in this study are based on criteria established by the Wine Institute and Distilled Spirits Council of the United States (DISCUS).

The Code of Advertising Standards (Wine Institute 1987) prohibits use of models/personalities under the legal drinking age and states that models should appear to be 25 years of age or older. Also proscribed are the "use of current or traditional heroes of the young" and "use of amateur or professional sports celebrities, past or present." Further restrictions apply to "music, language, gestures, or cartoon characters specifically associated with or directed toward those below the drinking age." Moreover, advertisements that present the product as "being related to the attainment of adulthood" or that imply the product is "similar to another type of beverage or product (milk, soda, candy)" are banned.

The Code of Good Practices (DISCUS 1987) prohibits advertisements that "contain the name of or depict Santa Claus or any Biblical character." Also restricted are portrayals of "a child or immature person" and "objects

(toys) suggestive of the presence of a child." Images which would fall in a restricted category according to either set of guidelines are coded as an appeal to youth.

Reliability

All alcohol ads in the sample were coded by a single researcher. For about 15 to 20 ads there were coding questions (i.e., presence of an image or gender display). Two lay judges (one female, one male) were asked to resolve questions.

Of the 384 unique ads (i.e., unrepeated imagery), 54 (14%) were coded by a sociology student for reliability; also, the researcher re-coded them. The researcher's coding at time one and time two was the same. The advertisements were from the July-August 1982 issue of Ms. and two issues of Sports Illustrated 1982 (i.e., April 12 and November 29).

The student coder was instructed not to engage in guesswork and to state reasons for her coding. In general, there was congruity between coding by the student and researcher. Discrepancies were reviewed together with Dr. Suzanne Kurth. For three categories (i.e., tradition, personal satisfaction, and appeal to youth) it was decided that more precise descriptions would improve reliability.

Gender ratings were identical for 80% of the advertisements. There was less agreement in coding for the November issue of Sports Illustrated

than the other sample issues. Fatigue may have resulted in the student coder being less conscientious in coding the November advertisements.

Examination of cognitive and/or emotional appeals revealed a high level of similarity. Two-thirds of the advertisements were rated the same. About 30% showed partial agreement (i.e., one coded as cognitive and emotional whereas the other coded as cognitive or emotional). There was contradictory coding for only two advertisements.

The researcher coded 28% and the student coded 22% of the advertisements as presentations of social relationships. There was identical coding for one-third of the social relationship images and over one-fourth (27%) were coded similarly (i.e., recognition of male bonding but differences in coding as friendship or camaraderie and recognition of amorousness but differences in coding as love or sexual). Two of the social relationship images the student described as ambiguous.

Both the student coder and researcher coded 24% of the advertisements as appeals to tradition. The majority (about 62%) of these were the same advertisements. Variation in advertisements coded as tradition is explained by the student's including any mention of age (e.g., aged six years) and not including images of patriotism and yesteryear. For future researchers, the tradition category was defined more specifically (i.e., inclusion of antiques and historical places/events in the coding definition of tradition).

The researcher identified 13% and the student coder identified 9% of the advertisements as conformity appeals. The difference is accounted for by the student's not understanding, and therefore not coding, bandwagon conformity (e.g., fastest growing brand).

Images of individuality were identified by the researcher in 20% of the advertisements and in 15% by the student. Coding for 55% (N = 11) of the individuality appeals identified by the researcher and student coder were the same. Much of the incongruity is explained by the student's failure to see the association between different drinks and individual taste preferences. The remaining discrepancy is a consequence of the student's confusion of product differentiation with individuality and a misinterpretation of "What time today will you say Grand Mariner?" (i.e., she overlooked the underlined you and perceived the slogan as "you will have some").

The student rated more advertisements as images of elegance than did the researcher (26% versus 17%). The reason for the student's higher frequency of elegance appeals is that she coded as elegance any reference to the brand costing more than other brand choices (e.g., "It's a bit more expensive"). Student coding matched 78% of the elegance appeals coded by the researcher. Two advertisements were coded by the researcher as elegance that were not coded as such by the student; in both instances she failed to take note of the suggestion of affluence (e.g., expensive glasses).

The researcher coded twice the percentage of advertisements as personal satisfaction than did the student (63% versus 31%). All of the personal satisfaction appeals coded by the student matched those coded by the researcher. Over half (53%) of the advertisements coded by the researcher but not coded by the student were described by the student as "unidentified printed objects(s)" and "says more than I see." The remaining variance is explained by her not coding "taste fulfillment" as a personal satisfaction appeal. After review with Dr. Kurth, the meaning and inclusion of taste fulfillment as personal satisfaction was clarified for possible future researchers.

The researcher coded 20% and the student coded 19% of the advertisements as suggestions of a time to drink. Of the ads coded by the researcher, there was identical coding by the student for 73% of them. After discussion with Dr. Kurth, it was concluded that the variance is a consequence of the student's incorrect interpretation of some of the advertisements.

Examination of coding for messages of gift-giving show discrepancy. The researcher coded eight advertisements whereas the student coded only two as gift-giving suggestions. The presence of gift-boxes and the text of the advertisements (e.g., "give your friends") supports the researcher's coding. Two-thirds of the gift-giving ads not coded by the student were

from the November Sports Illustrated issue; the student reported fatigue due to pregnancy negatively affected her final coding.

Of the 22 advertisements coded by the researcher as "neutralization of abuse" messages, there was identical coding by the student for 55% of them. The discrepancy can be accounted for by the student's failure to code "alcohol is magic" and "preoccupation with supply" as "neutralization of abuse." Moreover, the student coded as "neutralization of abuse," because of what she perceived as heavy consumption, four ads that were not coded as such by the researcher. Consultation with Dr. Kurth revealed that the student read into these four ads more than was represented. In general, incongruity in coding of "neutralization of abuse" is explained by the student's lack of knowledge concerning symptoms of alcohol abuse (i.e., belief that alcohol is magic and preoccupation with supply) and her drinking habits (i.e., she is a non-drinker).

Researcher and student codings for recipes and moderation messages were identical. Twelve advertisements were coded as presenting recipes and five were coded as containing moderation messages.

The researcher coded about 17% of the advertisements as an appeal to youth; the student coded none. However, for one-third of the ads coded by the researcher as a youth appeal, the student observed reasons why the ad would appeal to youth (i.e., a puzzle, drinking as a rite of passage into adulthood, and a Christmas ad using the slogan "The Man in Red"). The

student's age (i.e., early twenties) accounts for the incongruity; for example, she did not perceive an ad featuring "The Who" as a youth appeal. It was decided that because the youth appeal category was derived primarily from the advertising codes of the alcohol beverage industries that relevant passages from these codes be included in the coding description of youth appeal.

In summary, comparison of the student's ratings with those of the researcher and consultation with Dr. Kurth supports the coding categories. There was about a 66% identical agreement across the coding categories (i.e., 80% gender, 66% types of appeals, 57% emotion-inducing images, and 59% normative messages). The student's age, knowledge of and meta-feelings concerning alcohol consumption, and possible fatigue account for much of the coding discrepancies.

Analysis

The purpose of the project is to answer the following questions based on a content analysis of sample print alcohol advertisements.

1. How is gender presented in alcohol ads in men's and women's magazines?

Have the presentations of femininity and masculinity changed over time in alcohol ads appearing in gender specific magazines?

Have any changes paralleled documented changes in female/male drinking behavior?

2. Do alcohol advertisements use different emotional appeals in marketing to a female versus a male audience?

If so, do these appeals change over time, and if so, how?

Does the ratio vary by gender and/or time period?

3. Do different normative messages appear in alcohol ads targeted to a female versus a male audience (i.e., how and when to use the product)?

If so, do these messages change over time and if so, how?

The first group of questions is addressed by examining gender displays and emotional appeals to social relationships. The second set is answered by comparing the frequency of cognitive only, emotional only, and cognitive-emotional ads; the five non-mutually exclusive emotional themes are used to compare appeals targeted to sex specific markets. Data recorded under normative messages are used to answer the last set of questions.

