MARIA MICHELLE MORRISON
Gender Role Congruency and Perceived Advertising Effectiveness
(Under the direction of DAVID SHAFFER)

Gender roles are being redefined in our country and it would seem reasonable to expect that advertising would strive to reflect those changes. However, in many cases, advertising remains traditional with respect to gender role portrayals. This research examined what might be termed the "gender role congruence model" of perceived advertising effectiveness. This model predicts that people will view as most effective those advertisements that match their own gender role orientations. It was also proposed that gender role congruence becomes a less salient aspect of perceived advertising effectiveness, especially for traditional individuals, when they self-reference the situations portrayed in the advertisements. Four hundred and eighty-eight undergraduates were assessed in terms of their gender role orientation and then were asked to view and rate print advertisements portraying either traditional or nontraditional gender roles. Study one results showed that traditional participants reported significantly more favorable communication effectiveness ratings for advertisements depicting traditional gender role portrayals than for advertisements depicting nontraditional portrayals. Traditional participants also rated the communication effectiveness of traditional advertisements more favorably than did nontraditional participants; however, nontraditional and traditional participants did not differ in their ratings of nontraditional advertisements. And, although not statistically significant, nontraditional participants reported nominally more favorable ratings for nontraditional advertisements than for traditional advertisements. Study two results showed that participants who were encouraged to self-reference rated the models in nontraditional advertisements more

favorably than did participants who were not encouraged to self-reference. The results of this study also suggest that participants who find it easier to self-reference the situations portrayed in nontraditional advertisements report more favorable ratings of the advertisements' effectiveness than do those participants who find self-referencing more difficult. The findings from this research provide some support for the gender-role congruency model, as well as the positive effects of self-referencing on traditional consumers' ratings of the perceived advertising effectiveness of nontraditional advertisements, given that the situation portrayed in the ad is made relevant to the consumers.

INDEX WORDS: Gender roles, Advertising, Gender Role Congruency Model, Self-Referencing, Stereotypes, Attitudes, Traditional, Nontraditional, Gender role orientation, Masculinity, Femininity, Locus of Control, Need for Cognition, Dogmatism

GENDER ROLE CONGRUENCY AND PERCEIVED ADVERTISING EFFECTIVENESS

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DEDICATION

Dedicated in memory of my father, Arthur Thomas Morrison, Jr. who instilled in me a love of learning and showed me the value of an education. He was and always will be my best role model.

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me lose sight of my dreams, and has given me a whole new set of dreams to chase after.

I know how lucky I am to have you all in my life.

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INTRODUCTION

The world has experienced many changes in the past few decades, including environmental, technological, and social changes. Whenever changes occur in society, any firm or organization wanting to communicate to particular segments of the population about products, services, ideas, etc., must consider how these changes might impact the effectiveness of the communications programs. For example, companies should take into account changes that affect their target audience when designing advertisements to appeal to consumers who may purchase their products and/or services. Government agencies wishing to de-market products (e.g., anti-smoking campaigns) or to otherwise influence people's behavior (e.g., seatbelt usage) should also pay attention to any changes. One significant social change that has occurred in American society over the past few decades involves gender roles. Gender roles are being redefined in our country and it would seem reasonable to expect that advertising, and other persuasive communications, would strive to reflect those changes.

The topic of gender is relevant both for individuals and society. A person's gender profoundly influences life experiences, with issues such as pay, promotion, childcare, and the division of household labor being important social issues related to gender (Burn, 1996). While there may be some benefit to adhering to strict gender role stereotypes (i.e., providing a sense of security, facilitating decision making), there are also costs involved in the maintenance of gender role stereotypes. These costs include

limiting opportunities for both boys and girls, ignoring talent, and perpetuating unfairness in American society (Beal, 1994).

Today, women are not only gaining ground in workforce participation, but are also filling positions once held primarily by men (Kang, 1997). This trend reflects the changing roles of both men and women in the United States. If men and women have changed, then it is reasonable to assume that advertising's portrayals of the two genders have also changed to reflect the roles held by men and women today (Zinkhan & Shermohamad, 1986). However, this assumption is not altogether verified. Few changes have been made in the advertising images of men and women since the 1970s (Browne, 1998). Men and women are not portrayed in the full variety of roles they actually play in American society. Rather, they are shown in a limited range of life roles, generally depicting the traditional stereotypes of the independent, active, work-oriented male, and the dependent, passive, domestic female.

Although gender roles have undergone changes in the last several decades, there are still individual differences as to the range of behaviors that are considered acceptable for males and females. It could be inferred that these individual differences may also determine which gender role portrayals in advertising are perceived as most effective. For example, highly sex-typed individuals are more likely to endorse a restricted range of acceptable behaviors for each gender Burn, 1996) . Therefore, it seems likely that these individuals are less likely to prefer advertising that depicts males and females engaging in cross-gender-role behavior. Less sex-typed individuals, on the other hand, are more accepting of a broad range of behaviors for males and females (Burn, 1996) and, therefore, may prefer to see a variety of gender roles portrayed in advertising. Since it

has been shown that, in many cases, advertising remains traditional with respect to gender role portrayals, it can then be assumed that it is the perceived prevalence of highly sex-typed individuals on which the advertisers base their explanations for portraying the genders in a stereotypical fashion. However, if American society has changed and if the number of individuals holding less sex-typed views is increasing, then the explanations, provided by advertisers for continuing to portray males and females in traditional roles in advertising may no longer be justified, and the traditional advertisements may turn away more consumers than they attract.

This paper is intended to examine perceived advertising effectiveness by individuals with various gender role orientations with respect to gender role portrayals in advertising. Do highly sex-typed individuals (i.e., masculine males and feminine females) perceive traditional gender role portrayals as more effective than nontraditional gender role portrayals in advertising? Do less sex-typed individuals (i.e., masculine females, feminine males, and androgynous individuals) perceive non-traditional gender role portrayals as more effective? Advertising effectiveness is defined in this paper in terms of four attitude measures: attitude toward the advertisement, attitude toward the product, attitude toward the model appearing in the advertisement, and attitude toward the act of purchasing the product advertised (i.e., purchase intent). Gender role portrayals which are more congruent with the participant's gender role orientation are expected to be more effective, in the sense of engendering more favorable attitudes and purchase intentions. Incongruencies between gender role portrayals and participants' gender role orientations are expected to be less effective, or lead to less favorable attitudes and purchase intentions. Although it may seem reasonable to assume that traditional

individuals will respond more positively to traditional ads and that nontraditional individuals will respond more positively to nontraditional ads, this is really an empirical question. Evidence from the 1970s and 1980s showed that even though many individuals were espousing nontraditional views about gender roles, many still demonstrated, through their choices and behaviors, preferences for traditional gender roles (Brinn, Kraemer, Warm, & Paludi, 1984; Canter & Myerowitz, 1984, Costrich, Feinstein, Kidder, Marecek, & Pascale, 1975; Spence, Deaux, & Helmreich, 1985; Werner & LaRussa, 1985). With respect to advertising, people of a few decades past may have said that they did not prefer stereotypical depictions of the genders; however, their purchasing behavior indicated otherwise (i.e., that traditional advertisements were more effective) (Courtney & Whipple, 1983; Ducker & Tucker, 1977; Wortzel & Frisbie, 1974). It is possible that, despite the changing roles of men and women, individuals of that time period were more familiar with, and therefore more accepting of traditional gender role portrayals. Today, individuals are more accustomed to seeing women performing in traditionally masculine roles and men performing in traditionally feminine roles. Therefore, it is expected that people who espouse nontraditional or androgynous views when it comes to gender roles today will respond more positively to nontraditional advertisements than will those who espouse traditional views. However, I believe that persons who espouse traditional gender role attitudes will still continue to view advertisements that depict male and female models in traditional ways to be more effective than advertisements that are gender counternormative.

This paper will also examine the effect of self-referencing on individuals' attitudes toward various gender role portrayals in advertising. Self-referencing is a

technique used by communicators to increase audience involvement, and therefore, increase persuasion. In the second study, the effect of self-referencing on the perceived advertising effectiveness of nontraditional gender role portrayals in advertising will be tested. For example, if a female has engaged in the specific non-traditional behavior depicted in an ad (e.g., drinking hard liquor, driving a truck) and that behavior is made salient to her, will she be more likely to hold a positive attitude toward the advertisement than if she has never engaged in the advertised behavior, regardless of her gender role orientation? I believe that the answer to this question may be affirmative; that is, the preference of traditionally sex-typed individuals for gender nontraditional advertisements is likely to be moderated substantially for those individuals who have themselves engaged in counterstereotypic behavior and who have such experiences made salient by self-referencing.

Stereotypes and Gender Roles

Social psychologist Gordon Allport (1954) noted that individuals categorize people, as well as objects and situations, in order to deal with information overload. Stereotypes are now considered by many social psychologists to be cognitive categorizations, or schemas, of particular social groups (Burn, 1996). Stereotypes are generalized beliefs about what members of an identifiable group are like. Variables such as sex are used as discriminating variables for grouping and managing person information (Martin & Halverson, 1987; Taylor, Fiske, Etocoff, & Ruderman, 1978). Salient features of individuals, such as gender, activate schemas for these groups, which then guide our processing of information about individual group members. Stereotyping is not necessarily intended to be an act of abuse; it is often just a way of simplifying our view of

the world. To the extent the stereotype is based on a broad set of experiences and is relatively accurate, it can be an adaptive and efficient way of dealing with complex events. However, if the stereotype blinds us to individual differences within a class of people, it can be maladaptive and potentially dangerous (Aronson, 1995).

Stereotypes are based on perceived differences between groups. With respect to gender, individuals often think of males and females as being quite different (Williams & Best, 1990). Burns (1996), however, states that it may be surprising to know that research does not support the view that men and women are significantly different psychologically, but that society persists in viewing them as so and in treating them differently based on these perceived differences (see also Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). These stereotypes often guide our expectation of which roles are appropriate for males versus females. For example, when asked to imagine a high school cheerleader, a brain surgeon, or a kindergarten teacher, each of us can do this rather quickly with definite pictures in mind. Many will imagine a high school cheerleader to be a teenage girl in a short skirt with pom poms in her hands. The brain surgeon may be represented by an older man in hospital attire and the teacher is probably thought of as a young adult woman, possibly wearing eyeglasses. Regardless of what we picture each as wearing or even how old we see the individuals, it is likely that the majority of us pictured identical genders for each of the characters: a female cheerleader, a male surgeon, and a female teacher. This kind of generalization of characteristics to a group of people reflects *gender stereotyping*.

Stereotypes surrounding gender are significant in the everyday lives of both males and females. They affect the ways that babies are treated (Pomerleau, Bolduc, Malcuit, &

Cossette, 1990), the socialization of boys and girls (Fagot, Leinbach, & O=Boyle, 1992; Witt, 1997), the treatment of students in classrooms (Eccles & Blumenfeld, 1985; Vandell & Fishbein, 1989), couples' dating and marriage relationships (Kalin & Lloyd, 1985), role behaviors in families (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995; Mintz & Mahalik, 1996), political involvement (Schwarz, Wagner, Bannert, & Mathes, 1987), occupational selection and working conditions (Page & Meretsky, 1998; Shukla & Tripathi, 1994), as well as interactions between men and women in most areas of society (e.g., Fiebert & Meyer, 1997; Robinson & Johnson, 1997; Warshak, 1996)

The views that individuals hold concerning the appropriate behaviors and roles of men and women in meeting the responsibilities of work and family have been examined in terms of gender role orientation. Sandra Bem (1974; 1981) proposed the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) as a means for appraising an individual's gender role orientation. Users of the BSRI have traditionally classified subjects into one of four gender-orientation categories: Masculine, Feminine, Androgynous, and Undifferentiated. A masculine sex-typed individual possesses many masculine characteristics but relatively few feminine characteristics (see Appendix A for adjectives used to describe the concepts of masculinity and femininity on the BSRI). The feminine sex-typed individual displays many feminine and relatively few masculine attributes. If an individual possesses a large number of both masculine and feminine characteristics, he or she would be categorized as androgynous; whereas an individual who exhibits few feminine or masculine attributes would be categorized as undifferentiated.

Harmful Consequences of Traditional Gender Roles

Females

Much of the research on the negative aspects of traditional gender role stereotypes focuses on females (e.g., Catalyst, 1990; Hochschild, 1989; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Tavris & Offir, 1977). Evidence from studies suggests that women's roles are drastically unequal when it comes to work, pay, status, and power in American society. Although many people were raised to believe that a woman's place was in the home, the fact remains that, in the United States today, a majority of women are employed outside the home (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998). However, simply moving into the workforce has not allowed women to be treated as equal to men. Not only do women make less money than men for their work (Gerhart & Rynes, 1991; Stroh, Brett, & Reilly, 1992), but there is substantial evidence that women are also lower in status than men (Jacobs, 1992). Women are less likely to hold positions where they have control over resources and determine which goals are pursued and how. Because male stereotypes are more compatible with what we view as the qualities needed for the attainment and wielding of power, males are seen as better qualified for power roles.

Organizations explain gender inequality in the workplace using stereotypes such as "women bring less human capital to the organization," "women do not lead as well as men," and "women's primary commitment to home and family may interfere with promotion" (Burn, 1996). While there is no significant evidence for the first two of these explanations (see Eagly & Johnson, 1990: Stroh et al., 1992), it is somewhat true that women's movement into the workforce has not necessarily changed their traditional duties in the home; most women who work for wages are still expected to be responsible

for the majority of childcare and household labor (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Gunter & Gunter, 1990; Zick & McCullough, 1991). It seems that working women cannot win. They are paid less and given lower status at work because of their larger contribution in the home, and they are given more work in the home because of their lower status and lower pay in the workplace.