CHAPTER 7

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

Various comparisons of advertisements are made to explore whether patterns of gender-alcohol associations vary by advertising venue. The first section describes the relative concentration of alcohol ads and of alcohol brand choices for the sample years (1973, 1982, 1988). The next section reviews presentations of gender and social relationships in sample alcohol advertisements. Section three first compares types of appeals and then focuses on emotion-inducing images appearing in sample Ms. and Sports Illustrated ads. The last section examines normative messages of alcohol use as presented to readers of each magazine.

Concentration of Alcohol Advertising and Brand Marketing

Comparing issues of Ms. and Sports Illustrated for the sample years reveals differential changes in frequencies of alcohol advertisement (see Table 6). Ms. alcohol advertising increased greatly from 1973 to 1982 then by 1988 had returned to a level similar to 1973. During the same time period, the number of alcohol ads in Sports Illustrated increased slightly then dropped in 1988 to about half the 1982 level.

The total number of pages per issue tended to be similar in Ms. and Sports Illustrated (e.g., 80 and 76 pages respectively); thus, differences in the mean number of alcohol ads per issue reflect differences in the relative

Table 6. Mean number per issue and total number of alcohol advertisements in Ms. and Sports Illustrated by year

Year	<u>Mean Number Per Issue and Number of Alcohol Ads</u>			
	<u>Ms.</u>		<u>Sports Illustrated</u>	
	\bar{X}	(n)	\bar{X}	(n)
1973	1.1	(13)	6.3	(320)
1982	14.0	(154)	7.3	(363)
1988	1.8	(21)	3.8	(189)

concentration of alcohol advertising. In 1973, Sports Illustrated readers were exposed to almost six times the proportion of alcohol advertisements per issue as were Ms. readers. Nine years later (1982) readers of Ms. were recipients of about twice the concentration of ads per issue as Sports Illustrated readers. By 1988, another shift occurred; in both magazines the mean number of alcohol ads per issue dropped and the mean number in Sports Illustrated was over twice the Ms. mean.

The number of different alcohol brands appearing in Ms. and Sports Illustrated samples are reported in Table 7. Sports Illustrated readers consistently were exposed to a greater variety of alcohol brands.

Table 8 lists frequencies of alcohol beverage types in Ms. and Sports Illustrated sample issues. Across sample years, the percentage of liqueur ads

Table 7. Number of Different Alcohol Brands Advertised in Ms. and Sports Illustrated Sample by Year

Year	Number of Different Alcohol Brands	
	<u>Ms.</u> n	<u>Sports Illustrated</u> n
1973	4	45
1982	39	45
1988	7	36

in Ms. was relatively constant. Beer ads only appeared in Ms. in 1982. By 1988, whiskey ads in Ms. disappeared. In the Sports Illustrated sample, the proportion of ads for whiskey products fell from a little less than three-fourths (1973) to a little over half (1982 and 1988). The percentage of clear spirits ads rose over the three time periods. Ads for beers and liqueurs comprised small percentages in 1973; both increased in 1982. By 1988, beer advertising in Sports Illustrated had decreased slightly and no liqueur ads appeared.

Brand Marketing 1973

Alcohol beverage choices in 1973 sample ads are reported in Appendix Table 1. Of the 45 product brands advertised in Sports Illustrated about 70% were for whiskeys whereas only one whiskey brand was advertised in Ms. (i.e., Dewar's) and it was not advertised in the Sports Illustrated sample.

Table 8. Percentage of alcohol beverage types in Ms. and Sports Illustrated ads by sample year

Beverage Type	Percentage by Magazine and Year					
	1973	<u>Ms.</u> 1982 ^a	1988	<u>Sports Illustrated</u> 1973 ^b	1982 ^c	1988 ^d
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Whiskey	38.5	24.0	-	72.2	53.1	53.2
Spirits	30.8	29.9	61.9	16.5	23.4	28.6
Beers	-	4.5	-	6.9	19.5	15.6
Liqueurs	30.8	37.0	38.1	0.9	2.3	-

^a3.2% wine and 1.3% prepared cocktails

^b3.5% wine

^c0.8% prepared cocktails

^d0.8% other (corporate image)

Dewar's advertisements accounted for 5 of the 13 ads in Ms. 1973 and these ads differed from all other ads in both magazines. Dewar's presented the product as the preferred drink of independent, professional women.

In 1973, one liqueur brand appeared in Ms. and Sports Illustrated. In both magazines the brand was Galliano and the ads were similar (i.e., association of the product with romance). Galliano ads appeared four times in Ms. 1973 and three of the four Galliano ads were unique (i.e., unrepeated imagery). In contrast, Galliano appeared in the Sports Illustrated sample once.

One clear spirit (i.e., Smirnoff vodka) was advertised in 1973 sample issues of both Ms. and Sports Illustrated. In both magazines, Smirnoff was associated with making time for drinking and romance.

Brand Marketing 1982

Of the 1982 sample advertisements from Ms. and Sports Illustrated (see Appendix Table A-2) twice the percentage of whiskey ads appeared in Sports Illustrated as in Ms. (53% versus 24%) and beers were advertised four times more often (20% versus 5%). Also, readers of Sports Illustrated were exposed to about twice as many whiskey product choices (19 versus 8) and 11 different beers were advertised in Sports Illustrated compared to only 1 (i.e. Michlob Light) in Ms. One-third of the Ms. ads, representing 15 different brands, were for liqueurs whereas less than 3% of Sports Illustrated sample ads were for liqueurs (two brands--Grand Mariner and Steel).

Whiskey and beer apparently were being sold to females and males. In 1982, six whiskey brands and one beer brand appeared in both magazines. But more different appeals were being tried on the potential female consumer. In Ms. eight brands of whiskey had a total of 30 different ads. The beer, Michelob Light, was presented with five different images. The uniqueness of Ms. whiskey and beer advertising differs from the repetitiousness of Ms. liqueur and Sports Illustrated beer and whiskey advertising campaigns.

Of the 16 products advertised to both females and males, 9 were for clear spirits. In general, advertising for clear spirits was similar in the two magazines (i.e., relative frequency of clear spirits ads, product choices, and unique ads).

Brand Marketing 1988

In 1988, advertisements for whiskeys and beers comprised almost 70% of Sports Illustrated sample ads; Ms. had neither whiskey nor beer ads (see Appendix Table 3). Liqueur ads comprised about 38% of Ms. ads; no liqueur ads appeared in the Sports Illustrated sample.

Analysis of clear spirits advertising reveals that in Ms. four brands had a total of 13 different ads and all clear spirits ads were unique. In the 1988 Sports Illustrated sample 10 brands had a total of 17 different ads. The higher percentage of unique clear spirits ads in Ms. suggests that a few companies were experimenting with different approaches or attention getting strategies.

In 1988, of total ads in Ms. almost 29% were for Absolut vodka; the brand did not appear in the Sports Illustrated sample. As a newcomer to the U.S. market, importers of Absolut attempted to create a niche for the product by directing ad campaigns at women (Hayden 1992).

Presentations of Gender and Social Relationships

Gender presentations (i.e., images of femininity and masculinity via human models or personified objects) in Ms. and Sports Illustrated sample ads are examined for changes over time. Gender displays were more challenging (e.g., role reversals) in Ms. 1973 when the women's movement was still something of a novelty than in Ms. 1982 or 1988. In all sample years, gender images in Sports Illustrated were conventional (e.g., feminine images emphasized the roles of wife or date whereas masculine images emphasized occupational roles). Portrayals of social relationships (i.e, friendship, camaraderie, sexual, love, or impressing others) appearing in sample ads are compared for changes over time and between magazines.

Gender Displays by Sample Year

Frequencies of gender displays are reported in Table 9. In 1973, all alcohol ads in Ms. featured a gender image compared to about half the Sports Illustrated ads. The relatively recent introduction of alcohol beverages to the female consumer (see Chapter 4), may account for the higher percentage of gender images in Ms. 1973 (i.e., use of gender images to stimulate

Table 9. Percentage of Ms. and Sports Illustrated samples featuring gender displays by year

Year	Percentage of Gender Displays			
	<u>Ms.</u>		<u>Sports Illustrated</u>	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
1973	100.0	(13)	50.4	(58)
1982	57.1	(88)	43.8	(56)
1988	14.9	(3)	41.6	(32)

identification and emulation). Frequencies for 1982 show less disparity. Sports Illustrated 1988 featured almost three times the percentage of gender displays; decrease in use of gender images in Ms. may have been a consequence of increasingly vocal criticism of displays of femininity in advertising (see Chapter 3).

Table 10 shows frequencies of feminine and masculine images as a percentage of gender displays. In the Sports Illustrated sample, displays of masculinity consistently appeared more often than displays of femininity. The higher proportion of masculine to feminine images in Sports Illustrated presumably reflects the predominantly male readership of the magazine. Similarly, feminine images consistently appeared more often in Ms.; however, the ratio of feminine to masculine images varied. Masculine images as product symbols, as well as types of beverages advertised (i.e., liqueurs and clear

Table 10. Feminine and masculine images as a percentage of gender displays in Ms. and Sports Illustrated samples by year

Year	Images as a Percent of Gender Displays by Magazine							
	<u>Ms.</u>				<u>Sports Illustrated</u>			
	Feminine		Masculine		Feminine		Masculine	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
1973	92.3	(12)	92.3	(12)	65.5	(38)	89.7	(52)
1982	54.5	(48)	75.0	(66)	41.1	(23)	91.1	(51)
1988	100.0	(3)	66.7	(2)	40.6	(13)	87.5	(28)

spirits), and images associated with them (sexual or love) may explain the variation.

The structure of gender displays in Sports Illustrated and Ms. convey gender-specific meanings about alcohol consumption (see Appendix). Males (i.e., readers of Sports Illustrated) were exposed to images that associated drinking with male gatherings. Ms. readers rarely were presented with images of only females drinking together. In both magazines, a higher percentage of masculine images were presented as product symbols. Moreover, in both magazines, female drinking was typically presented simultaneously with male drinking.

For all sample years, of concurrent feminine and masculine displays in both Ms. and Sports Illustrated the roles of spouse or date predominated (see Appendix). In the Ms. sample all concurrent gender displays with the exception of one ad (a work role presentation in 1982) portrayed personal involvement (e.g., spouse or date). Concurrent displays in the Sports Illustrated sample were slightly more diverse. Images of personal involvement were featured in about 84% of 1973 Sports Illustrated concurrent displays and work roles were presented in about 16%. One-half the 1982 Sports Illustrated concurrent displays featured images of personal involvement, one-third portrayed friendship, and about one-fifth were non-specific. By 1988, the roles of spouse or date returned as the predominant concurrent images (90%).

In both Ms. and Sports Illustrated, feminine images consistently were portrayed as decoration more frequently than were masculine images. Only once (Ms. 1982) did a masculine image as decoration appear in the sample ads. Also, decorative feminine images in Ms. and Sports Illustrated increased over the sample years. There were no feminine decorative portrayals in Ms. 1973. Of feminine displays appearing in Ms. 1982, 29% of them were decorative portrayals as were two-thirds of feminine displays in Ms. 1988. The percentage of feminine displays that were decorative images in Sports Illustrated more than doubled from 1973 to 1988 (16% to 39%).

Gender Images 1973

The portrayal of gender is studied because of the argument that gender images are used for reader stimulation and emulation (see Chapter 3). The same percentage (92%) of feminine and masculine images appeared in Ms., but because half the masculine images were repetitive product symbols (e.g., a hand) feminine images (e.g., of different models) were more noticeable. Consistent with its readership, masculine images were more visible in Sports Illustrated than were feminine images (90% versus 66%).

In Ms., women were shown as more differentiated than men (i.e., variety of roles and characteristics) whereas in Sports Illustrated men were shown as more differentiated than women. Alcohol ads in Ms. featured women as professionals, wives/dates, and good hostesses while males were either husbands/dates or product symbols representing leadership or tradition. In the

Sports Illustrated sample, males were shown in a variety of roles (e.g., adventurer, proud hard worker, sophisticated ladies' man, protector-guardian, good ole boy, expert-leader-authority figure, and father-husband), whereas women were portrayed as a wife-girlfriend-date or as a sex kitten.

Overall, the sample of Sports Illustrated ads presented stereotypical images of femininity and masculinity (i.e., sexual and occupational respectively). Sexuality was portrayed in about 45% of ads featuring women compared to about 17% of ads featuring men. In contrast, of masculine displays, about 42% associated men with work roles whereas only about 13% of feminine images associated women with work roles.

Of alcohol ads in Ms. over half (54%) presented challenging gender images. Work was more often linked with women than with men (5 ads versus 1 ad) and women's work roles were of higher prestige (professionals versus blue-collar workers). All of the Dewar's ads depicted professional women described as "strong, candid," "involved, and unintimidated by a challenge," or as "an artist and creator." Moreover, two ads presented men as husbands (e.g., his wedding band was visible) but none directly presented a woman in the role of wife. Sexuality was equally featured in the masculine and feminine images (13%); the only difference was one ad portrayed her as the sexual initiator (i.e., she was unbuttoning his shirt).

Although some Ms. alcohol ads presented challenging gender portrayals, images of females in Ms. were less diverse than images of males in Sports

Illustrated. Males in Sports Illustrated were shown relaxing as well as in the company of other males; ads showing a woman relaxing or enjoying the company of other women were non-existent.

Overall, gender displays in Ms. emphasized sexuality less than gender displays in Sports Illustrated. None of the Ms. ads used a model (male or female) as a decorative object. Of feminine images in Sports Illustrated almost 16% of them were shown as decorative objects. Consistent with engaging in activities which did not focus on sexuality (e.g., calling an auction), models in Ms. appeared to be older and less attractive (e.g., lost hair, glasses) than Sports Illustrated models.

Gender Images 1982

Displays of gender were more frequent in Ms. than in the sample of Sports Illustrated ads (58% versus 44%). In both magazines, masculine images occurred more often than feminine images (75% versus 54% in Ms. and 91% versus 41% in Sports Illustrated). Consistent with its readership, the ratio of masculine to feminine images was greater in Sports Illustrated.

Representations of masculinity and femininity in sample ads illustrate the differential assignment of roles and purported importance of social relationships in the lives of American females and males. In general, displays of femininity portrayed females with a male or as decoration. Over half (56%) of Ms. feminine images showed her with a male and in almost all (96%) of them she was personally involved with him as a wife or date. Similarly, over three-

fourths (78%) of feminine displays in the Sports Illustrated sample featured her with a male and half of these presented her as personally involved with him. In both Ms. and Sports Illustrated, over one-fourth (29% and 26%, respectively) of the feminine displays were as decorative objects.

In contrast, masculine images defined men in ways other than via relationships with women. One-third of Ms. and over one-half (54%) of Sports Illustrated masculine displays featured him alone or with other males. Moreover, only 1 of 117 masculine portrayals (66 in Ms. and 51 in Sports Illustrated) represented a male as a decorative object. The decorative male was a celebrity with a public persona based on sex appeal (i.e., Clark Gable) unlike the feminine decorative objects who were unknown.

Assignment of roles based on gender also is evident in representations of work. In the Sports Illustrated sample one-fourth of masculine displays emphasized work but there were no displays of women's work roles. In Ms., the frequency of feminine and masculine occupational representations were similar (17% and 21% respectively); yet, analysis of worker and job characteristics reveals dissimilarity. All of the females shown in work roles were celebrities or pseudo-celebrities in male dominated fields (e.g., stunt race-car driver) whereas the majority (71%) of masculine work images were "generic" males in traditional male occupations (e.g., construction). Remaining masculine work images in Ms. featured celebrities or pseudo-celebrities; none of them showed males in female dominated occupations.

In general, alcohol advertisements in both magazines presented traditional images of femininity and masculinity. Women were defined by ties to husbands/dates or as objects of male desire (i.e., decoration). Men were defined in terms of work roles, male camaraderie/friendship, intimate relationships, and as self-sufficient loners.

Gender images 1988

Gender displays were almost three times as frequent in Sports Illustrated 1988 ads as in Ms. (42% compared to 15%). Overall, feminine and masculine images were conventional.