So, why do women want to work outside the home when the workplace may appear biased against their gender? In addition to fulfilling economic needs for individuals and families, paid work also fulfills social needs and recognition, respect, status, and stimulation needs, all of which are more difficult to achieve for the individual who stays home full time (Burn, 1996). Although it may sound appealing to stay at home all day as opposed to working outside the home, it is incorrect to say that little work is involved at home. The average housewife spends between 48 and 70 hours a week on housework (Hyde, 1992). However, according to *family power theory*, the individual with the greatest economic resources in the family is often the one with the greatest power (Stroh et al., 1992). In the case of the woman who stays at home full time, her economic dependence on her male partner gives her less power in the home since it is "his" money and he is the one doing the "real" work. In addition, several studies have found that employed wives have a greater influence in the home than full time homemakers (Beckman & Houser, 1979; Mintz & Mahalik, 1996).

Unfortunately, the home and the workplace are not the only areas in which gender role stereotypes have the potential to harm women. In American society, there are cultural standards that convey to women the way they should look and how they should behave. Davis (1991) examined media portrayals of women in prime-time network

television and suggested that the portrayal that emerges is that of the attractive, young, sexy female who is often more ornamental than functional. He concluded that women are perceived as valuable to the extent that they are young and fulfill traditional cultural definitions of beauty and femininity. These cultural standards are often responsible for producing low self-esteem in many females and may contribute to eating disorders in some (Burn, 1996).

Males

Although the majority of research on the negative aspects of gender role stereotypes focuses on females, there are also a number of limitations for males. Gender role stereotypes guide men as to how they should behave and how they should feel. Three factors have been identified by Thompson and Pleck (1986) as structuring the male role. These three factors are the status norm, the toughness norm, and the antifemininity norm. Thompson and Pleck describe the *status norm* as the expectation of men to achieve status and respect. It includes the view of men as "success objects" who are valued to the extent that they earn a lot of money and have a high status job. The expectation that men are to be physically, mentally, and emotionally tough is referred to as the *toughness norm*. And the *antifemininity norm* reflects the expectation that men should avoid stereotypically feminine activities and occupations.

Kimmel (1992) found that many men define masculinity in terms of wealth, power, and status and rarely achieve enough of these things to feel completely secure. Because most men are unable to achieve the status norm, they may feel as if they are failures and as a result experience lowered self-esteem. As they strive to become

wealthier, more powerful, and more respected, they work harder and longer hours which can lead to stress-related physical and psychological problems. This emphasis on status and wealth also interferes with a man's home life (Kimmel, 1992). If a man is the only employed adult in a household, the pressure to provide financial support for the family is great. The family is economically dependent on him and he often feels it necessary to devote more time to work than to family which in turn decreases his involvement with his wife and child(ren). Also, in order to support his family, a man may choose a job based solely on pay which may prevent self-actualization (the realization of his unique potential). If, on the other hand, his wife is also employed outside the home, Kimmel (1992) believes that a man may feel as if his masculinity is threatened. Many males are raised to believe that they are responsible for financially supporting their family. Having a wife that contributes to the household income may be perceived as an indication that the man is not capable of supporting his family and strips him of some of his perceived power in the relationship.

The toughness norm is expressed by men in several different ways. In terms of physical toughness, men are expected to be physically strong and masculine. Many males join gyms in order to become physically bigger. Men who are not physically strong may experience lowered self-esteem, while those trying to achieve physical toughness may engage in unhealthful practices such as steroid use or refusal to admit pain or seek medical attention for physical problems (Helgeson, 1990). Kimmel (1992) believes that the physical toughness norm is related to the "give 'em hell and go for it" norm which encourages risky, aggressive, and dangerous behaviors in order to

demonstrate manhood. He argued that date rape and men's vulnerability to stress related diseases, accidental death, drunk driving, and AIDS are related to this type of risk taking.

The emotional toughness norm teaches males that they should feel little and be able to solve their own emotional difficulties without help from others. Kimmel (1992) noted that many aspects of life, such as being a good father, partner, and friend, require emotional resources that men are taught are unmanly. It is not that males are incapable of being emotional; instead they are less emotionally expressive because it is not deemed socially acceptable. Anger tends to be one of the only socially acceptable emotions for men, but this emotional response is rarely constructive and is more often harmful.

The mental toughness norm refers to the expectation that males appear highly competent and knowledgeable. Living up to this norm makes it difficult for a male to admit that he does not know something or that he is wrong. The mental toughness norm can negatively affect men both intellectually and interpersonally. Intellectually, if a male is afraid to ask questions about something he is unsure of, out of fear of revealing his lack of knowledge, he hinders his ability to learn new things. Interpersonally, a male may jeopardize relationships with others by refusing to admit he is wrong or that others may know more than he.

The last factor that Thompson and Pleck (1986) believe structures the male role is the antifemininity norm. Many men experience anxiety when asked to behave in any manner that they believe others may describe as feminine. O'Neil (1981a) explained the fear of femininity as developing from men's fears about homosexuality. This fear of being labeled as homosexual often interferes with males establishing close relationships

with other males. The antifemininity norm can also cause problems within male-female relationships and father-child relationships. If being nurturing and emotionally supportive is viewed as feminine, males may exhibit a reduced capacity for intimacy (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995) and experience difficulty in demonstrating warmth and affection to their children. The fear of femininity may also cause tension in marriages when men refuse to engage in activities in the home that they describe as "woman's work" (e.g., cooking, cleaning, childcare).

O'Neil (1981a; 1981b; 1990) described the dysfunctional aspect of adhering to the male gender role as the *gender role conflict*. He believes that this psychological state occurs when "rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles, learned during socialization, result in personal restriction, devaluation, or violation of others or self" (O'Neil, 1990, p.25). Gender role conflict factors have been linked with lower self-esteem (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995), higher anxiety and depression (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Good & Mintz, 1990; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991), as well as higher levels of general psychological symptomology (Good et al., 1995). This construct has also been shown to predict men's hesitancy to seek psychological services (Good, Dell, & Mintz, 1989) and negative attitudes toward psychological help-seeking (Robertson & Fitzgerald, 1992; Wisch, Mahalik, Hayes, & Nutt, 1995).

How and Why We Learn Gender Roles

Social Learning Theory

Several psychological theories have been used to explain gender role development. For example, Albert Bandura's (1994) theory of social cognitive learning proposed mechanisms in which learning occurs by observing and interacting with others.

Concepts such as *observational learning* and *vicarious reinforcement* are important in understanding how behaviors are learned from this perspective. Social learning approaches emphasize that children learn their roles through observations of adult and peer models as well as through vicarious rewards and punishments. For example, five- and six-year-old girls who saw female cartoon figures behaving in nontraditional ways later showed less conventional attitudes toward gender roles (Fogel & Melson, 1988). By watching members of their own sex and then imitating or modeling the models' behaviors, children can discover the roles, behaviors, and feelings that society deems appropriate. Vicarious reinforcement occurs when children are encouraged to imitate others' behaviors as a result of observing that these individuals are reinforced for a particular behavior.

As defined by Bandura (1969), social learning in childhood is the process of learning personality and behavior patterns primarily through delayed imitation of parents' and other models' attitudes and behaviors. The focus of this theory includes both imitation of others and expectancies of reinforcement for that imitative behavior. Behavioral learning based on instrumental conditioning or reinforcement is normally a slow process. However, when there is an attractive model whose behavior is rewarded, individuals, particularly children and teenagers, acquire the patterns of behavior more rapidly (Bandura, 1994). The most readily available sources of models for children to emulate, aside from their parents and peers, are movies, books, and the media.

The media

In American society today, the mass media are significant agents of socialization. Children learn a great deal from television and advertising about sex-typed behaviors because it provides them with numerous models readily available for observation. Advertisements provide children with models whose behaviors are reinforced. Young girls in advertisements may reinforce their female friends when they play with dolls. The female models have both social contact and fun. They may even have the opportunity to be loved when they cuddle their dolls or stuffed animals. Boys reinforce one another in advertisements for playing with action figures. They have fun, social contact, and the chance to be aggressive and win.

Still, one may argue that children learn many kinds of behaviors from television advertisements, behaviors that either sex could perform. And although some investigators have found that the model's sex is of little importance until around six to seven years of age (Ruble, Balaban, & Cooper, 1981; Slaby & Frey, 1975), other research has indicated that children tend to pay closer attention to and imitate same-sex models with greater frequency than opposite-sex models (Bussey & Bandura, 1984; Courtney & Whipple, 1983). One argument for this is that peers and parents are more likely to reinforce children when they imitate same-sex models. Children also generally recall more about same-sex models than about opposite-sex models (Smith, 1994). Smith (1994) believes this sex bias is especially true of boys and is especially noticeable when male models behave in sex-stereotyped ways. Furthermore, there is a positive correlation

between hours of television viewed and sex-typed responses (Courtney & Whipple, 1983).

As a socializing agent, the visual imagery provided by the media can have a powerful impact on our attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors (Belknap & Leonard, 1991). For example, socialization studies show a positive relationship between exposure to sex-stereotyped media content and gender stereotypical perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors (Steeves, 1987). The media often exerts both normative and informational social influences. Normative social influence results in individuals conforming to societal expectations in order to avoid social disapproval, whereas informational social influence refers to the fact that we depend on social information to give us knowledge about ourselves and the appropriate attitudes and behaviors regarding social issues. Aronson (1995) has suggested that normative pressure gets its power from our desire to be liked and informational pressure gets its power from our desire to be right.

Several experimental studies have found that televised models can influence children's perceptions of the genders. Gerbner and Gross (1976) believe that television has a unique ability to influence basic assumptions about the nature of social reality because it reflects and magnifies the status quo, its images are portrayed with great realism, and people make wide and selective use of it. Bandura (1994) suggested that television competes with parents and teachers as a provider of role models for emulation. Ruble, Bablaban, and Cooper (1981) found children played less with a neutral toy after seeing a television advertisement where a child of the other sex was playing with it and were more likely to consider such a toy to be appropriate for an opposite-sex sibling. Therefore, research suggests that the media are part of our gender-role socialization and

analyses of television and advertisements suggest that what is modeled, for the most part, are stereotypical and traditional male and female images (Burn, 1996).

Advertising and Gender Roles

The pervasiveness of advertising

In American society individuals are surrounded by advertisements competing for our attention and for our dollars. Much of what we learn about the world is filtered by advertisers and marketers, whether through the wealth depicted in glamorous magazines or the roles played by family members in television commercials. Recent research finds that the average American is exposed to 245 advertisements per day (including only television, radio, magazine, and newspaper ads) and of these, gives at least some attention to 139 (Papazian, 1998, p.454). These figures total to approximately 89,000 exposures to advertisements per year, giving attention to more than 50,000 advertisements. Due to this extensive exposure to advertising and the potential of advertising's role portrayals to influence and shape attitudes and perceptions, it is not surprising that researchers have shown concern for the nature of gender roles portrayed in advertising.

Continued use of stereotypical gender roles in advertising

Although some changes in the direction of more equal presentation of men and women in advertising have occurred in the past twenty years, several differences remain (Browne, 1998). Male characters are portrayed more often as having careers outside of the home and are also more often shown outdoors in advertisements than are females (Bretl & Cantor, 1988). Men and women are also associated with different types of

products. Klassen, Jasper, and Schwartz (1993) found that, when portrayed as buyers, women were most often depicted purchasing relatively inexpensive items such as cosmetics and cleaning products, whereas men were more likely to be shown purchasing more expensive and therefore, more "important" items such as automobiles and financial services. And when women are shown as experts selling women's products in television commercials, the advertisements are still typically backed up by the authoritative male voice-over (Lovdal, 1989). This not only allows advertisers to demonstrate the male expertise, but also continues to give males the final word in commercials.

Reasons why advertisers portray the genders the way they do

Advertisers offer many explanations as to why they continue to portray males and females in traditional roles. Research in the 1970s and 1980s provided evidence to advertisers and marketers that both males and females were disliked and considered unpopular if they did not conform to the appropriate gender-role expectations (Costrich et al., 1975) and that traditional gender roles do sell products (Weitz, 1977); therefore, stereotypical images were not only believed to be acceptable to the public but seemed to be preferred. Another explanation for maintaining traditional gender roles is that one of the goals of advertisers is to make commercials a pleasurable experience for the intended audience and, hence, they construct the advertisements in ways that reinforce the image of gender most familiar to and comfortable for their target audience (Craig, 1992). Therefore, advertisements aired during daytime television programming focus on the traditional stereotypical images associated with the American housewife, while

advertisements aired during sports programming on weekends utilize more masculine stereotypes.

Lastly, it is important to distinguish target marketing from gender stereotypical advertising. Target marketing is defined as a marketing strategy that is tailored to fit some specific and fairly homogenous group of customers to whom a company wishes to appeal (Perreault & McCarthy, 1997). It is a practical and economical way to appeal to the largest segment of potential users of a product or service on the market. With respect to gender, it would certainly be viewed as impractical, and probably detrimental to a company, to appeal to male consumers when advertising a product purchased and used almost exclusively by females, such as cosmetics. Having a female spokesperson in an advertisement for a product bought and used solely by males would be similarly impractical. However, many products are used by members of both genders, yet are advertised using only models of one gender, often the gender that has been stereotyped as the primary user based on behaviors from decades past. This technique is referred to as gender stereotypical advertising. For example, due to the change in the typical age in which men marry in America, as well as the changes in the division of labor within married households that have taken place in the past several decades, many men have a need for laundry detergent, purchase laundry detergent, and use laundry detergent. However, most advertising only portrays women as the purchasers and users of this product. This is based on the stereotypical belief that laundry is "women's work." Based on this underrepresentation of males as purchasers and users of laundry detergent in advertising, American consumers may come to believe that men do not and perhaps

should not spend their time washing clothing. It is this stereotypical portrayal of the genders in advertising, not target marketing, that is the focus of this paper.

The problem with stereotypical gender roles in advertising

Expectations of gender roles and self-labeling processes have the potential to affect many aspects of a person's life, from social interactions to occupational plans, and even to cognitive functioning (Macklin & Kolbe, 1984). The summary effect of children's social learning from advertising is that these ads show children how they *should* behave. As Goffman (1979) suggested, advertisements show how males and females are different and how they act in relation to one another. Viewers eventually begin to accept these assumed images as real and even take cues about appropriate gender behavior from advertising.

The influence of the media also plays an important institutional role in sustaining gender stereotypes. Generally, the media have not portrayed women in advertisements as authority figures, intellectuals, or adventurous people. Instead, they frequently were viewed as attractive yet simple-minded "girls" who worry too much about which laundry detergent to use and who depend on men for guidance on important issues (Lovdal, 1989). The implications of widespread stereotyping of gender roles in advertising are significant. On a subtle level, we tend to believe or accept things we see with great frequency - unless there are powerful reasons against doing so. Moreover, it is difficult for us to account for what is *not* represented. Thus, if we infrequently see women in powerful roles, one conclusion is that they are incapable of using power effectively or that they prefer the laundry room to the boardroom (Aronson, 1995). For example, Geis,

Brown, Walstedt, and Porter (1984) studied the effects of traditional and nontraditional roles of women and men in television commercials on the aspirations of women and men. Their findings show that when sex-stereotypes are enacted in television commercials, women de-emphasized achievement in favor of homemaking as compared to men, and compared to women who had seen reversed sex role commercials.

SECTION 2

GENDER ROLE CONGRUENCY

Opinions about the appropriate roles of men and women have changed dramatically over the past few decades - perhaps more so than opinions about any other topic. Most Americans no longer believe men and women should always follow traditional roles. For example, 83% no longer endorse such blanket statements as "women should run the home and men should run the country," less than 25% believe it is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself, and 55% believe it is alright for a man to stay home with his children while his wife goes off to work (Mitchell, 1996). It has also been shown that individuals identify with models who display a similar gender role orientation (Jose, 1989) and that identifying with a model increases the persuasiveness of a message (Burnkrank & Unnava, 1995). However, as noted earlier, advertising continues to portray men and women in stereotypical ways. In this paper, I propose to test what might be termed the "gender-role congruence model" of perceived advertising effectiveness. This model predicts that people will view as most effective those advertisements that match their own gender-role orientations.

In this study, participants' gender role orientations will first be assessed. Then, each participant will be exposed to a series of several advertisements, depicting either a male or female model engaged in a traditional or nontraditional gender role behavior. The following predictions will be tested:

H1: Individuals classified as possessing traditional gender-role orientations (i.e., masculine males, feminine females) will rate the advertising effectiveness of advertisements portraying traditional gender role stereotypes higher than advertisements portraying nontraditional gender role stereotypes.

In other words, traditionally sex-typed individuals will clearly prefer advertisements more consistent with their own traditional views of the sexes.

H2: Individuals classified as possessing nontraditional (i.e., masculine females, feminine males or androgynous) gender-role orientations will rate the advertising effectiveness of advertisements portraying the genders in nontraditional roles higher than advertisements portraying the genders in traditional roles.

This prediction is based on two assumptions. First, nontraditional ad portrayals are more congruent than are traditional advertisements with the gender-role orientations of gender-reversed individuals (i.e., feminine males and masculine females). Second, I concur with Bem (1975) that the major strength of psychological androgyny is the behavioral flexibility such an orientation allows (see Shaffer, 2000 for a review). If androgynous types value people being flexible about what is permissible, acceptable, or appropriate behavior, regardless of their sex, then it is likely that they will prefer advertisements that demonstrate such flexibility (i.e., advertisements portraying the genders in nontraditional ways).

H3: Participants with traditional gender role orientations will rate traditional advertisements to be more effective and nontraditional advertisements to be less effective than will participants with nontraditional gender role orientations.

Method

Participants

Participants were undergraduate students enrolled in lower-level psychology and marketing courses at the University of Georgia. They received research credit toward a course requirement in exchange for their participation. A total of 255 participants took part in this study; however, the data from 9 participants were eliminated due to incomplete and/or incoherent information and, therefore, results were based on the remaining 246 participants. Both male and female participants were included in this research. Racial or ethnic background was not a factor in the selection process; therefore, various groups were included in the study, although the majority of subjects were Caucasian due to the racial makeup of the university. Informed consent was obtained from all students prior to participation. All participants were treated in accordance with the "Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct" (American Psychological Association, 1992).

Materials:

Questionnaires*:* The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) was used to determine participants' gender role orientation. The BSRI yields independent measurements of femininity and masculinity in terms of the respondent's "self-reported possession of socially desirable, stereotypically masculine and feminine personality characteristics" (Lenney, 1991, p. 588). The BSRI is composed of 60 gender typed attributes and treats femininity and masculinity as two independent dimensions (see Appendix A for adjective list and scoring). Participants record how well each item characterizes themselves on a

scale from 1 (“Never or almost never true”) to 7 (“Always or almost always true”). The participant’s Femininity score is the average of his or her ratings on the 20 Femininity items (e.g., compassionate; soft spoken; does not use harsh language), while the participant’s Masculinity score is the average of his or her ratings on the 20 Masculinity items (e.g., aggressive; analytical; independent). These dimensions are also used to arrive at measures of androgyny and undifferentiation; high scores on both dimensions of masculinity and femininity are labeled androgynous whereas low scores on both dimensions are labeled undifferentiated.

To determine internal consistency of the BSRI, Bem (1974) computed coefficient α values on two samples and scores were found to be highly reliable, both in a sample of 444 males and 279 females at Stanford (Masculinity α = .86; Femininity α =.80; Androgyny α = .85) and in the 117 males and 77 females at a junior college (Masculinity α = .86; Femininity α =.82; Androgyny α = .86). Comparable coefficient α values were reported (Bem, 1981) for a Stanford sample of 476 males and 340 females in 1981. Test-Retest reliability for the BSRI has also been found to be high (see Bem, 1974; Rowland, 1977; and Yanico, 1985). For example, over a 4-week interval, Bem (1974) found high reliability for Masculinity (r = .90), Femininity (r = .90), and Androgyny (r =.93) among Stanford undergraduates. Although not an indicator of the scale’s validity, the sexes do typically differ in their scale scores. In Bem’s (1974) samples, males scored significantly higher (444 Stanford males M = 4.97; 117 junior college males M = 4.96) than females (279 Stanford females M = 4.57; 77 junior college females M = 4.55) on the Masculinity Scale. Conversely, females scored significantly higher (279 Stanford females M = 5.01; 77 junior college females M = 5.08) than males (444 Stanford males

M = 4.44; 117 junior college males M = 4.62) on the Femininity Scale. All probability levels are less than .001.

The Need for Cognition measure (NFC) is useful in assessing the tendency of individuals to engage in and enjoy thinking (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982). The measure consists of 34 items each scored - 4 to + 4 as follows: + 4, very strong agreement; + 3, strong agreement; + 2, moderate agreement; + 1, slight agreement; 0, neither agreement or disagreement; - 1, slight disagreement; - 2, moderate disagreement; - 3 strong disagreement; and - 4, very strong disagreement. Twenty of the items are varied in direction to inhibit response bias, and were reverse-scored. Item scores are summed for an overall measure. Higher NFC scores indicate a greater tendency to engage in and enjoy thinking. Cacioppo, Petty, and Chuan (1984) reported coefficient alpha estimates of internal consistency reliability of .91. Although this measure was used primarily as a filler task to hide the true purpose of the study, data gathered from this measure was analyzed in relation to the dependent variables. If significant results are obtained with respect to the NFC scores, it is predicted that respondents scoring low in need for cognition would respond more traditionally on the study's dependent measures as well. This prediction is based on Haugtvedt, Petty, Cacioppo, & Steidley's (1988) study which showed Need For Cognition scores to be useful in understanding how some variables presented in advertisements may influence consumer attitudes (e.g., individuals high in NFC are more influenced by the quality of arguments in an advertisement, while those low in NFC were influenced more by the peripheral cue endorser attractiveness). It is expected that low NFC participants would be influenced by the peripheral cue of the appropriateness of the gender role portrayal depicted in the advertisement.

Rotter's (1966) Internal-External Locus of Control Scale (LOC) was administered to assess the respondent's expectations about the causation of outcomes. An external locus of control denotes that the respondent believes his or her outcomes to be mainly controlled by external forces (i.e., luck, other persons, social context, etc.). An internal locus of control, however, denotes that the person believes that he or she is responsible for the results experienced. Therefore, the focus of the measure is on the perceived contingency between actions, characteristics, and events (Lefcourt, 1991). The LOC Scale consists of 23 question pairs, using a forced-choice format, plus six filler questions. External statements are paired with internal statements and one point is given for each external statement selected. Therefore, scores can range from 0 (most internal) to 23 (most external). Internal consistency (Kuder-Richardson) was calculated to be .70 with the original sample of 400 Ohio State students (Rotter, 1966) and ranged from .65 to .79 with other samples (Bruner & Hensel, 1994). With respect to validity, the literature indicates that there are individual differences in perception about one's control over one's destiny and that the Rotter scale is sensitive to these differences (for detailed reviews see Lefcourt, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984; Phares, 1976). As with the NFC measure, the primary purpose of using this scale is to disguise the true intent of the study, however, these scores are also analyzed in relation to the dependent variables. Although highly speculative, it might be that those who feel that they are not in control of their own destiny look to the environment for appropriate behavioral roles, and the environment is rife with traditional role portrayals, which externals come to prefer. Therefore, if significant results are obtained for locus of control, it is predicted that participants with

an external locus of control would respond in more traditional ways in relation to the dependent variables.

The fourth measure used in this study is Rokeach's (1956) Dogmatism Scale. This scale was constructed in order to measure individual differences in open versus closed belief systems (Christie, 1991). The Dogmatism Scale used in this study consists of 40 items to which participants will respond on a 7-item scale with "1" signifying "strongly disagree" and "7" signifying "strongly agree." Higher scores indicate a more closed belief system. Examining three early studies, Christie (1991) reports internal consistency reliabilities as ranging between .78 and .82. Again, the primary purpose of having participants complete this scale is to hide the true hypotheses of the study; however, scores are analyzed and it is predicted that individuals with more closed belief systems would respond in more traditional ways in relation to the dependent variables.

Participants were also required to complete a demographic inventory. Each participant's name, identification number, telephone number, and e-mail address were gathered in order to later contact the individuals who would be asked to participate in additional sections of the study. Information concerning the participants' gender was also collected and analyzed to determine if any relationship existed between this subject variable and the dependent variables.

Advertisements: Twelve print advertisements were created by an advertising firm in Biloxi, Mississippi for this study. The advertisements were created using existing advertisements appearing in magazines during the 1999-2000 academic year. In addition, three neutral advertisements (promoting products viewed as gender neutral, and featuring no human models) were included as control measures. The gender-neutral products

selected for this study include toothpaste, cheese, and juice. In the twelve advertisements created for this study, six products were advertised, each one appearing twice, differing only in the gender of the model portrayed using the product. The six product categories included three traditionally masculine products and three traditionally feminine products. The products were selected in the following manner: A pilot study was conducted in order to determine the products that would best serve this research. First, the product criteria were established. For study 1, all products must be viewed by consumers as traditionally masculine or feminine; however, these products must be viewed by participants as ones that are used by both males and females. For example, the cosmetic product mascara would not be an acceptable selection, despite the fact that it is a traditionally feminine product. Because mascara is not typically used by male consumers, it would not be beneficial to either advertisers or consumers for males to be portrayed using this product in advertisements; therefore it is not an appropriate product for this research.

The pilot study was conducted in three separate phases. The first two of these phases are relevant to study 1. In phase one, a group of 76 undergraduate students were asked to list as many consumer products as they could think of which they believed to be sex-typed as "traditionally masculine." After completing their list of masculine products, the students were asked to make a similar list of products that they believed to be sex-typed as "traditionally feminine." Once both lists were completed, students were asked to cross-out any products listed that they believed were not used by both male and female consumers. The primary researcher compiled the combined lists of products provided by

the students in phase one and then searched for current print advertisements depicting models using these products.

In searching for the advertisements to be tested, some additional criteria were used. First, to be selected for this research, unknown human males or females must be depicted in the advertisement along with the product. No advertisements depicting both males and females were selected. Advertisements utilizing celebrity campaigns (e.g., Michael Jordan, Madonna) or animated characters (e.g., Mr. Clean, Aunt Jemima) were also omitted. Second, in order to minimize the aspects of the advertisements rated by the experimental subjects in terms of advertising effectiveness, advertisements utilizing humorous and sexual appeals were not chosen. This restriction also helped to insure that the models in the advertisements would be perceived by subjects as actual users of the product, not as sex objects used to entice other potential users, or as unlikely consumers depicted solely for humor. A total of 32 advertisements were found that met these criteria and therefore, it was these 32 products that were tested in the remaining phase of the pilot research (see Appendix B for a complete list of products included in the pilot research).

A separate group of undergraduate students were recruited for phase two of the pilot study. A total of 39 students were asked to complete a survey in which they were to rate, on a scale of 1 to 7, each of the thirty-two products[1] in terms of how traditionally masculine or feminine they perceived it to be, with 1 being an "extremely masculine" product, 4 being a "gender neutral" product, and 7 being an "extremely feminine" product. The purpose of phase two was to determine the extent to which consumers

[1]Note that participants in the pilot study were only asked to rate products. No advertisements were shown to participants during pilot testing.

believe certain products are sex-typed (the mean "sex-type" score for each product can be found in the second column of Appendix B). For example, some products are considered "somewhat masculine" (e.g., car wash detergent) while others are thought to be "extremely masculine" (e.g., motor oil). For the purposes of this research, the products which are rated as most sex-typed while still meeting the specified criteria are the most desired.

Lastly, an attempt was made to match pairs of products (i.e., masculine to feminine) in terms of product function and relative price. Therefore, in addition to the three gender neutral products (toothpaste, cheese, and juice), the following six products were chosen for use in study 1: a truck (masculine) and a minivan (feminine), hard liquor (masculine) and wine (feminine), and dog food (masculine) and cat food (feminine) (see Appendix C for description of advertisements used in study 1).