All of the Ms. ads that presented gender displays featured feminine images and in two-thirds of them she was decoration. Masculine images were portrayed in two-thirds of Ms. 1988 gender displays and all of them emphasized personal involvement (date/spouse).

Of gender images in the Sports Illustrated sample over twice as many presented masculine compared to feminine images (88% versus 41%). Of the feminine images about 39% were decorative portrayals and 69% showed her as a spouse or date. In contrast, none of the masculine displays were as decorative objects and slightly over one-fifth (21%) featured him as a spouse or date. Representations of masculinity in the Sports Illustrated 1988 sample most frequently (43%) emphasized financial achievement (e.g., Jack lost Jill because he broke his prize possession--Crown Royal).

Relationships by Sample Year

For all sample years, alcohol ads in Ms. depicted images of relationships proportionately more often than Sports Illustrated (see Table 11). This disparity may reflect differences in alcohol beverages advertised in the magazines or may reflect gender specific marketing (e.g., stimulation of modeling via relationship images).

In brand image alcohol ads, associations of drinking with social relationships were gender specific (see Table 12). Images of camaraderie rarely appeared in the Ms. sample but were customary in the Sports Illustrated sample. Similarly, for all sample years, representations of friendship comprised a higher percentage of relationship images in Sports Illustrated. In Ms. sample ads, images of sexual and love affiliations were consistently the most frequently occurring relationships and as a percentage of relationship images increased over time (i.e., combined represented about 38% in 1973, about 63% in 1982, and 75% in 1988). In contrast, percentages of sexual and love affiliations dramatically decreased in Sports Illustrated (i.e., combined represented about 66% in 1973, 30% in 1982, and 13% in 1988). Percentage of presentations of impressing others via alcohol brand choice remained relatively constant in Ms. but increased in Sports Illustrated. The relative frequency with which images appeared in the mixed category (e.g., sexual and impressing others) paralleled the relative frequency with which those relationship images appeared overall (see notes in Table 12).

Table 11. Percentage of Ms. and Sports Illustrated samples portraying relationships by year

Year	Percentage Portraying Relationships			
	<u>Ms.</u>		<u>Sports Illustrated</u>	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
1973	61.5	(8)	36.5	(42)
1982	39.0	(60)	25.8	(33)
1988	38.1	(8)	29.8	(23)

Differences in the association of kinds of relationships in Ms. and Sports Illustrated coincide with traditional gender ideology. For females, drinking was primarily linked with sexual or love encounters and securing social approval (e.g., impressing others). Alcohol was often portrayed as a prop to be used in the presentation of self and the pleasure she derived from alcohol was dependent on others' evaluations (e.g., pleasing others by supplying the appropriate beverage and brand). For males, drinking was associated with a greater variety of social relationships and alcohol was often portrayed as a social lubricant (e.g., drinking as part of male bonding activities). The increase in the percentage of Sports Illustrated ads that featured impressing others apparently reflects the mass media created neo-male (see Chapter 3).

Table 12. Frequency of mutually exclusive relationship image categories in Ms. and Sports Illustrated samples by year

Relationship Image	Frequency by Magazine and Year					
	<u>Ms.</u>			<u>Sports Illustrated</u>		
	1973 (n = 8)	1982 (n = 60)	1988 (n = 8)	1973 ^a (n = 42)	1982 (n = 33)	1988 (n = 23)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Friendship	-	15.0	12.5	2.4	21.2	26.1
Camaraderie	-	3.3	-	14.3	30.3	17.4
Sexual	12.5	25.0	37.5	35.7	6.1	13.0
Love	25.0	38.3	37.5	31.0	24.2	-
Impressing others	12.5	18.3	12.5	7.1	9.1	39.1
Mixed	50.0 ^a	-	-	9.5 ^b	9.1 ^c	4.3 ^d

^aThree ads featured sexual and impressing others; one ad portrayed love and impressing others. All mixed ads were for Galliano.

^bThree ads featured sexual and impressing others; one ad portrayed camaraderie, sexual, and impressing others.

^cOne ad portrayed camaraderie and sexual; one featured friendship, camaraderie, and sexual. One ad presented impressing others and sexual.

^dOne ad featured friendship and love.

Types of Appeals and Emotion-Inducing Images

Reported in Table 13 are frequencies of types of appeals (cognitive only, cognitive-emotional, emotional only) in Ms. and Sports Illustrated sample ads. For all sample years, in both magazines, the overwhelming majority of alcohol ads involved emotion-including (cognitive-emotional or emotional only appeals). Emotional only appeals consistently were somewhat more frequent in Ms. Cognitive only alcohol ads appeared in Ms. during only one (i.e., 1982) of the sample years; the same year they peaked at about 16% in Sports Illustrated. Percentages of cognitive-emotional appeals in Sports Illustrated and Ms. samples were similar in 1973 and 1988.

Shown in Table 14 are frequencies of non-mutually exclusive emotion-including images in sample Ms. and Sports Illustrated ads. Although personal satisfaction appeals were predominant in both magazines, emotion-inducing images tended to be gender specific in 1973 and 1988.

Images of elegance were proportionately much more frequent in Ms. than in Sports Illustrated in 1973 (see Table 14). Also, appeals to individuality were common in Ms. but rare in Sports Illustrated. Except for portrayals of conformity, no emotion-inducing image was more frequent in Sports Illustrated 1973. Differential presentations of tradition were the most visible example of gender specific emotion-inducing appeals. Sample ads from Sports Illustrated 1973 linked alcohol with tradition and conformity to masculine drinking norms (e.g., whiskey consumption). In contrast, images of tradition in Ms. 1973 were

Table 13. Frequency of type of appeals in Ms. and Sports Illustrated samples by year

Type of Appeal	Frequency by Magazine and Year					
	<u>Ms.</u>			<u>Sports Illustrated</u>		
	1973 (n = 13)	1982 (n = 154)	1988 (n = 21)	1973 (n = 115)	1982 (n = 128)	1988 (n = 77)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Cognitive only	-	7.8	-	4.3	16.4	5.2
Cognitive-emotional	46.2	38.3	42.9	42.6	50.0	42.9
Emotional only	53.8	53.9	57.9	46.1	33.6	51.9

Table 14. Types of emotion-inducing images as a percentage of cognitive-emotional and emotional only appeals in Ms. and Sports Illustrated samples by year

Type of Image	Percentage by Magazine and Year					
	<u>Ms.</u>			<u>Sports Illustrated</u>		
	1973 (n = 13)	1982 (n = 142)	1988 (n = 21)	1973 (n = 102)	1982 (n = 107)	1988 (n = 73)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tradition	46.2	31.0	19.0	35.3	37.4	47.9
Conformity	7.7	12.7	14.3	16.7	17.8	9.6
Individuality	38.5	19.7	19.0	1.9	20.6	8.2
Elegance	61.5	23.9	23.8	16.7	15.9	13.7
Personal Satisfaction	53.8	67.6	90.5	51.0	71.0	47.9

combined with appeals to individuality and elegance (e.g., Dewar's ads presented an elegant lady demonstrating individuality/feminism by breaking tradition via whiskey consumption).

Analysis of 1982 sample ads reveals that emotion-inducing images were similarly represented. This similarity may be a consequence of parity in percentages of clear spirits advertisements.

In 1988, with the exception of appeals to tradition, the relative percentages of emotion-inducing images were higher in Ms. Also, almost all of the emotion-inducing Ms. ads associated alcohol with personal satisfaction compared to less than half of Sports Illustrated ads. Cumulatively, alcohol advertising in Ms. 1988 presented drinking as a means to gratification and used a variety of other emotion-inducing appeals to link drinking with personal fulfillment. In contrast, alcohol advertising in Sports Illustrated 1988 tended to portray drinking as a traditional, masculine means to personal satisfaction.

Analysis of emotion-inducing images over time shows both stability and change. For all three years, both Ms. and Sports Illustrated sample ads presented a high proportion of personal satisfaction images, thus suggesting consistent imagery of drinking as time-out behavior. Also, elegant images consistently comprised a higher percentage of Ms. ads, thus reflecting expectations about readers (e.g., career-oriented women versus male sports aficionados).