Dependent Measures: After viewing each advertisement, participants completed an attitude questionnaire used to measure advertising effectiveness. The questionnaire assessed the participants' attitude toward each advertisement, attitude toward each product, attitude toward the model in each advertisement, and the likelihood of purchasing the products viewed (see Appendix D for the complete advertising effectiveness questionnaire). Participants' attitudes toward the advertisements, attitudes toward the products, and attitudes toward the models were measured using a series of nine point semantic differential scales. Purchase intent was measured using only a single-item semantic differential scale. Although consumers' attitudes toward the advertisement and attitudes toward the model in the advertisement are often important measures of advertising effectiveness, it was decided that a marketer's main objective is

to persuade consumers to have a positive attitude toward a product so that the consumer has favorable intentions to purchase the product. Therefore, the primary dependent variable in this study, communication effectiveness, was the combined score of the participants' ratings on these two measures (attitude toward the product and purchase intention). Cronbach alphas were used to determine the reliability of the dependent measure and all measures were found to be reliable with $\alpha > .80$.

A secondary dependent variable was also measured: BSRI change scores. The difference in a participant's BSRI score from the initial testing during the pre-screening to the re-testing after exposure to the advertisements was assessed in order to determine whether or not viewing models in traditional versus nontraditional gender role portrayals effects participants' gender role attitudes[2]

Design:

The hypotheses of this study were tested using a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) between-subjects factorial design. Main effects for all study variables were examined, as well as all possible interactions.

[2]Garst and Bodenhausen (1997) found that the gender role attitudes of androgynous males, though unchanged after exposure to androgynous models, became more traditional after exposure to traditionally masculine models in ads for gender neutral products. Gender role attitudes of traditional males remained traditional regardless of the model to which they were exposed. The current study will provide a conceptual replication of their research, extending their work to include female participants and traditionally sex-typed products.

Procedure:

Participants took part in a short pre-screening session during which they were asked to complete a demographic inventory and four questionnaires: the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and three filler questionnaires (Need for Cognition, Locus of Control, and Dogmatism) which were included in order to disguise the true purpose of this study. Participants were then classified according to their score on the BSRI as traditional (i.e., masculine males or feminine females) or nontraditional (i.e., masculine females, feminine males, or androgynous individuals) and were notified within a week as to a date and time at which they could participate in another study for additional research credit toward their course requirement. During the second session, participants were instructed to view a series of six advertisements for a specific length of time and then to rate the advertisements along several dimensions which would assess their attitude toward the advertisement, their attitude toward the product, their attitude toward the model in the advertisement, and their purchase intent (see Appendix D for the complete advertising effectiveness questionnaire). The six advertisements that each participant viewed varied depending on whether they were assigned to the *traditional advertisements* condition or the *nontraditional advertisements* condition. Participants in the traditional condition viewed three of the six traditional advertisements (i.e., either advertisements portraying a male model featured with a masculine product or advertisements portraying a female model featured with a feminine product) and the three neutral advertisements. Participants in the nontraditional condition viewed three of the six nontraditional advertisements (i.e., either advertisements portraying a male model featured with a feminine product or advertisements portraying a female model featured with a masculine

product) and the three neutral advertisements. The order in which the advertisements were presented to participants was counterbalanced so as to control for order effects.

Following the ratings, participants were told that due to the short length of the study, they would also be required to complete a short questionnaire needed as part of another graduate student's research. The main experimenter then left the room and a second experimenter entered and explained that the second questionnaire concerned basic attitudes currently held by college students. The second experimenter administered new consent forms and handed out a questionnaire (the BSRI) that used a different format, typeface and filler items than those used in the "first" study. The story about the "second graduate student" was told in order to have the participants retake the BSRI questionnaire, so as to determine any changes in gender role attitudes that may result from exposure to the gender role portrayals in the advertisements, without the participants connecting the second BSRI with the first one they had completed during the pre-screening session. Change scores were calculated and analyzed.

Results

A preliminary analysis including gender of model appearing in the advertisements and product "gender" as factors produced no significant effects. Consequently, the data were analyzed in a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional[3]) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) analysis of variance. ANOVAs were conducted on three dependent

[3] It has become customary in the gender-role orientation literature to break participants into types (traditional vs. nontraditional) rather than including masculinity and femininity as factors in the design. However, data were also analyzed including these factors to assess their impacts on the dependent measures. See "Supplementary Analyses" for results.

measures: communication effectiveness; attitudes toward the advertisement; and attitudes toward the model appearing in the advertisement.

Communication Effectiveness

It was decided that the most important index of advertising effectiveness is a measure of participants' attitudes toward the product and purchase intentions. These two measures from the questionnaire were highly interrelated, $\alpha = .81$. Consequently, they were combined into a composite index of "communication effectiveness" and subjected to a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA.

The ANOVA produced two significant outcomes, a main effect for participant gender role orientation, $F(1,238) = 5.06$, $p < .05$, which was qualified by a two-way interaction between participant gender role orientation and ad traditionality, $F(1,238) = 3.95$, $p < .05$ (see Table 1 for an illustration of the interaction). The main effect reflected the finding that traditional participants (i.e., masculine males and feminine females) had more favorable reactions/purchase intentions toward advertised products ($M=6.66$) than did nontraditional participants ($M=6.40$). However, inspection of the significant two-way interaction revealed, as predicted by hypothesis 3, that traditional participants rated the communication effectiveness of traditional advertisements more favorably ($M=6.81$) than did nontraditional participants ($M=6.30$), $F(1,238) = 9.61$, $p < .01$. Moreover, consistent with hypothesis 1, traditional participants rated traditional ads more favorably ($M=6.81$) than nontraditional advertisements ($M=6.51$), $F(1,238) = 4.12$, $p < .05$.

Table 1

Communication Effectiveness as a Function of Participant Gender Role Orientation and Ad Traditionality

		Ad Traditionality	
		Traditional Ad	NonTraditional Ad
Participant			
Gender Role	Traditional Subject	6.81	6.51
Orientation	NonTraditional Subject	6.30	6.51

However, traditional and nontraditional participants did not differ in their assessments of the communication effectiveness for products portrayed in nontraditional advertisements (Ms=6.51), and nontraditional participants, as specified by hypothesis 2, did not indicate significantly more favorable attitudes/purchase intentions toward products portrayed by nontraditional advertisements (M=6.51) than toward products illustrated in traditional advertisements (M=6.30), F (1,238) = 1.87, n.s.

Attitude toward the Advertisement

Participants also indicated their "attitude toward the advertisement" by rating each ad they saw on seven 9-point semantic differential scales (e.g., pleasant-unpleasant; ineffective-effective; etc.). These ratings were internally consistent across advertisements (all αs > .89). Consequently, the ratings were averaged across the three advertisements and submitted to a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA.

The ANOVA produced but one outcome of interest, a nearly significant main effect for participant gender role orientation, F (1,238) = 3.69, p =.056. The main effect reflected the finding that traditional participants had more favorable attitudes toward the advertisements they evaluated (M=6.64) than did nontraditional participants (M=6.47).

Attitude toward the Model

Participants indicated their "attitudes toward the model" by rating each model they viewed on five 9-point semantic differential scales (e.g., ineffective-effective;

credible-not credible; etc.). These ratings were internally consistent across models in the advertisements (all αs > .86). Consequently, the ratings were averaged across the three advertisements and submitted to a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA.

The ANOVA produced two significant main effects, but no significant interactions. A main effect for participant gender role orientation was found, F (1, 238) = 4.54, $p < .05$, as was a main effect for ad traditionality, F (1, 238) = 6.41, $p < .01$. The main effect for participant gender role orientation reflected the finding that traditional participants had more favorable attitudes toward models appearing in the advertisements (M=6.01) than did nontraditional participants (M=5.73). The main effect for ad traditionality indicated higher ratings for models appearing in traditional advertisements (M=6.11) than for models appearing in nontraditional advertisements (M=5.68).

Supplementary Analyses

Although not of primary interest, several measures (i.e., locus of control, dogmatism, and need for cognition) were included as filler tasks as a means of disguising the true intent of the study. The scores from these measures were calculated for each participant and were analyzed in relation to each of the dependent variables.

Locus of Control Although highly speculative, it was predicted that participants who feel as though they are not in control of their own destiny (i.e., those with an external locus of control) would respond in more traditional ways in relation to the dependent variables. In other words, participants with an external locus of control would

rate the communication effectiveness of traditional advertisements more favorably than nontraditional advertisements, and would provide more favorable ratings for traditional advertisements than would participants with an internal locus of control. A 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant locus of control: internal vs. external) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA produced a significant two-way interaction for the primary dependent variable communication effectiveness, $\underline{F}$ (1, 228) = 4.24, $\underline{p} < .05$, between participant locus of control and ad traditionality. As illustrated in Table 2, the interaction revealed, as predicted, that participants with an external locus of control favored traditional advertisements ($\underline{M}$ = 6.79) over nontraditional advertisements ($\underline{M}$ = 6.34), $\underline{F}$ (1,228) = 9.27, $\underline{p} < .01$, and that the communication effectiveness of nontraditional advertisements was rated higher by participants with internal locus of control ($\underline{M}$ = 6.70) than by participants with external locus of control ($\underline{M}$ = 6.34), $\underline{F}$ (1,228) = 6.94, $\underline{p} < .01$.

A 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant locus of control: internal vs. external) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA for the dependent variable "attitude toward the advertisement" produced a significant two-way interaction, $\underline{F}$ (1,228) = 7.97, $\underline{p} < .01$, between participant locus of control and ad traditionality (see Table 3 for an illustration of the interaction). As predicted, the interaction revealed that participants with an external locus of control rated traditional advertisements significantly more favorably ($\underline{M}$ = 6.91) than nontraditional advertisements ($\underline{M}$ = 6.29), $\underline{F}$ (1,228) = 21.58, $\underline{p} < .01$.

Table 2

Communication Effectiveness as a Function of Participant Locus of Control and Ad Traditionality

		Ad Traditionality	
		Traditional Ad	NonTraditional Ad
Participant Locus of Control	External LOC	6.79	6.34
	Internal LOC	6.50	6.70

Table 3

Attitude toward the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Locus of Control and Ad Traditionality

		Ad Traditionality	
		Traditional Ad	NonTraditional Ad
Participant Locus of Control	External LOC	6.91	6.29
	Internal LOC	6.53	6.65

Also, traditional advertisements were rated more favorably by external locus of control participants (M = 6.91) than by participants with an internal locus of control (M = 6.53), F (1,228) = 6.73, p < .01; whereas nontraditional advertisements were rated more favorably by participants with an internal locus of control (M = 6.65) than by those with an external locus of control (M = 6.29), F (1,228) = 7.19, p < .01).

In examining the effect of participant locus of control on the dependent variable "attitude toward the model in the advertisement," a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant locus of control: internal vs. external) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA produced a significant two-way interaction, F (1,228) = 6.17, p < .01, between participant locus of control and ad traditionality. As seen in Table 4, the interaction revealed that participants with an external locus of control rated models in traditional advertisements significantly more favorably (M = 6.40) than models appearing in nontraditional advertisements (M = 5.59), F (1,228) = 26.42, p < .01. Participants with an external locus of control also rated models in traditional advertisements more favorably (M = 6.40) than did participants with an internal locus of control (M = 5.96), F (1,228) = 6.92, p < .01.

Need for Cognition The Need for Cognition scale was also administered to participants as a filler task designed to disguise the true intent of the study. It was predicted that participants scoring low in need for cognition would respond more traditionally on the study's dependent variables as well. In other words, low need for cognition participants would provide more favorable ratings for traditional advertisements than would high need for cognition participants.

Table 4

Attitude toward the Model in the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Locus of Control and Ad Traditionality

		Ad Traditionality	
		Traditional Ad	NonTraditional Ad
Participant Locus of Control	External LOC	6.40	5.59
	Internal LOC	5.96	5.81

The results of a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant need for cognition: high vs. low) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA for the primary dependent variable communication effectiveness produced no significant two-way interaction between participant need for cognition and ad traditionality, F (1,231) = 2.74, p = .10. However, a two-way interaction was found for communication effectiveness, F (1,231) = 7.37, $p < .01$, between participant need for cognition and participant gender (see Table 5). Although not pertinent to the hypotheses, this interaction revealed that female participants with low need for cognition rated the communication effectiveness of the advertisements more favorably (M = 6.85) than males with low need for cognition (M = 6.37), F (1,231) = 9.13, $p < .01$; and male participants with high need for cognition rated the communication effectiveness of the advertisements more favorably (M = 6.62) than females with high need for cognition (M =6.25), F (1,231) = 5.24, $p < .05$. Also, females with low need for cognition rated the communication effectiveness of the advertisements significantly more favorably (M = 6.85) than females with high need for cognition (M = 6.25), F (1,231) = 16.48, $p < .01$.

A 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant need for cognition: high vs. low) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA for the dependent variable "attitude toward the advertisement" produced no significant results. In examining the effect of participant need for cognition on participants "attitude toward the model," a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant need for cognition: high vs. low) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA produced no significant two-way interaction between participant need for cognition and ad traditionality, F (1,231) = 1.02, p = .31.

Table 5

Communication Effectiveness as a Function of Participant Need for Cognition and Participant Gender

		Participant Gender	
		Male	Female
Participant Need for Cognition	High NFC	6.62	6.25
	Low NFC	6.37	6.85

However, a significant two-way interaction between participant gender and participant need for cognition was found, F (1, 231) = 4.75, $p < .05$. As illustrated in Table 6, the interaction showed that females low in need for cognition rated the models more favorably (M = 6.07) than did males low in need for cognition (M = 5.56), F (1,231) = 8.31, $p < .01$. Also, high need for cognition males rated the models significantly more favorably (M = 5.99) than low need for cognition males (M =5.56), F (1,231) = 5.93, $p < .05$.

Dogmatism Rokeach's (1956) Dogmatism scale was also given to participants as a means of disguising the true purpose of the study. Scores were calculated for each participant and analyzed in relation to perceived communication effectiveness, attitude toward the advertisement, and attitude toward the model. It was predicted that individuals with more closed belief systems would respond in more traditional ways in relation to the dependent variables. In other words, participants who score high on the dogmatism scale were predicted to rate traditional advertisements more favorably than those who score low on the dogmatism scale, and participants scoring low on the dogmatism scale would rate nontraditional advertisements more favorably than highly dogmatic participants. A 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant dogmatism: high vs. low) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA produced no significant results for the primary dependent variable, communication effectiveness. In relation to the dependent variable "attitude toward the advertisement," a marginally significant main effect for participant dogmatism was found, F (1,227) = 3.42, p = .07. This result revealed that participants low in dogmatism rated all advertisements somewhat more favorably (M = 6.72) than did highly dogmatic participants (M = 6.45).

Table 6

Attitude toward the Model in the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Need for Cognition and Participant Gender

		Participant Gender	
		Male	Female
Participant Need for Cognition	High NFC	5.99	5.85
	Low NFC	5.56	6.07

A 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant dogmatism: high vs. low) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA for the dependent variable "attitude toward the model" produced a significant two-way interaction, F (1,227) = 5.97, $p < .05$, between participant dogmatism and ad traditionality (see Table 7 for illustration of the interaction). Counter to the predictions made, the interaction revealed that participants scoring low in dogmatism had significantly more favorable attitudes to the models appearing in traditional advertisements (M = 6.30) than to the models in nontraditional advertisements (M=5.48), F (1,227) = 31.71, $p < .01$, and highly dogmatic participants rated models in nontraditional advertisements significantly more favorably (M = 5.97) than did participants low in dogmatism (M = 5.48), F (1,227) = 10.42, $p < .01$.

Masculinity and Femininity The last variable to be included in the supplementary analyses is highly related to one of the primary independent variables, participant gender role orientation. In addition to being categorized as traditional or nontraditional, participants were also classified in terms of masculinity and femininity, irrespective of gender. The primary independent variables were subsequently subjected to a 2 (participant masculinity: high masculinity vs. low masculinity) X 2 (participant femininity: high femininity vs. low femininity) X 2 (ad traditionality: traditional vs. nontraditional) ANOVA. For the primary dependent variable, communication effectiveness, and the dependent measure “attitude to the model,” no significant interactions were found that would reflect on the hypotheses of this study.

Table 7

Attitude toward the Model in the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Dogmatism and Ad Traditionality

		Ad Traditionality	
		Traditional Ad	NonTraditional Ad
Participant	High Dogmatism	6.00	5.97
Dogmatism	Low Dogmatism	6.30	5.48

However, the 2 X 2 X 2 ANOVA for "attitude to the ad" produced a significant three-way interaction, F (1,238) = 5.68, $p < .05$. Table 8 illustrates the findings for those participants viewing traditional advertisements, whereas Table 9 depicts the findings for those viewing nontraditional advertisements. For participants viewing traditional ads, the findings revealed that participants scoring low in both masculinity and femininity (i.e., undifferentiated participants, according to Bem) rated the traditional advertisements less favorably (M = 5.93) than did low masculinity/high femininity participants (M = 6.94), F (1,238) = 13.15, $p < .01$, high masculinity/low femininity participants (M = 6.82), F (1,238) = 10.53, $p < .01$, and high masculinity/high femininity (androgynous) participants (M = 6.78), F (1,238) = 7.10, $p < .01$.

By contrast, ratings of nontraditional advertisements showed a different pattern. As shown in Table 9, relatively nontraditional (i.e., low masculinity/low femininity and high masculinity/high femininity) participants expressed more favorable attitudes toward nontraditional advertisements than did their more traditional (high femininity/low masculinity and high masculinity/low femininity) counterparts. Moreover, relatively ungendered (low masculinity/low femininity) participants expressed significantly more positive attitudes toward nontraditional advertisements (M = 6.53) than toward traditional advertisements (M = 5.93), F (1,238) = 3.88, $p < .05$.

Table 8

Attitude toward the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Femininity and Participant Masculinity (For Those Viewing Traditional Advertisements)

		Participant Masculinity	
		Low Masculinity	High Masculinity
Participant	Low Femininity	5.93	6.82
Femininity	High Femininity	6.94	6.78

Table 9

Attitude toward the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Femininity and Participant Masculinity (For Those Viewing NonTraditional Advertisements)

		Participant Masculinity	
		Low Masculinity	High Masculinity
Participant	Low Femininity	6.53	6.43
Femininity	High Femininity	6.41	6.59

BSRI Change Scores Despite predictions, this study was unable to replicate the findings of Garst and Bodenhausen's (1997) research which found that the gender role attitudes of androgynous males, though unchanged after exposure to androgynous models, became more traditional after exposure to traditionally masculine models in ads for gender neutral products. They found that gender role attitudes of traditional males remained traditional regardless of the model to which they were exposed. After extending Garst and Bodenhausen's (1997) research to include female participants and traditionally sex-typed products, no significant differences were found in participants' BSRI scores, or overall traditionality, following exposure to either traditional or nontraditional advertisements, all Fs < 1.09, n.s.

Discussion

The results of the first study provided some limited support for the gender-role congruency model and the hypotheses presented. As was predicted in hypothesis 1, traditional participants (i.e., masculine males, feminine females) reported significantly more favorable communication effectiveness ratings for advertisements depicting traditional gender role portrayals than for advertisements depicting nontraditional portrayals. Partial support was also found for hypothesis 3: traditional participants rated the communication effectiveness of traditional advertisements more favorably than did nontraditional participants (i.e., masculine females, feminine males, and androgynous individuals); however, nontraditional and traditional participants did not differ in their ratings of nontraditional advertisements. And, although not statistically significant, nontraditional participants reported nominally more favorable ratings for the

advertisements depicting nontraditional gender roles than for those advertisements depicting more traditional roles, as predicted in hypothesis 2.

Analyses of the dependent variables "attitude to the advertisement" and "attitude to the model" produced main effects, but no interactions pertinent to the hypotheses presented in study one. Supplementary analyses of the filler questionnaires (Locus of Control, Need for Cognition, and Dogmatism) provided mixed results regarding our predictions of the effects of these variables on the dependent measures. Participant locus of control affected all dependent variables in the directions predicted: external locus of control participants responded to advertisements in much the same way as participants with traditional gender role orientations. Participant need for cognition did not significantly affect preferences for traditional versus nontraditional gender role portrayals in advertising, although unexpected two-way interactions that are difficult to interpret were found between participant need for cognition and participant gender for the dependent variables "communication effectiveness" and " attitude toward the model." Participants' scores on the dogmatism scale affected their "attitudes toward the model" in a direction counter to the predictions made. It was predicted that highly dogmatic participants would respond similarly to participants with a traditional gender role orientation, while participants scoring lower on the dogmatism scale would respond similarly to nontraditional participants. However, the results of the study revealed that participants scoring high on the dogmatism scale rated the models in the nontraditional advertisements more favorably than did participants low in dogmatism. Also counter to predictions, participants low on the dogmatism scale rated the models in traditional

advertisements significantly more favorably than they rated the models appearing in nontraditional advertisements.

With respect to the hypotheses of study one, participants' masculinity and femininity scores did not significantly affect participant communication effectiveness ratings or their attitudes toward the models appearing in the advertisements. However, a three-way interaction revealed that, in many cases, participants scoring low on both masculinity and femininity (i.e., less differentiated or "ungendered" individuals) rated the nontraditional advertisements more favorably than did participants scoring high on one dimension and low on the other dimension. Since gender was not a factor in this analysis, it is not known whether these individuals scoring high on one dimension and low on the other would be classified as traditional or nontraditional; therefore, a complete comparison to the original hypotheses cannot be made.

SECTION 3

GENDER ROLE CONGRUENCY AND SELF-REFERENCING

Several scenarios were possible given the potential results of study 1. First, if results had been as predicted, traditionally sex-typed individuals would have reacted more negatively to cross-gender role portrayals than to traditional portrayals, while nontraditional individuals would have reacted more positively to the nontraditional gender role portrayals than to the traditional portrayals. Although not always statistically significant, results from study 1 trended in this direction. A second possibility was that both traditional and nontraditional participants would have both responded more positively to traditional gender role portrayals in advertisements than to nontraditional portrayals. Lastly, all participants could have responded more positively to nontraditional gender role portrayals. These last two possibilities were not supported. The first of these scenarios begs the question, "How can an advertiser persuade both highly sex-typed individuals (i.e., masculine males and feminine females) and nontraditional individuals (i.e., masculine females, feminine males, and androgynous males and females) using nontraditional gender role portrayals in advertising?" Self-referencing may be the answer.

The self is believed to be an important element in advertising persuasion because most consumer purchases are made for oneself or one's family (Debevec & Iyer, 1988). It is thought that if an individual can relate to the verbal and/or visual information presented in an advertisement, then the advertisement should be attended to, processed,

and therefore, more effective. Self-referencing has been described as a "cognitive process whereby individuals associate self-relevant stimulus information with information previously stored in memory to give the new information meaning" (Debevec & Iyer, 1988, p. 74). There is much evidence outside of the advertising setting which suggests that self-referencing aids recall and learning (e.g., Bower & Gilligan, 1979; Brown, Keenan, & Potts, 1986; Kendzierski, 1980; Lord, 1980; Rogers, Kuiper, & Kirker, 1977). Less evidence is available in the area of advertising effectiveness and self-referencing. However, self-referencing has been demonstrated to increase the persuasiveness of a low-fear appeal by prompting elaboration on the harmful consequences of smoking (Keller, & Block, 1995), and has also been shown to increase message elaboration and increase persuasion when message arguments are strong (Burnkrant & Unnava, 1995). Specifically addressing self-referencing of gender-role portrayals, Debevec and Iyer (1988) found that advertisements portraying men and women in nontraditional gender roles resulted in greater self-referencing than advertisements showing traditional gender roles. It was also found that self-referencing mediated respondents' attitudes toward the message, speaker, and product, as well as the likelihood of product trial (Debevec & Iyer, 1988). High self-referencing individuals were shown to have more positive attitudes and cognitive responses than low self-referencing individuals. However, self-referencing was not a manipulated variable in Debevec and Iyer's (1988) study; all participants were encouraged to self-reference. Also, Debevec and Iyer did not classify the participants with respect to gender-role orientation. It would be interesting to investigate the effects of self-referencing on

attitudes toward the ad, attitudes toward the product, attitudes toward the model in the advertisement, and purchase intent across the different gender-role orientations.

Most Americans, regardless of their gender-role orientation, accept the fact that women are in the workplace to stay and that gender roles are changing. Whether or not they approve of the global changes with respect to gender roles, most individuals, at some point in their lives, have behaved in a nontraditional manner. For example, most males have washed a load of dirty clothes or shown tender affection toward a child, and most females have raked leaves, made repairs, or pumped gasoline into their automobile. If an individual can look at a nontraditional gender-role portrayal in an advertisement as a behavior that they have performed in the past, then the self-relevance of the actions depicted may override their traditional gender-role orientation and elicit a more positive evaluation of the cross-gender role portrayal. In other words, I propose that gender- role congruence becomes a less salient aspect of perceived advertisement effectiveness, especially for traditional individuals, when they self-reference immediately prior to viewing the advertisements. Therefore, the hypotheses underlying study two are as follows:

H1: Participants who are induced to self-reference during the advertisement evaluation will rate the advertising effectiveness of nontraditional advertisements higher than will participants who are not encouraged to self-reference.

H2: Of those participants induced to self-reference, those who are more easily able to imagine themselves in the situation portrayed in the advertisement will rate the advertising effectiveness of the nontraditional advertisements higher than those participants who find the task of self-referencing more difficult.

H3: Among individuals induced to self-reference, the difference in advertising effectiveness ratings between highly traditional individuals who are more easily able to imagine themselves in the situation portrayed in the advertisement and highly traditional individuals who find the task more difficult will be greater than the difference in advertising effectiveness ratings between the less traditional individuals who are more easily able to imagine themselves in the situations portrayed in the advertisements and less traditional individuals who find the task of self-referencing more difficult.

In other words, self-referencing will have a greater impact on traditional participants' evaluations of nontraditional advertisements than on nontraditional participants' evaluations.

Method

Participants:

Participants were undergraduate students enrolled in lower-level psychology and marketing courses at the University of Georgia. They received research credit toward a course requirement in exchange for their participation. A total of 250 participants took part in this study; however, data from 8 participants were removed due to incomplete and/or incoherent information, therefore, leaving a total of 242 participants to be analyzed. Both male and female participants were included in this research. Racial or ethnic background was not a factor in the selection process; therefore, various groups were included in the study, although the majority of subjects were Caucasian due to the racial makeup of the university. Informed consent was obtained from all students prior to participation. All participants were treated in accordance with the "Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct" (American Psychological Association, 1992).

Materials:

Questionnaires*:* In addition to the questionnaires used in study 1 (BSRI, NFC, LOC, Dogmatism, demographic), study 2 also included a self-referencing questionnaire. The self-referencing questionnaire instructed students to think about the behavior portrayed in the advertisement in terms of their own experiences (see Appendix F for the complete self-referencing questionnaire). It was used as a manipulation check to assess the ease with which participants were able to imagine themselves in the situation portrayed in the advertisement, and their similarity judgments relative to the model and related life experiences. This questionnaire also provided a measure as to the past frequency of purchase and use of each product by the participants.