Normative Messages

Reported in Table 15 are frequencies of normative messages in sample Ms. and Sports Illustrated ads. Ms. readers were proportionately more often presented with alcohol beverage recipes thus mirroring traditional norms (e.g., women as consumers of mixed drinks). Appeals to youth were featured in Sports Illustrated each sample year but appeared in Ms. only in 1982. Differences in frequency of youth appeal may be a consequence of perceived reader age differences.

Gift-Giving

Except for 1988, the frequency and type of messages presented in Ms. and Sports Illustrated gift-giving ads were similar. The most prevalent images in 1973 and 1982 portrayed alcohol as a Christmas present (all and about 62% respectively of Ms., and about 77% and 83% respectively of Sports Illustrated gift-giving suggestions).

About 20% of Ms. 1982 gift-giving advertisements were non-specific, about 10% featured alcohol as a Father's Day gift, and about 10% associated alcohol with superordinate/subordinate gift exchange. Images of alcohol as a Father's Day gift appeared in Sports Illustrated in 1973 and 1988 (15% and 8% of gift-giving ads respectively). Also, about 8% of Sports Illustrated 1982 gift suggestions portrayed alcohol as a birthday present.

Analysis of sample 1988 ads shows that all the Ms. gift-giving images presented alcohol as a gift to be given to oneself (i.e., 1-800-BE-THERE or 1-

Table 15. Normative messages as a percentage of Ms. and Sports Illustrated samples by year

Normative Message	Percentage by Magazine and Year					
	<u>Ms.</u>			<u>Sports Illustrated</u>		
	1973	1982	1988	1973	1982	1988
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Recipe	53.8	24.0	28.6	13.9	14.1	7.8
Youth appeal	-	14.9	-	2.6	6.3	9.1
Gift-giving	7.7	13.6	42.9	11.3	9.4	13.0
Time-to-drink	23.1	18.8	19.0	20.0	23.4	11.7
Moderation message	-	8.4	-	-	14.1	2.6
"Neutralization of abuse"	23.1	32.5	28.6	23.5	29.7	35.1

800-CHEER-UP) versus only 20% of Sports Illustrated gift suggestions. Half the gift-giving messages in Sports Illustrated 1988 were non-specific and 30% portrayed alcohol as a Christmas gift. Differences in 1988 gift-giving messages suggest that Ms. readers were encouraged to view drinking as a means to emotion management via alcohol as a present to oneself (e.g., "ABSOLUT JOY" in an ad for Absolut vodka).

Time-to-Drink

Proportional frequency of time-to-drink messages reveals overall similarity (see Table 15). Examination of specific time-to-drink messages, shows that ads in both magazines portrayed drinking as leisure activity (i.e., few ads presented alcohol as a meal-time beverage).

However, specific leisure activities associated with drinking were different in Ms. and Sports Illustrated. Sample ads from Sports Illustrated 1973 and 1988 presented a greater variety of times for drinking than Ms. 1973 and 1988 ads. Moreover, almost half (47%) of time-to-drink images in Sports Illustrated 1982 associated consumption of alcohol with holidays or celebrations of specific events compared to about 14% of Ms. 1982 time-to-drink images. Of time-to-drink presentations in Ms. 1982 about 21% showed drinking as part of a romantic evening compared to none of Sports Illustrated 1982 time-to-drink portrayals. Overall, differences in diversity of time-to-drink messages indicate that sample alcohol advertisement established more

occasions to drink for males than females (e.g., sports events, after work, or any night).

"Neutralization of Abuse" and Moderation Messages

Comparison of "neutralization of alcohol abuse" images (see Chapter 4) and moderation messages shows that ads in both magazines portrayed images of abuse more often than moderation images (see Table 15). "neutralization of abuse" images (e.g., boat racing and alcohol consumption) were proportionately similarly represented in Ms. and Sports Illustrated, whereas the percentages of moderation messages reveal dissimilarity. A higher percentage of alcohol advertising in Sports Illustrated than in Ms. presented images of moderation (14% versus 8% in 1982 and about 3% versus none in 1988). The higher percentage of moderation images in 1982 Ms. and Sports Illustrated ads may reflect early 1980s debates on the content of alcohol advertising (see Chapter 4).

Sports Illustrated 1973 and 1988 ads presented more diverse "neutralization of abuse" images than Ms. 1973 and 1988 ads (see Table 16). Comparison of 1982 sample ads shows that a higher percentage of Ms. ads presented alcohol as a means of problem reduction whereas a higher percentage of Sports Illustrated ads associated drinking with hazardous activities. Differences in percentage of types of "neutralization of abuse" images in 1982 may reflect gender specific alcohol abuse patterns (i.e., self-

Table 16. Frequency of "neutralization of alcohol abuse" images in Ms. and Sports Illustrated samples by year

Neutralizing Messages	Frequency by Magazine and Year					
	<u>Ms.</u>			<u>Sports Illustrated</u>		
	1973 (n = 3)	1982 (n = 50)	1988 (n = 6)	1973 ^a (n = 27)	1982 (n = 38)	1988 (n = 27)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Heavy consumption	100.0	48.0	50.0	48.1	42.1	55.6
Hazardous activities	-	18.0	-	14.8	31.6	18.5
Guard supply	-	8.0	50.0	3.7	13.2	22.2
Problem reduction	-	26.0	-	18.5	13.2	3.7

^a11.1% presented drinking as a rite of passage into adulthood and 3.7% portrayed solitary alcohol consumption

medication versus "machismo"). Among women, alcohol abuse has been correlated with life crises; among men, alcohol abuse has been correlated with male bonding-drinking activities (Royce 1989). In both magazines, representations of heavy consumption were the most predominant "neutralization of abuse" images.

Conclusion

Producers of alcoholic beverages presented different brand and product choices to readers of Ms. and Sports Illustrated. Males (i.e., Sports Illustrated readers) were consistently presented a greater variety of product choices. As a new market (i.e., feminist consumers), Ms. readers were targets of experimental marketing strategies (e.g., introduction of whiskeys and beers). By 1988, however, alcohol product choices in Ms. represented conventional female taste preferences (i.e., liqueurs and clear spirits). Change in product choices in Sports Illustrated primarily consisted of an increase in beer advertising and a decrease in whiskey advertising.

With the exception of Ms. 1973 association of alcohol products with gender presentations was stereotypical. Alcohol consumption by a woman was primarily linked with love or sexual encounters whereas drinking by a man was associated with occupational/financial achievement or male bonding. Although a few challenging gender portrayals appeared (e.g., Dewar's 1973 ads), overall women were represented as decorative objects and men as success objects.

Analysis of types of appeals shows that alcohol advertising in Sports Illustrated and Ms. predominantly consisted of emotion-inducing themes. In both magazines, personal satisfaction appeals were the most frequent images. Differences in emotion-inducing appeals apparently reflect reader characteristics. Drinking was linked with elegance and individuality in Ms. and symbolized feminism (e.g., challenges to traditional gender ideology). In Sports Illustrated emotion-inducing themes tended to associate drinking with conformity to tradition or used elegance as a symbol of financial success.

Comparison of normative messages reveals that Ms. readers were consistently exposed to more recipe ads thus, reflecting the assumption that women prefer mixed drinks. Gift-giving suggestions were similar in Ms. and Sports Illustrated except for 1988; ads in Ms. 1988 more frequently portrayed alcohol as a gift to oneself to be used for emotion-management. In both magazines, the most prevalent time-to-drink messages associated alcohol consumption with leisure activities. However, more times for drinking were presented in Sports Illustrated than in Ms. In both magazines, images of alcohol abuse were more frequent than moderation messages.

The ratio of abuse images to moderation messages was higher in Ms. than in Sports Illustrated. Comparatively and cumulatively, Ms. readers more so than Sports Illustrated readers were exposed to images that legitimized irresponsible drinking. The most prevalent abuse images, in both magazines, featured heavy drinking. Sample ads for 1988 portrayed gender specific abuse

patterns (i.e., problem reduction in Ms. and hazardous activities in Sports Illustrated).

CHAPTER 8

INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

All advertisements are ideological representations that associate commodities with culturally significant images (Wernick 1991) whose meanings may change over time (e.g., drinking and boating), may vary across socio-demographic categories (e.g., scantily clad women), or may be so deeply rooted in a culture they are resistant to change (e.g., cute dogs). Producers of commodities and their advertisers are sensitive to perceived changes in the symbolic importance of images and respond to external forces when it is economically advantageous to do so. For example, in the 1970s, Dewar's scotch recognized the market potential of feminist consumers by creating an image for the brand that acknowledged feminist criticism of gender displays in advertising. The Dewar's woman was not a sex symbol; she appeared to be a successful professional.

As producers of low-involvement, emotional commodities (see Chapter 1), the alcohol industries are cognizant of the gender-typing (e.g., whiskeys and beers as men's drinks, liqueurs as ladies drinks) and the class-typing (e.g., the association of wine with elite status) of their products. For the most part, in targeting their products to different markets, advertisers do not challenge the connotative meanings associated with alcohol beverage types; they supplement them. Thus, when beer was first advertised in women's magazines, advertisers

presented beer as a meal-time beverage. At the same time beer ads aimed at males, the heaviest beer consumers (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988), continued to present beer as a badge-product by portraying beer consumption as an element of machismo. Similarly, wine advertising emphasized wine as a status symbol via promotional offers in restaurants while simultaneously targeting young drinkers via wine cooler commercials (Wine Marketing Handbook 1988).

In the United States, alcohol is a politicized commodity. In the 1980s, organized opposition to irresponsible drinking resulted in Congressional hearings (e.g., debates over mandatory warning labels on alcohol products). Meantime, an emphasis on health and fitness in the popular culture resulted in lower rates of alcohol consumption and decreased sales of high alcohol content beverages (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988; Wine Marketing Handbook 1988). One consequence of these changing attitudes toward drinking was that criticisms of gender displays in advertising were ignored as the industries dealt with more menacing threats (e.g., the anti-alcohol movement and the popularity of bottled water).

The first section of this chapter interprets gender-alcohol associations as presented in alcohol ads appearing in gender specific magazines (i.e., Ms. and Sports Illustrated) from 1973 to 1988. Representations of drinking are examined based on (a) frequency of beverage types appearing in the sample ads and actual consumption patterns, (b) gender images, (c) types of appeals,

and (d) normative messages. Also, data from this project are compared with findings from studies of gender in advertising and content analyses of print alcohol advertisements. The last section reviews the research implications of this project.

Representations of Drinking

Traditionally, alcohol advertisements have portrayed drinking as a masculine privilege (Marsteller and Karnchanapee 1980; Jacobson et al. 1983; Strate 1992) and alcohol products were seldom advertised in women's magazines. However, in the 1970s and 1980s, women's magazines increasingly sought alcohol advertising revenues to finance their publications (Cavanagh and Clairmonte 1985; Steinem 1990). Also, some alcohol beverage producers (e.g., Brown-Forman) designed advertising campaigns specifically aimed at women after realizing that working women had disposable income and were choosing their own alcohol products (Advertising Age 1981).

Frequencies of Beverage Types and Alcohol Consumption

The number of alcohol ads in Ms from 1973 to 1982 increased greatly but there was no increase in the percentage of women drinkers (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988). Also, total wine consumption increased from 1973 to 1988 but wine ads only appeared in the samples from 1973. Lastly, during the sample years, beer consumption by women increased (Beer Industry Update 1986) as did liqueur consumption by men (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988)

but the extent of cross-over advertising (e.g., beer ads aimed at women and liqueur ads aimed at men) was minimal.

Economic factors provide one explanation for the disparity between frequencies of alcohol beverage types in the sample ads and actual consumption rates. During its advertising financed years, Ms. had difficulty securing ad revenues because of uncertainty concerning the consumer preferences of a feminist market (Steinem 1990). As a consequence, increases in the number of alcohol ads in Ms. from 1973 to 1982 may be because the magazine could not get commitments from other advertisers (e.g., food producers). Moreover, increases in the percentages of whiskey ads and brands in Ms. from 1973 to 1982 suggests that the whiskey industry was responding to declining whiskey sales (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988) by promoting the product to a new consumer category (e.g., feminists). In contrast, there was no economic need that stimulated experimentation with the marketing strategies of liqueurs and beers.

The existence of additional advertising venues is another reason for incongruity between actual consumption and frequencies of alcohol beverage types in Ms. and Sports Illustrated. From 1982 to 1988, the number of alcohol ads in both magazines decreased considerably, whereas the percentage of female drinkers decreased only slightly and the percentage of male drinkers increased slightly. Although decreased advertising expenditures among all distilled spirits categories (Jobson's Liquor Handbook 1988) partially accounts

for the reduction in the number of ads, de-regulation of the broadcast media in 1982 (Cavanagh and Clairmonte 1985) enabled alcohol advertisers to more creatively market their products (e.g., sponsorship of major broadcast sports events). Increasingly the wine and beer industries relied on the broadcast media (Wine Marketing Handbook 1988; Johnson 1988). In the case of beer advertising, increased subscriptions to ESPN and other sports channels were an alternative to Sports Illustrated.

Lastly, differences in the extent of cross-over advertising and actual consumption of "ladies' drinks" by men may reflect the status of women and men in American society (i.e., imitation of the masculine by women is more acceptable than is imitation of the feminine by men). For example, Steel liqueur was advertised in Sports Illustrated using a "MEN WORKING" construction sign; this suggests that targeting men for consumption of feminine beverages required the utilization of more masculine images. As part of a sports culture that perpetuates hegemonic masculinity, articles in Sports Illustrated exclude, trivialize, and sexualize female athletes (Sabo and Jansen 1992), thus it is likely that products advertised in the magazine would be stereotypical masculine commodities (e.g., whiskeys, beers, life insurance, trucks).

Gender Images

As visual representations of femininity and masculinity, the gender specific targeting of alcohol beverages reflected and reinforced "gender myths" (Tuchman 1979). Consistent with other studies on gender in advertising

(Berger 1972; Goffman 1979; Courtney and Whipple 1983; Kilbourne 1987, 1989; Barthel 1988; Vestergaard and Schroder 1988; Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990; Moog 1990), sample ads from Ms. and Sports Illustrated typically portrayed women as "sex symbols or women acting like men" (Marsteller and Karnchanapee 1980, p. 11) and men were presented as "success objects" (Farrell 1974). Challenging gender portrayals were rare (22 of 250 gender images) and those that did appear often featured simplistic role reversals.

Images of femininity in Ms. were similar to those in Sports Illustrated, a stereotypical men's magazine. For example, in both magazines, alcohol consumption by women was typically presented within the context of a love or sexual relationship. Consistent with the decoding of gender displays by Goffman (1979) and Kilbourne (1987, 1989), women were mostly shown as subordinate to men and/or as sexually available. Overall, women were defined by their ties to men.

The discrepancy between Ms.'s presumed feminist ideology and its alcohol advertising did not go unnoticed by readers of the magazine. In 1980, readers protested when Ms. ran an alcohol advertisement featuring an abused woman and the slogan "Hit me with a Club;" subsequently The Club advertising campaign was halted nationally (Ms. 1992). Nevertheless sample ads, from 1982 and 1988, indicate that Ms. continued to finance the magazine via alcohol advertising that presented traditional images of women.

Symbolizing a symbiotic exchange between females and males, images of masculinity in Ms. and Sports Illustrated typically defined men within the context of their achievements and emphasized dominance either over others or the forces of nature. Occupational success was the most prevalent representation. Also, sexual conquest and overcoming a difficult challenge were frequent portrayals. Unlike displays of femininity, which usually included male images, masculine displays featured a man alone as well as male-bonding activities. Displays of a man alone were stereotypes of individual self-accomplishment (e.g., the lone cowboy) and images of male-bonding activities featured ritualistic drinking behavior (e.g., celebration of a sports victory).

Criticisms of gender displays in advertising only resulted in superficial changes. Over four-fifths of the challenging gender portrayals were stereotypes of women in male dominated occupations. Moreover, almost three-fourths of the women shown in work roles were celebrities or pseudo-celebrities which covertly suggests that women in male dominated occupations were exceptional and/or that only exceptional women work. These images of exceptional working women contrast with the anonymous males featured in images of working men.