Advertisements: Six print advertisements were created by an advertising firm in Biloxi, Mississippi for this study. The ads were created using existing advertisements appearing in magazines during the 1999-2000 academic year. In these advertisements, six different products were advertised, one in each advertisement. All six advertisements portrayed models in non-traditional gender roles. Three depicted male models in advertisements for traditionally feminine products, which were viewed by all male participants in study 2. The other three depicted female models in advertisements for traditionally masculine products, which were viewed by all female participants in this study. The products for study 2 were selected in the following manner:

As with study 1, pilot research was conducted in order to determine the products that would best serve study 2. First, the product criteria were established. In addition to the criteria established for study 1 (i.e., products must be viewed as traditionally masculine or feminine and yet are used by both males and females), products selected for

study 2 must also be ones that college-aged (18-23 years) consumers are likely to purchase. It is important that all products selected for use in this study meet all three criteria. Again, the cosmetic product mascara can be used as an example. Mascara would not be an acceptable selection, despite the fact that it is a traditionally feminine product that is commonly used by college-age consumers. Because mascara is not typically used by male consumers, it would not be beneficial to either advertisers or consumers for males to be portrayed using this product in advertisements; therefore it is not an appropriate product for this research. A product that met the criteria of study 1, a minivan, probably would not meet all the criteria of study 2, given that few college aged consumers purchase this type of vehicle.

Potential products for use in study 2 were obtained from the data collected in phases one and two of the pilot research for study 1. As one may recall, a total of 32 advertisements were found that met the research criteria of study 1; therefore these 32 products were tested for possible use in study 2. Participants were required to provide information about their age and gender, thereby assuring that all criteria were met. In order to be certain that the products selected are used by college-age consumers and by both genders, a group of 40 students, separate from those used in study 1 pilot testing, participated in this pilot research. The same students were not used in both pilot tests in order to prevent answers based on social desirability. For example, male students may be reluctant to admit that they frequently use a product that they only recently rated as "extremely feminine." In this last phase, participants were asked to rate, on a scale of 1 to 7, how likely it is that he/she would purchase or use the thirty-two products listed, with 1 indicating "extremely unlikely," and 7 indicating "extremely likely." After all the data

was gathered, it was analyzed in order to select the products that best met the criteria for study 2. The mean scores for the likelihood of purchase and/or use of each product can be found in the third column of Appendix B. The last two columns of Appendix B show the percentages of males and females that indicated that they were at least "somewhat likely" to purchase/use the product.

Again, as in study 1, an attempt was made to match pairs of products (i.e., masculine to feminine) in terms of product function and relative price. Therefore, the products chosen for use in study 2 include hard liquor (masculine) and wine (feminine), heartburn medicine (masculine) and facial lotion/cleanser (feminine), and an energy/nutrition bar (masculine) and a low-calorie frozen food (feminine) (see Appendix E for descriptions of advertisements viewed in study 2).

Dependent Measures: The primary dependent variable in study two was, again, the participants' combined score of ratings given for attitude toward the product and purchase intentions. Though only of secondary interest, participants' attitude toward the advertisement and attitude towards the model in the advertisements were also examined (see Appendix D for the complete advertising effectiveness questionnaire). Participants' attitudes toward the advertisements, attitudes toward the products, and attitudes toward the models were measured using a series of nine point semantic differential scales. Purchase intent was measured using only a single-item semantic differential scale. Cronbach alphas were used to determine the reliability of the dependent measures and all were reliable at the $\alpha > .80$ level.

Design:

The hypotheses of this study were tested using a set of 2 X 2 X 2 between-subjects factorial designs. The first hypothesis examined how the participant's gender (male vs. female) and gender role orientation (traditional vs. nontraditional), as well as whether or not they were encouraged to self-reference (encouraged vs. not encouraged), affected their evaluations of the nontraditional advertisements to which they were exposed. The second and third hypotheses focused only on those participants who were encouraged to self-reference and examined how the gender (male vs. female) and gender role orientation of the participant (traditional vs. nontraditional), as well as the ease with which they were able to self-reference the situation portrayed in each advertisement as measured by the first and second questions of the self-referencing questionnaire (see Appendix F for the self-referencing questionnaire) utilizing a median-split (easy vs. difficult), affect their evaluations of the nontraditional advertisements to which they were exposed.

Procedure:

As in the first study, participants were asked to provide demographic information (e.g., name, identification number, gender) and then to complete the Bem Sex Role Inventory, the Need for Cognition measure, the Locus of Control scale, and the Dogmatism scale during a large group testing session. They were informed of an opportunity to participate in a later study for additional credit and then were contacted within a week's time with information about the second study. In the later study,

participants were given the three appropriate (male or female) advertisements[4] to view for a specified length of time. The three advertisements that each participant viewed varied depending on the participants' gender: males viewed three advertisements, each portraying a male model promoting a feminine product; whereas female participants viewed three advertisements, each portraying a female model promoting a masculine product. Immediately prior to viewing each advertisement, participants in the *self-referencing* condition were instructed to imagine themselves in the situation portrayed in the advertisement. Specifically, the instructions read as follows: "Try to imagine yourself in the situation portrayed in each of the advertisements. Think back to times in which you have used the advertised products or could have used the products." The participants in the *no self-referencing* condition were not instructed to imagine themselves in the situation, instead were only asked to view the advertisements. After viewing each advertisement, participants in the *self-referencing condition* were instructed to respond to a short set of questions used to assess the ease with which they were able to self-reference the situation portrayed in the advertisement as well as the frequency with which they purchase and use the products advertised (see Appendix F for the complete self-referencing questionnaire). After completing the self-referencing questionnaire, these participants were asked to complete the advertising effectiveness questionnaire which assessed their attitudes toward the advertisement, their attitude toward the product,

[4]Participants viewed three nontraditional advertisements, each containing a model of their own gender endorsing a product of the opposite gender so as to increase the likelihood of self-referencing. Therefore, due to the fact that male participants viewed different advertisements than female participants, the variable participant gender is confounded with the particular advertisements viewed.

their attitude toward the model in the advertisement, and their purchase intent (see Appendix D for the complete advertising effectiveness questionnaire).

Participants in the *no self-referencing condition* completed an advertising effectiveness questionnaire immediately after viewing each advertisement. These subjects repeated this process for all 6 advertisements and then were asked to complete a self-referencing questionnaire for each advertisement they had previously viewed. By having the subjects in the no self-referencing condition wait to fill out the self-referencing questionnaire until after they had evaluated the advertisements, the experimenter was able to collect data related to the participants' ease of self-referencing, as well as their previous experience with the product, without affecting their ratings of the advertisements.

Results

Data were analyzed using a set of three-way ANOVAs. The results pertinent to the first hypothesis were analyzed in a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional[5]) X 2 (encouraged to self reference: encouraged vs. not encouraged) analysis of variance. The second and third hypotheses, which centered only on participants who were encouraged to self-reference, were analyzed using a separate 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional) X 2 (ease of self-referencing: easy vs. difficult) ANOVA.

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5 In order to best test the hypotheses, participants were classified according to traditionality (i.e., traditional vs. nontraditional) rather than including masculinity and femininity as factors in the design. However, data was analyzed including these factors to assess their impact on the dependent measures. See "Supplementary Analyses" for results.

Communication Effectiveness

As in study 1, it is thought that the most important index of advertising effectiveness is a measure of participants' attitude to the product and purchase intentions. These two measures from the advertising effectiveness questionnaire were highly interrelated, $\alpha = .80$. Consequently, they were combined into a composite index of communication effectiveness.

The results pertinent to the first hypothesis were analyzed in a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional) X 2 (encouragement to self-reference: encouraged vs. not encouraged) analysis of variance. No significant main effect for encouragement to self reference was found for the primary dependent variable, communication effectiveness, F (1,234) = .08, p = .78. However, a significant main effect was found for participant gender, F (1,234) = 8.37, $p < .01$, revealing that male participants, regardless of their gender role orientation and whether or not they were encouraged to self-reference, rated the communication effectiveness of the nontraditional advertisements significantly more favorably (M = 6.09) than did female participants (M = 5.60). However, it is important to point out that males and females in study 2 viewed different advertisements.

A significant two-way interaction was also found, F (1,234) = 3.91, $p < .05$, between participant gender role orientation and encouragement to self-reference. As seen in Table 10, the interaction revealed that traditional participants who were encouraged to self-reference rated the communication effectiveness of the advertisements significantly more favorably (M = 6.10) than traditional participants who were not encouraged to self-

reference (M = 5.72), F (1,234) = 4.22, p < .05. The interaction also revealed that traditional participants who were encouraged to self-reference indicated more favorable ratings (M = 6.10) than nontraditional participants who were encouraged to self-reference (M = 5.53), F (1,234) = 11.26, p < .01.

The results pertinent to the second and third hypotheses were analyzed in a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional) X 2 (ease of self-referencing: easy vs. difficult) analysis of variance. For these analyses only data from participants who were encouraged to self-reference were examined. As predicted in hypothesis two, a main effect for ease of self-referencing was found, F (1,113) = 5.70, p < .05, which revealed that participants who found it easier to self-reference rated the communication effectiveness of the advertisements significantly more favorably (M = 6.06) than did participants who found self-referencing more difficult (M = 5.38). Data was also analyzed using analyses of covariance with "experience with product" as the covariate in order to determine whether or not the results would have been different had groups been equivalent in terms of their experience with the product. The results of the ANCOVA produced the same pattern of outcomes as the ANOVA at comparable levels of significance, and provided no additional information pertaining to the hypotheses of this study.

Table 10

Communication Effectiveness as a Function of Participant Gender Role Orientation and Encouragement to Self-Reference

		Encouragement to Self-Reference	
		Encouraged	Not Encouraged
Participant Gender Role Orientation	Traditional Subject	6.10	5.72
	NonTraditional Subject	5.53	5.80

Although not pertinent to the hypotheses, significant main effects were also found for participant gender, F (1, 113) = 4.78, $p < .05$, and for participant gender role orientation, F (1,113) = 4.81, $p < .05$. The main effect for participant gender revealed that males rated the communication effectiveness of the advertisements they viewed more favorably (M = 6.15) than did female participants (M = 5.65); however, again it should be pointed out that the male participants in study two viewed different advertisements than did the female participants. The main effect for participant gender role orientation revealed that traditional participants indicated more favorable ratings of the advertisements' communication effectiveness (M = 6.10) than did nontraditional participants (M = 5.53). This finding was somewhat surprising, given that all of the advertisements viewed by participants in study 2 were nontraditional in their gender role portrayals; however, because all of the participants in this analysis were encouraged to self-reference any gender-role congruency effect may have been eliminated.

A significant two-way interaction (ease of self-referencing X participant gender role orientation) would have confirmed the third hypothesis of this study. Specifically, it was predicted that there would be a greater difference in communication effectiveness ratings between traditional participants (masculine males; feminine females) who were more easily able to self-reference the situations portrayed in the advertisements and traditional participants who found self-referencing more difficult than there would be between less traditional participants (masculine females, feminine males, androgynous) who were more easily able to self-reference the situations portrayed in the advertisement

and less traditional participants who find self-referencing more difficult. However, as illustrated in Table 11 no interactions were obtained and results of this study showed that the differences in ratings between nontraditional participants were nominally greater (d = .71) than the differences in ratings between traditional participants (d = .64), which is the opposite of what was predicted in hypothesis three.

Attitude toward the Advertisement

Participants in study two indicated their "attitudes toward the advertisement" by rating each advertisement they viewed on seven 9-point semantic differential scales (e.g., pleasant-unpleasant; ineffective-effective; etc.). These ratings were internally consistent across ads (all αs > .87). Consequently, the ratings were averaged across these advertisements and submitted to a set of 2 X 2 X 2 ANOVAs.

As with the analyses for the primary dependent variable, communication effectiveness, a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional) X 2 (encouragement to self-reference: encouraged vs. not encouraged) ANOVA for the dependent variable, "attitude toward the advertisement" produced no main effect for encouragement to self-reference, F (1,234) = .07, $p < .80$, as was predicted in hypothesis one. However, a main effect for participant gender was found, F (1,234) = 8.79, $p < .01$, revealing that male participants rated the advertisements significantly more favorably (M = 6.54) than did female participants (M = 6.14).

Table 11

Communication Effectiveness as a Function of Participant Gender Role Orientation and Ease of Self-Referencing

		Ease of Self-Referencing	
		Easy to S/R	Difficult to S/R
Participant Gender Role Orientation	Traditional Subject	6.29	5.65
	NonTraditional Subject	5.75	5.04

The results pertinent to the second and third hypotheses were analyzed with a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional) X 2 (ease of self-referencing: easy vs. difficult) analysis of variance for the dependent variable "attitude toward the advertisement." As was predicted by hypothesis two, a main effect for ease of self-referencing was found, $\underline{F}$ (1,113) = 16.07, $\underline{p}$ < .01, indicating that participants who find it easier to self-reference provide more favorable ratings of the advertisements ($\underline{M}$ = 6.57) than do participants who find self-referencing more difficult ($\underline{M}$ = 5.77). Again, ANCOVAs with "experience with product" as the covariate did not alter the results.

No significant interactions were found to support the third hypothesis in relation to participants "attitudes toward the advertisements;" however, although not statistically significant, the impact of ease of self-referencing appears to be nominally stronger for traditional participants ($\underline{d}$ = .84) than for nontraditional participants ($\underline{d}$ = .74) which is in the direction of the predictions of hypothesis three (see Table 12).

Attitude toward the Model

Participants indicated their "attitudes toward the model" in the advertisements by rating each model they viewed on five 9-point semantic differential scales (e.g., ineffective-effective; credible-not credible; etc.). These ratings were internally consistent across models in the advertisements (all αs > .86). Consequently, the ratings were averaged across the three advertisements and submitted to a set of 2 X 2 X 2 ANOVAs.

Table 12

Attitude toward the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Gender Role Orientation and Ease of Self-Referencing

		Ease of Self-Referencing	
		Easy to S/R	Difficult to S/R
Participant Gender Role Orientation	Traditional Subject	6.61	5.77
	NonTraditional Subject	6.50	5.76

A 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional) X 2 (encouragement to self-reference: encouraged vs. not encouraged) ANOVA produced a main effect for encouragement to self-reference, F (1,234) = 6.05, $p < .05$, which revealed, as predicted in hypothesis one, that participants who were encouraged to self-reference rated the models in the advertisements significantly more favorably (M = 5.70) than did participants who were not encouraged to self-reference (M = 5.32). However, the main effect for encouragement to self-reference was qualified by a significant two-way interaction between participant gender role orientation and encouragement to self-reference, F (1,234) = 8.99, $p < .01$. As illustrated in Table 13, traditional participants who were encouraged to self-reference rated the models in the ads more favorably (M = 5.81) than did traditional participants who were not encouraged to self-reference (M = 4.94), F (1,234) = 29.98, $p < .01$. The interaction also indicated that, of those participants who were not encouraged to self-reference, nontraditional individuals provided more favorable ratings of the models they viewed (M = 5.74) than did traditional individuals (M = 4.94), F (1,234) = 22.83, $p < .01$.