Of the images of working women in Sports Illustrated, only one ad showed a career woman (i.e., Bette Davis was shown with Robert Wagoner). The public personae of Davis and Wagoner reverse the usual pattern; he is the sex object (i.e., suave ladies' man) and she is independent. The ad links his

status as a sex symbol with his profession (i.e., a character he plays). The Davis-Wagoner ad is similar to the only ad that presented a male (i.e., Clark Gable) as a decorative object. Both ads imply that being a sex object is a performance for males. In contrast, of total feminine displays about one-fourth presented unknown women as decorative objects cumulatively suggesting that being a sex object is the essence of "any female."

In summary, the portrayals of gender in the sample alcohol ads did not present fewer "gender myths" or stereotypes over time. Contrary to gender relevant changes in American society (e.g., the institutionalization of the rhetoric of gender equality), from 1973 to 1988, alcohol advertisements increasingly presented a higher proportion of gender stereotypes (e.g., almost half the challenging gender images appeared in 1973 and none appeared in 1988). Absence of fundamental changes is evident by a consideration of missing representations (e.g., men in predominantly female occupations, ritualistic female drinking and camaraderie, females in superordinate roles, or give Mom liquor for Mother's Day).

As an inherently conservative enterprise (Ewen 1976), Madison Avenue compromised gender equality by utilizing "pseudo-feminist images" (Wernick 1991) when it was presumed profitable and/or novel to do so. One consequence of the appropriation of feminist images and slogans into advertising was that feminist protest was defused (Goodrum and Dalrymple 1990). In the 1980s, a feminist backlash (e.g., Men's Rights, Inc.) resulted in

the disappearance of feminist images and an increase in "home and hearth" themes in advertising (Faludi 1991).

Types of Appeals

The overwhelming majority of sample alcohol ads in this project were brand-image advertisements involving emotion-inducing images (i.e., cognitive-emotional or emotional only). This supports the findings of the Michigan Studies (Atkins and Block 1981; Atkin et al. 1983; Atkin and Block 1984), as well as conclusions reached by Breed et al. (1984); they found that print alcohol advertisements primarily feature imagery of desirable lifestyles or ideal outcomes. In contrast, Strickland et al. (1982) concluded that print alcohol advertisements are predominantly informational. Discrepancies in findings may be due to differences in coding. For example, the coding system of Strickland et al. (1982) included foreign settings (e.g., Canadian mountain lakes) which were interpreted as promises of escape by this researcher and the Michigan Studies.

The most frequently appearing emotion-inducing theme, presented to both females and males, in this study was personal satisfaction (i.e., consumption of the advertised brand is an emotional experience per se or will intensify/discharge existing emotions). This supports the work of Breed and DeFoe (1979) which found hedonism to be a frequently occurring theme in print alcohol ads.

Frequencies of other emotion-inducing themes suggest that different images were used to target a female versus a male audience. Images of elegance (i.e., transformation of a commodity into an object of desire) consistently appeared more frequently in Ms. thus, suggesting that Ms. readers were perceived to be "emulator-achievers" (i.e., consumption of the advertised brand is a means to participation in an elite lifestyle). In contrast, Sports Illustrated readers were exposed to brand-images that emphasized tradition, thus suggesting that the readers of the magazine were perceived to be "belongers" (i.e., consumption of a specific brand represents a conventional lifestyle).

Normative Messages

Slightly different normative messages appeared in sample alcohol advertisements appearing in Ms. and Sports Illustrated. The differences in normative messages reflect traditional gender ideology. For example, advertisements that presented recipes for mixed drinks primarily appeared in Ms. Also, "neutralization of abuse" images in Ms. often portrayed alcohol as a means to emotion-management whereas "neutralization of abuse" images in Sports Illustrated more often associated drinking with hazardous activities.

Overall, alcohol advertisements typically presented drinking in conjunction with leisure behaviors and proportionally suggested heavy consumption twice as frequently as moderation. The ratio of heavy consumption images to moderation messages in this project is discordant with

the findings of Strickland et al. (1982) who found three times the percentage of moderation images as heavy consumption images. Differences in sample magazines and time periods may account for divergent findings.

Differences in the frequencies of alcohol ads in various magazines are suggestive of marketers' perceptions of the drinking habits of respective audiences (e.g., light, moderate, or heavy). Strickland et al. (1982) did not examine alcohol ads appearing in Ms. but instead included magazines with low frequencies of alcohol advertisements (e.g., Woman's Day and Reader's Digest). Also, the Strickland et al. (1982) sample was limited to 1978, a time when the content of alcohol advertising was debated. By 1988, the anti-alcohol movement had redirected its energies (e.g., warning labels and prevention programs). Comparison of findings from this study with the work of Strickland et al. (1982) suggests that the alcohol industries promoted moderate consumption only when it was necessary to the creation/maintenance of favorable corporate images.

Conclusions

Analysis of gender-alcohol associations during the 1970s and 1980s, has provided insight into advertisers' representation of gender and alcohol consumption during periods of change. Although it is erroneous to conclude that alcohol advertising has a direct effect on drinking patterns, cultural values associated with drinking are endorsed via images in alcohol advertisements. Whether or not the alcohol industries purposely engage in alcohol education,

gender specific marketing creates gender-alcohol associations and provides drinking instructions (e.g., beverage choices, motivations, and occasions for drinking).

In general, alcohol advertisements presented gender stereotypes (i.e., gender representations and product choices) to specific markets. Advertisements for masculine beverages were primarily directed at Sports Illustrated readers and typically portrayed the "man's man" (e.g., hard working blue-collar laborer, adventurous risk-taker, or financially successful entrepreneur). Similarly, advertisements for liqueurs were predominantly targeted to women and presented the "dark lady of mystery" in an exotic setting. Advertising for clear spirits emphasized romance and were directed at both females and males.

One explanation of the endurance of stereotypical, gender segmented alcohol advertising is that connotative meanings associated with "drinking men" and "sipping women" are institutionalized and very resistant to change in American society (Fillmore 1984; Frieze and Schafer 1984). Thus, advertisers may have been hesitant to substantially change representations of gender in alcohol advertising (e.g., predominance of concurrent displays emphasizing sex or romance). Moreover, during the sample time period, the alcohol industries were criticized for targeting their products to women (Breed and DeFoe 1979; Jacobson et al. 1983), so they may have opted for advertising campaigns that did not challenge the status quo.

For the average consumer, the ideologies embedded in contemporary advertising are difficult to identify (Wernick 1991). Typically, the "gender myths" (Tuchman 1979; Strate 1992) that appear in brand-image advertisements are noticed and recalled only when they depart from conventional expectations of femininity and masculinity. In the case of alcohol advertising, often the stimulation of new alcohol tastes (e.g., light beers, cream liqueurs, and wine coolers) are not recognized as marketing strategies.

As a qualitative content assessment of gender-alcohol associations, this project analyzed underlying gender meanings and drinking messages presented in our popular culture, specifically in print alcohol advertisements. Extending the work of Goffman (1979) and Kilbourne (1982, 1987, 1989, 1991), the "hyper-ritualization" of gender and alcohol consumption were decoded. Unlike Goffman's study of gender displays (1979), and Kilbourne's separate analyses of representations of gender (1987, 1989) and alcohol consumption (1982, 1991), this project focused on **gender-product** associations. Also, this study examined advertisements as they were presented to gender specific markets over time; neither Goffman nor Kilbourne did so. Both examination of gender-product associations and changes over time aided the decoding of how industries may use popular culture myths and should be elements of future studies.

As an element of popular culture, an advertising image may function as a reference other (see Chapter 2). The gender-alcohol associations in

advertising are agents of both gender and drinking socialization. Thus, the ideologies implied in alcohol advertisements merited examination.

A strength of this project was that the magazines chosen for analysis presented the basis for a clear test of whether different gender-product images are offered to female and male audiences. Alcohol ads in Ms., a magazine specifically created for feminists, presumably would reflect the perceived gender ideology of women who deviate from traditional gender norms. Similarly Sports Illustrated clearly perpetuates, the feminist opposite, hegemonic masculinity (Sabo and Jansen 1992); thus, alcohol advertisements in the magazine may have reflected the ideology of machismo and drinking more so than alcohol ads in gender-neutral magazines (e.g., Time). If different gender-alcohol associations are presented to specific advertising audiences, any differences should be most apparent in ads targeted to markets characterized by different gender ideologies.