The results pertinent to the second and third hypotheses were analyzed with a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant gender role orientation: traditional vs. nontraditional) X 2 (ease of self-referencing: easy vs. difficult) analysis of variance for the dependent variable "attitude toward the model." A significant main effect for ease of self-referencing was found, F (1,113) = 12.30, $p < .01$, which, as predicted in hypothesis two, showed that participants encouraged to self-reference who found it easy to self-reference indicated more favorable ratings of the models in the advertisements (M = 6.57) than did participants who found self-referencing more difficult (M = 5.77).

Table 13

Attitude toward the Model in the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Gender Role Orientation and Encouragement to Self-Reference

		Encouragement to Self-Reference	
		Encouraged	Not Encouraged
Participant Gender Role Orientation	Traditional Subject	5.81	4.94
	NonTraditional Subject	5.56	5.74

Again, ANCOVAs with "experience with product" as the covariate did not alter the results.

As illustrated in Table 14, no interaction was found to support hypothesis three, but, though not significant, the impact of ease of self-referencing appears nominally stronger for traditional participants (d = .98) than for nontraditional participants (d = .58).

Supplementary Analyses

As in study one, several measures (i.e., locus of control, need for cognition, and dogmatism) were included as filler tasks as a means of disguising the true intent of the study. The scores from each of these measures were calculated for each participant and were analyzed in relation to each of the dependent variables.

Locus of Control Although speculative, it was predicted that participants who feel as though they are not in control of their own destiny (i.e., those with an external locus of control) would respond in more traditional ways in relation to the dependent variables. Because all advertisements in study two were nontraditional in their gender role portrayals, it was predicted that those participants not encouraged to self-reference with an internal locus of control would rate the communication effectiveness of the advertisements more favorably than participants with an external locus of control who were not encouraged to self-reference. Also, it was expected that ease of self-referencing would have a greater impact on participants with an external locus of control than on participants with an internal locus of control. A 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant locus of control: internal vs. external) X 2 (encouragement to self-reference: encouraged vs. not encouraged) ANOVA produced no significant outcomes pertaining to the hypotheses (all $Fs < 3.35$, n.s.).

Table 14

Attitude toward the Model in the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Gender Role Orientation and Ease of Self-Referencing

		Ease of Self-Referencing	
		Easy to S/R	Difficult to S/R
Participant Gender Role Orientation	Traditional Subject	6.10	5.12
	NonTraditional Subject	5.74	5.16

A 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant locus of control: internal vs. external) X 2 (ease of self-referencing: easy vs. difficult) ANOVA produced no significant interaction to support the prediction that ease of self-referencing for those encouraged to self-reference would have a greater impact on participants with an external locus of control than on those with an internal locus of control. However, the results, though not significant, do trend in the predicted direction (see Table 15 for an illustration of the impact of ease of self-referencing).

In relation to the dependent variable "attitude toward the advertisement," a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant locus of control: internal vs. external) X 2 (encouragement to self-reference: encouraged vs. not encouraged) ANOVA produced no significant results pertinent to the predictions made. In relation to the dependent variable "attitude toward the model" appearing in the advertisement, a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant locus of control: internal vs. external) X 2 (encouragement to self-reference: encouraged vs. not encouraged) ANOVA produced no significant results pertinent to the predictions made.

A 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant locus of control: internal vs. external) X 2 (ease of self-referencing: easy vs. difficult) ANOVA also produced no significant results with respect to the predictions made in hypothesis 3 concerning locus of control among participants who were encouraged to self-reference.

Table 15

Communication Effectiveness as a Function of Participant Locus of Control and Ease of Self-Referencing

		Ease of Self-Referencing	
		Easy to S/R	Difficult to S/R
Participant Locus of Control	External LOC	6.30	5.64
	Internal LOC	5.74	5.16

Need for Cognition The Need for Cognition scale was also administered to participants as a filler task designed to disguise the true intent of the study. It was predicted that participants scoring low in need for cognition would respond more traditionally on the study's dependent variables as well. Again, because all advertisements in study two were nontraditional, it was predicted that those participants not encouraged to self-reference with high need for cognition would rate the communication effectiveness of the advertisements more favorably than participants with a low need for cognition who were not encouraged to self-reference. Also, it was expected that ease of self-referencing would have a greater impact on participants with low need for cognition than on participants with high need for cognition. However, for all three dependent variables, communication effectiveness, attitude toward the advertisement, and attitude toward the model in the advertisement, the two 2 X 2 X 2 ANOVAs produced no significant results to support the predictions made.

Dogmatism Rokeach's (1956) Dogmatism scale was also given to participants as a means of disguising the true purpose of the study. Scores were calculated for each participant and analyzed in relation to the dependent variables. As in study one, it was predicted that individuals with more closed belief systems would respond in more traditional ways in relation the dependent variables. Again, keeping in mind that all advertisements in study two are nontraditional, it was predicted that highly dogmatic participants not encouraged to self-reference would rate the communication effectiveness of the advertisements less favorably than less dogmatic participants who were not encouraged to self-reference. It was also expected that ease of self-referencing would have a greater impact on highly dogmatic participants than on participants reporting

lower dogmatism scores. The two 2 X 2 X 2 ANOVAs produced no significant results for the primary dependent variable, communication effectiveness, or for the dependent variable "attitude towards the advertisement." However, a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) X 2 (participant dogmatism: high vs. low) X 2 (encouragement to self-reference: encouraged vs. not encouraged) ANOVA produced a significant two-way interaction for "attitude toward the model" appearing in the advertisement, F (1, 234) = 5.04, $p < .05$, between participant dogmatism and encouragement to self-reference. As illustrated in Table 16, when encouraged to self-reference, participants low in dogmatism rated the models in the ads significantly more favorably (M = 5.94) than did highly dogmatic participants (M = 5.45), F (1,234) = 12.27, $p < .01$. However, dogmatism had no impact on ratings of models when participants were not encouraged to self-reference. Of those participants who score low on the dogmatism measure, those who were encouraged to self-reference rated the model significantly higher (M = 5.94) than those who were not encouraged to self-reference (M = 5.21), F (1,234) = 19.06, $p < .01$.

Masculinity and Femininity As in study 1, the last variable to be included in the supplementary analyses is related to one of the primary independent variables of this study, participant gender role orientation. In addition to being categorized as traditional or nontraditional, participants were also classified in terms of masculinity and femininity, irrespective of gender. The dependent variables were subsequently subjected to a set of three-way ANOVAs.

Table 16

Attitude toward the Model in the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Dogmatism and Encouragement to Self-Reference

		Encouragement to Self-Reference	
		Encouraged	Not Encouraged
Participant	High Dogmatism	5.45	5.43
Dogmatism	Low Dogmatism	5.94	5.21

Pertinent to hypothesis 1, the results of a 2 (participant masculinity) X 2 (participant femininity) X 2 (encouragement to self-reference: encouraged vs. not encouraged) ANOVA produced no significant results for the primary dependent variable, communication effectiveness. However, the 2 X 2 X 2 ANOVA for the dependent measure "attitude to the ad" produced a significant two-way interaction between masculinity and femininity, $\underline{F}$ (1,234) = 4.88, $\underline{p} < .05$. As illustrated in Table 17, the nontraditional ads presented in study two were favored by nontraditional participants (i.e., low masculinity/low femininity individuals and high masculinity/high femininity individuals) who are not strongly "gendered." Specifically, participants scoring low in masculinity and low in femininity rated nontraditional ads viewed in study 2 more favorably ($\underline{M}$ = 6.47) than did participants low in masculinity and high in femininity ($\underline{M}$ = 6.01), $\underline{F}$ (1,234) = 11.62, $\underline{p} < .01$. This interaction also revealed that high femininity/high masculinity participants rated the ads more favorably ($\underline{M}$ = 6.53) than did high femininity/low masculinity participants ($\underline{M}$ = 6.01), $\underline{F}$ (1,234) = 13.52, $\underline{p} < .01$.

The 2 (participant masculinity) X 2 (participant femininity) X 2 (encouragement to self-reference: encouraged vs. not encouraged) ANOVA for the dependent variable "attitude to the model" produced a significant three-way interaction, F (1,234) = 4.39, $p < .05$. Table 18 illustrates the findings revealed for those not encouraged to self-reference. As would be expected of the gender-role congruency model, the interaction showed that when they were not encouraged to self-reference, less gendered participants (i.e., low masculinity/low femininity individuals and high masculinity/high femininity individuals) rated the models in the nontraditional ads presented in study 2 more favorably than did more gendered participants (i.e., low masculinity/high femininity).

Table 17

Attitude toward the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Femininity and Participant Masculinity

		Participant Masculinity	
		Low Masculinity	High Masculinity
Participant	Low Femininity	6.47	6.34
Femininity	High Femininity	6.01	6.53

Specifically, low masculinity/low femininity participants rated the models more favorably (M = 5.55) than did low masculinity/high femininity participants (M = 4.93), F (1,234) = 4.02, $p < .05$, and high masculinity/high femininity participants rated the models in the ads more favorably (M = 5.71) than did low masculinity/high femininity participants (M = 4.93), F (1,234) = 5.69, $p < .05$.

Table 19 illustrates the findings of those participants who were encouraged to self-reference. No significant differences were found among the means of those encouraged to self-reference. Interestingly, the three-way interaction revealed that more gendered participants (i.e., low masculinity/high femininity individuals and high masculinity/low femininity individuals) rated the models in the nontraditional advertisements presented in study 2 more favorably when they were encouraged to self-reference than when they were not encouraged to self-reference. Specifically, participants scoring low in masculinity and high in femininity rated the models in the ads more favorably when they were encouraged to self-reference (M = 5.64) than when they were not encouraged (M = 4.93), F (1,234) = 5.81, $p < .05$. The findings also revealed that high masculinity/low femininity participants rated the models more favorably when they were encouraged to self-reference (M = 5.82) than when they were not encouraged to self-reference (M = 5.16), F (1,234) = 5.46, $p < .05$. These data seem to indicate that the encouragement to self-reference manipulation may simply eliminate the masculinity/femininity effects, which is consistent with the notion that more traditional (gendered) individuals are influenced most by self-referencing.

Table 18

Attitude toward the Model in the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Femininity and Participant Masculinity (For Those Not Encouraged to Self-Reference)

		Participant Masculinity	
		Low Masculinity	High Masculinity
Participant	Low Femininity	5.55	5.16
Femininity	High Femininity	4.93	5.71

Table 19

Attitude toward the Model in the Advertisement as a Function of Participant Femininity and Participant Masculinity (For Those Encouraged to Self-Reference)

		Participant Masculinity	
		Low Masculinity	High Masculinity
Participant	Low Femininity	5.60	5.82
Femininity	High Femininity	5.64	5.67

A 2 (participant masculinity) X 2 (participant femininity) X 2 (ease of self-referencing: easy vs. difficult) ANOVA for all three dependent measures produced no significant interactions pertinent to hypothesis three of this study.

Discussion

Some support was found for the hypotheses presented in study two. Although no statistical support was found for a main effect of encouragement to self-reference for the primary dependent variable, communication effectiveness, or for the dependent variable "attitude to the advertisement," (the data obtained are in the right direction, but are not statistically significant), the main effect was found when examining participants' "attitude to the model." Participants who were encouraged to self-reference rated the models in the advertisements more favorably than did participants who were not encouraged to self-reference. However, this finding was qualified by a two-way interaction between participant gender role orientation and encouragement to self-reference (which was also found for "communication effectiveness"). Traditional participants who were encouraged to self-reference rated the products and the models in the advertisements more favorably and indicated stronger intentions to purchase the advertised products than traditional participants not encouraged to self-reference. Traditional participants who were encouraged to self-reference also rated the communication effectiveness of the advertisements more favorably than did nontraditional participants who were encouraged to self-reference. Yet, the interaction revealed that, of those not encouraged to self-reference, nontraditional participants rated the models more favorably than did traditional participants.

While a main effect was found for gender for both the primary dependent variable "communication effectiveness" and the dependent variable "attitude to the advertisement," it cannot be conclusively viewed as a true gender effect due to the fact that males and females were exposed to different advertisements and different products. It may simply indicate that the "feminine" products (cat food, wine, and low-calorie frozen dinner) and/or the advertisements for these products were viewed as more favorable by male participants than were the "masculine" products (dog food, liquor, and nutrition bar) and/or the advertisements for these products viewed by female participants.

Examining only those participants encouraged to self-reference, statistical support was found for a main effect of ease of self-referencing for all three dependent variables. The findings suggest that participants who find it easier to self-reference the situation portrayed in the nontraditional advertisement report more favorable ratings of the advertisements' effectiveness than do those participants who find self-referencing more difficult. Analyses of covariance utilizing "experience with the product" as a covariate produced the same results as the reported analyses of variance (without the covariate); therefore, it seems that it is not simply the viewers' past experience with the product, but the ease with which they can self-reference the situation portrayed in the advertisement which produces more favorable ratings of advertising effectiveness.

No significant participant gender role orientation X ease of self-referencing interactions were found for any of the dependent measures to support hypothesis 3. And the results from the study, although statistically insignificant, appear mixed. For the primary dependent variable, communication effectiveness, ease of self-referencing among those encouraged to self-reference seemed to have a slightly greater impact on

nontraditional participants than on traditional participants (the opposite of what was predicted in hypothesis 3). However, for the other dependent measures, the impact of ease of self-referencing seemed to be greater for traditional participants than for nontraditional participants, which is as predicted. It is feasible that the easier it is for any individual, regardless of gender role orientation, to self-reference nontraditional behaviors depicted in an advertisement, the more favorable their evaluation of the communication effectiveness of that advertisement will be.