Limitations and Future Directions

One dilemma intrinsic to any content analysis is the balance between manifest content and latent content (Ball and Smith 1992). An emphasis on manifest content may result in a failure to grasp the gestalt of the communication whereas a focus on latent content may jeopardize the reliability of the research. The coding scheme used in this project resolved the issue of manifest content and latent content by utilizing retroduction (Schrag 1967). Analysis of gender displays and representations of drinking was based on the

interpretative categories of other researchers (Goffman 1979; Finn and Strickland 1982; Strickland et al. 1982; Kilbourne 1987), as well as interpretations of print alcohol advertisements by lay persons, both female and male. Moreover, given the political and moral meanings associated with alcohol consumption in the United States, categories used to analyze drinking themes were broadly interpreted (i.e., present or absent).

One limitation of any content analysis of advertising is that marketing strategies cannot be ascertained based only on the frequency of themes or the gestalt of images. Also, the intent of any advertising campaign is guarded insider information. This is especially true of advertising for commodities deemed potentially dangerous (e.g., alcohol and cigarettes). Despite these difficulties, in this project, data were obtained from the advertising industry and alcohol beverage industries to aid in the interpretations of alcohol advertisement.

Also, examination of alcohol advertisements over a broader time span may provide further documentation of how and when advertisers respond to criticisms. Findings suggest that advertisers depart from conventional strategies (e.g., men act and women appear) only when it is potentially profitable to do so (e.g., targeting a new consumer category). Moreover, apparently images of drinking as presented in alcohol advertisements only change when there are threats to the self-regulation of alcohol advertising.

As a mode of secondary socialization, some popular culture forms (e.g., novels, films, and advertisements) may serve social functions (e.g., legitimation of lifestyles and/or fantasies) that are compatible with the social worlds in which various audiences live (Fluck 1987). In the sample ads from Ms. and Sports Illustrated different meanings of drinking were presented suggesting that Ms. and Sports Illustrated readers were perceived to have different lifestyles and/or fantasies. For example, in Ms. drinking was associated with sophistication and emotion-management; in Sports Illustrated drinking was associated with sexual conquest and adventure. Future research should examine interpretations of alcohol advertising images by various markets (e.g., females, males, light drinkers, moderate drinkers, and heavy drinkers) and how these interpretations are related to alcohol consumption patterns.

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APPENDIX

ALCOHOL BEVERAGE CHOICES
AND GENDER DISPLAYS

APPENDIX

Gender Displays

In Ms. displays of feminine images increasingly were portrayed concurrently with masculine images (from one-half of feminine images in 1973 to two-thirds in 1988). Portrayals of women alone decreased (from 50% in 1973 to 29% and 33% in 1982 and 1988, respectively). Only in 1982 did alcohol ads present women drinking together (4%), feature feminine hands only (8%), or portray a feminine image as a product symbol (2%).

Masculine displays in Ms. changed from either product symbols (50%) or concurrently presented with a feminine image in 1973 to a variety of presentations in 1982 (40% concurrent displays, 23% alone, 14% with other males, 12% product symbols, and 11% hands only). In 1988 masculine displays in Ms. were limited to concurrent masculine and feminine images.

In sample Sports Illustrated ads, concurrent feminine and masculine images as a percentage of feminine displays gradually decreased (85% in 1973, 78% in 1982, and 77% in 1988). Presentations of a feminine image alone increased from about 16% in 1973 to about 22% in 1982 then dropped again to its previous level (15% in 1988). No portrayals of feminine hands only or a feminine image as a product symbol appeared. In 1988 only one ad featured women drinking together; there were no images of women together in 1973 or 1982.

The structure of masculine displays in sample Sports Illustrated ads changed more than the structure of feminine displays. As a percentage of masculine displays, concurrent male and female images dropped from about 62% in 1973 to slightly over one-third in 1982 and 1988 (35.3% and 35.7%, respectively). The percentage of masculine displays featuring a feminine image declined and the percentage of ads featuring men together increased. Less than 6% of 1973 masculine presentations showed men drinking together whereas over one-fifth of masculine portrayals in 1982 and 1988 did so (21.6% and 21.4%, respectively). The proportion of sample ads depicting a man alone remained relatively constant (32.7% in 1973, 33.3% in 1982, and 35.7% in 1988). Masculine hands only and masculine images as product symbols did not appear in sample 1973 ads. Masculine hands only increased from 2% in 1982 to about 4% in 1988. A masculine image as a product symbol represented about 8% of masculine images in 1982 and about 4% in 1988.

Table A-1. Frequency of alcohol beverage choices and unique ads in Ms. and Sports Illustrated 1973 samples

Type of Beverage	<u>Ms.</u>			<u>Sports Illustrated</u>		
	Sample Frequency	Types of Ads		Sample Frequency	Types of Ads	
		Brand Choices	Unique Ads		Brand Choices	Unique Ads
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
Whiskeys	38.5 (5)	25.0 (1)	30.0 (3)	72.2(83)	68.9(31)	72.6(69)
Clear Spirits	30.8 (4)	50.0 (2)	40.0 (4)	16.5(19)	17.8 (8)	17.9(17)
Beers	-	-	-	6.9 (8)	6.7 (8)	5.3 (5)
Liqueurs	30.8 (4)	25.0 (1)	30.0 (3)	0.9 (1)	2.2 (1)	1.1 (1)
Wines	-	-	-	3.5 (4)	4.4 (2)	3.2 (3)
Totals	100.0(13)	100.0(4)	100.0(10)	100.0(115)	100.0(45)	100.0(95)

Table A-2. Frequency of alcohol beverage choices and unique ads in Ms. and Sports Illustrated 1982 samples

Type of Beverage	<u>Ms.</u>			<u>Sports Illustrated</u>		
	Sample Frequency	Types of Ads		Sample Frequency	Types of Ads	
		Brand Choices	Unique Ads		Brand Choices	Unique Ads
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
Whiskeys	24.0 (37)	20.5 (8)	29.4 (30)	53.1 (68)	42.2 (19)	51.6 (47)
Clear Spirits	29.9 (46)	30.8 (12)	28.4 (29)	23.4 (30)	24.4 (11)	22.0 (20)
Beers	4.5 (7)	2.6 (1)	4.9 (5)	19.5 (25)	24.4 (11)	22.0 (20)
Liqueurs	37.0 (57)	38.5 (15)	32.4 (33)	2.3 (3)	4.4 (2)	2.2 (2)
Wines	3.2 (5)	5.1 (2)	2.9 (3)	-	-	-
Prep Cocktails	1.3 (2)	2.6 (1)	2.0 (2)	0.8 (1)	2.2 (1)	1.1 (1)
Corp Images	-	-	-	0.8 (1)	2.2 (1)	1.1 (1)
Totals	100.0(154)	100.0 (39)	100.0(102)	100.0(128)	100.0 (45)	100.0 (91)

Table A-3. Frequency of alcohol beverage choices and unique ads in Ms. and Sports Illustrated 1988 samples

Type of Beverage	<u>Ms.</u>			<u>Sports Illustrated</u>		
	Sample Frequency	Types of Ads		Sample Frequency	Types of Ads	
		Brand Choices	Unique Ads		Brand Choices	Unique Ads
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
Whiskeys	-	-	-	53.2 (41)	50.0 (18)	53.0 (35)
Clear Spirits	61.9 (13)	57.1 (4)	65.0 (13)	28.6 (22)	27.8 (10)	25.8 (17)
Beers	-	-	-	15.6 (12)	19.4 (7)	18.2 (12)
Liqueurs	38.1 (8)	42.9 (3)	35.0 (7)	-	-	-
Corp Images	-	-	-	2.6 (2)	2.8 (1)	3.0 (2)
Totals	100.0 (21)	100.0 (7)	100.0 (20)	100.0 (77)	100.0 (36)	100.0 (66)

VITA

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