Supplementary analyses of the filler questionnaires (Locus of Control, Need for Cognition, and Dogmatism) provided few results pertinent to the predictions made. Neither participant locus of control nor need for cognition produced significant results pertinent to the predictions for any of the three dependent measures. However, it seems as though dogmatism may be related to the gender role orientation of individuals, but that it is those who score lower on the dogmatism scale, not those scoring higher, who behave in a more “traditional” manner. Finally, with respect to the hypotheses of study 2, participants' masculinity and femininity scores did not significantly affect participants' communication effectiveness ratings. However, a significant two-way interaction for the dependent variable "attitude to the advertisement" was found between masculinity and femininity. This interaction revealed that participants scoring high in masculinity and femininity (i.e., androgynous individuals), or low on both dimensions (i.e., less differentiated individuals) rated the nontraditional advertisements in study 2 more favorably than did participants who were high on one dimension and low on the other dimension. A significant three-way interaction for the dependent measure "attitude to the model" produced similar findings but provided information on the effects of

encouragement to self-reference as well. It appears that participants scoring high on both dimensions (i.e., androgynous individuals) or low on both dimensions (i.e., less differentiated) who were not encouraged to self-reference rated the models more favorably than participants who scored high on one dimension and low on the other and were not encouraged to self-reference. When participants who differed in terms of masculinity and femininity were encouraged to self-reference, however, they tended to rate the models in the nontraditional advertisements more favorably than when they were not encouraged to self-reference. In this situation, they also rated the ads more similarly to the ratings of the less-gendered participants (i.e., those who scored either high or low on both masculinity and femininity).

SECTION 4

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The results from study 1 provide some support for the gender-role congruency model. Individuals possessing a traditional gender role orientation favored advertisements portraying traditional gender roles over advertisements portraying nontraditional gender roles, and traditional individuals also rated traditional advertisements more favorably than did nontraditional individuals. In addition, nontraditional individuals tended to like nontraditional advertisements more so than advertisements portraying traditional gender roles. The implications of the findings of this study are mixed. On the one hand, these results might suggest that advertisers are not at risk of receiving negative responses from consumers when presenting advertisements with traditional gender role portrayals. The data from this research imply that more than half (58%) of the participants are traditional in their gender role orientations. Since this population (i.e., college students) is typically more liberal with respect to gender roles as compared to individuals outside of universities, it is likely that the traditional composition of the general population is even larger. When the goal is to simply appeal to the greatest number of consumers, advertisements portraying traditional gender roles may be more successful.

On the other hand, nearly half of females (48%) and over a third of males (34%) who participated in this research were classified as nontraditional, and a major focus of this research was to explore whether or not nontraditional consumers would perceive

advertisements which portray nontraditional gender roles as more effective than advertisements portraying traditional gender roles. Therefore, a significant number of consumers would be ignored if an advertiser focused only on individuals with a traditional gender role orientation. Results from this study suggest that, despite a preference for advertisements portraying traditional gender roles, traditional individuals did not respond negatively to the nontraditional advertisements, which were preferred slightly by the nontraditional populace of participants. In fact, traditional individuals rated the nontraditional advertisements to be of equal effectiveness as did nontraditional participants. So, these data do not actually imply that advertisers are at risk should they choose to occasionally appeal to consumers using nontraditional images.

Taking into account both of these possible scenarios, advertisers may want to consider the gender-role orientation of their target market when developing an advertising strategy. For example, if the target market is made up of primarily traditional consumers (e.g., stay-at-home moms, sports-loving males) advertisers may be wise to portray traditional gender roles in advertisements, and if the target market consists of primarily nontraditional consumers (e.g., career women, stay-at-home dads) advertisers should consider nontraditional gender role portrayals. When the target market is mixed, the solution becomes more complicated. In this situation, an advertiser who wishes to appeal to the simple majority of potential consumers may find it beneficial to utilize advertisements portraying traditional gender role portrayals since the majority of American consumers are likely to be classified as traditional. However, if the goal is to appeal to both traditional and nontraditional consumers within one target market, it may be wise for advertisers to develop both traditional and nontraditional versions of their

advertising, thereby appealing to each market separately without eliciting negative responses from either.

The results of study two provide some encouragement for those advertisers who wish to balance the scales a bit by using nontraditional gender role portrayals in their advertising. In order to attract traditional consumers without utilizing strict gender stereotypes, advertisers may want to consider designing nontraditional advertisements that encourage consumer self-referencing. The data from this study reveal that by doing so, individuals with a traditional gender role orientation for whom the situation portrayed in the advertisement is relevant (i.e., those who can easily self-reference) respond more positively to nontraditional advertisements than do traditional individuals for whom the situation portrayed is not relevant (i.e., those who find self-referencing more difficult).

This "ease of self-referencing" effect was found for both traditional and nontraditional consumers in this study; therefore, by creating advertisements that portray situations that are relevant for the consumer regardless of his or her gender role orientation, advertisers can elicit favorable consumer attitudes toward the advertised product. However, advertisers should be cautioned that nontraditional consumers who find it difficult to self-reference when encouraged to do so rate advertised products lower than if they had not been encouraged to self-reference in the first place. Therefore, a thorough understanding of what is and what is not relevant for the target market is necessary in order to reap the benefits gained from implementation of gender-role congruency theory.

Overall, the two studies provide some support for the gender-role congruency hypotheses, as well as the positive effects of self-referencing on traditional consumers'

ratings of the perceived advertising effectiveness of nontraditional advertisements, given that the situation portrayed in the ad is made relevant to the consumers. These data imply that, unlike the negative consequences of usage of nontraditional advertising in the 1970s and 1980s (Courtney & Whipple, 1983; Ducker & Tucker, 1977; Wortzel & Frisbie, 1974), advertisers of the start of the 21st century run little risk of negative consumer response with the appropriate use of nontraditional gender role portrayals.

Limitations of this Research

Although these studies provided much interesting information, there were several obvious limitations of this research. First, the participants were all students enrolled at The University of Georgia; therefore, the results obtained in this research may not be generalizable to the broader U.S. consumer population. For example, the mean age of the students who participated in this research was 20 years, with ages ranging only from 17 years to 32 years (only 21 of the 488 students fell outside the 18-22 year-old age range). Also, over 90% of the participants were Caucasian, which again is not representative of the United States population.

Another limitation of this research concerns a primary independent measure used in the two studies: the Bem Sex Role Inventory. The Bem Sex Role Inventory allows for the classification of participants in terms of their gender role orientation; however, this measure does not address the importance of one's gender role orientation to each of the participants. Individuals who view their gender role orientation as important (i.e., gender schematic individuals) may respond differently to traditional versus nontraditional advertisements than do individuals who do not view their gender role orientation as important. These differences may lead to alternative explanations of the conclusions

presented in the two studies. For example, nontraditional participants who are gender schematic may actually report significantly more favorable attitudes to nontraditional ads than to traditional advertisements, while nontraditional participants who view their gender role orientation as less important may indicate no real preference. This aspect of importance to self should be examined in future research in combination with participant gender role orientation.

It is also important to briefly discuss the fact that the effect sizes found throughout this research were not large. Due to the large number of individuals participating in these studies, statistical significance was able to be detected between group scores with as little as one-third of a rating point differentiating them. It is possible that, although statistically significant, the difference between the ratings of perceived advertising effectiveness of various ads by traditional versus nontraditional individuals is moderate at best. Additional research would be helpful in determining this measure of effect size.

Other limitations of these studies concern the research methods. First, the advertisements used in the two studies were not all original. The traditional ads appeared as they originally did in magazines during the years of 1999 and 2000. However, despite remaining original in their content, the nontraditional advertisements were made to appear nontraditional by graphically removing the traditionally-gendered model (i.e., males in ads for masculine products and females in ads for feminine products) and inserting a model of the opposite gender. Therefore, it is possible that participants' varied in terms of previous exposure to the advertisements. Data was collected in study two that assessed participants' prior experience with the products advertised and, when included as a covariate in the analyses, no differences in the patterns of outcomes were

found. However, no such data was collected for prior exposure to the advertisements and this may have affected participant ratings.

Another limitation of the research methods utilized in these studies concerns the manner in which participants were exposed to the advertisements. Participants were asked to view only magazine advertisements, and to view each advertisement for a specific length of time and then to rate the advertisement. In real-life situations, this is probably not the typical manner in which consumers view and evaluate the effectiveness of advertisements. Every day, consumers are exposed to advertisements via various media (television, radio, print, outdoor advertising, direct mailing, etc.) and when they are exposed to print advertisements in magazines, they typically flip through the magazines, reading articles, looking at photographs, stopping only briefly to glance at advertisements that catch their eye, or advertisements for products in which they are already interested. The controlled manner in which participants viewed the advertisements in these studies may have produced somewhat misleading results, which may not be replicated in a more naturalistic setting.

Suggestions for Future Research

In response to some of these limitations, future researchers exploring this subject matter may want to consider the following suggestions: (1) employ a more representative sample, with participants of a wide range of ages, races, socioeconomic statuses, geographic location, etc., (2) create original advertisements for novel products, therefore eliminating past exposure to the advertisement and previous experience with the products as factors, (3) expand the research to include other advertisement media, such as television and radio commercials as well as other types of persuasive communications

such as public service announcements, and to (4) explore ways in which research data can be gathered in a more naturalistic manner while still maintaining some experimental control over the variables of interest. Similar results found with these changes would strengthen support for the gender-role congruency model and would provide more insight into the effects of self-referencing on the perceived advertising effectiveness of both traditional and nontraditional consumers.

Overall Summary

This research provided limited support for the gender-role congruency model of advertising effectiveness, as well as some support for the notion that a more varied presentation of gender role portrayals in advertising would be met without negative consequences for advertisers. While the data suggests that the hypotheses of these studies were overstated, it appears that advertisers have little to fear should they choose to use nontraditional advertising as long as they can get consumers who hold traditional gender role beliefs to think about the relevance of the products for themselves, or in other words, to self-reference.

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APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTIVE ADJECTIVES FROM THE BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY AND SCORING PROCEDURE

Adjectives Describing Masculinity	Adjectives Describing Femininity	Neutral Adjectives
acts as a leader	affectionate	adaptable
aggressive	cheerful	conceited
ambitious	childlike	conscientious
analytical	compassionate	conventional
assertive	does not use harsh language	friendly
athletic	eager to soothe hurt feelings	happy
competitive	feminine	helpful
defends own beliefs	flatterable	inefficient
dominant	gentle	jealous
forceful	gullible	likable
has leadership abilities	loves children	moody
independent	loyal	reliable
individualistic	sensitive to the needs of others	secretive
makes decisions easily	shy	sincere
masculine	soft spoken	solemn
self-reliant	sympathetic	tactful
self-sufficient	tender	theatrical
strong personality	understanding	truthful
willing to take a stand	warm	unpredictable
willing to take risks	yielding	unsystematic

Scoring Procedure: Participants indicate how well each item describes himself or herself on the following scales: (1) never or almost never true; (2) usually not true; (3) sometimes but infrequently true; (4) occasionally true; (5) often true; (6) usually true; (7) always or almost always true. Add the ratings of the feminine items and divide by twenty. This is the person's Femininity score. Add the ratings of the masculine items and divide by twenty. This is the person's Masculinity score. Subtract the Masculinity score from the Femininity score and multiply the result by 2.322. (This approximates the score derived by more complicated statistical procedures). If the result is greater than 1, the person is sex-typed in the feminine direction. If the result is less than -1, the person is sex-typed in the masculine direction. A score between –1 and 1 means the person is androgynous.

APPENDIX B

COMPLETE LIST OF PRODUCTS CONSIDERED FOR USE IN THIS RESEARCH

Product	Mean Sex-Type	Mean Buy/Use	% Total Sex-Type	% Males Sex-Type	% Females Sex-Type	% Total Buy/Use	% Males Buy/Use	% Females Buy/Use
Military	1.3	1.6	100% (M)	100% (M)	100% (M)	3%	8%	0%
Face Lotion	6.5	5.7	100% (F)	100% (F)	100% (F)	77%	33%	96%
Truck	1.4	2.6	100% (M)	100% (M)	100% (M)	15%	42%	4%
Low-Cal/Fat Frozen Food	6.3	4.7	100% (F)	100% (F)	100% (F)	54%	25%	67%
Stair Stepper	6.2	3.8	92% (F)	100% (F)	89% (F)	41%	0%	59%
Hard Liquor	1.7	4.3	95% (M)	100% (M)	93% (M)	59%	58%	59%
Big Screen TV	1.9	5.1	95% (M)	92% (M)	96% (M)	64%	75%	59%
Stove/Oven	6.0	6.0	100% (F)	100% (F)	100% (F)	90%	83%	93%
Minivan	6.0	2.0	95% (F)	92% (F)	96% (F)	3%	8%	0%
Vacuum Bags	5.9	5.5	97% (F)	100% (F)	96% (F)	72%	58%	78%
Washer/Dryer	5.9	6.5	97% (F)	92% (F)	98% (F)	95%	83%	100%
Scale	5.9	5.0	87% (F)	92% (F)	85% (F)	67%	50%	74%
Speakers	2.2	5.5	100% (M)	100% (M)	100% (M)	85%	100%	79%
Bleach	5.8	5.3	90% (F)	67% (F)	100% (F)	74%	50%	85%
Financial Services	2.2	4.9	82% (M)	83% (M)	82% (M)	61%	75%	56%
Wine	5.6	4.2	74% (F)	75% (F)	74% (F)	49%	42%	52%
Laundry Detergent	5.6	6.7	90% (F)	83% (F)	93% (F)	100%	100%	100%
Cat Products	5.5	3.0	90% (F)	100% (F)	85% (F)	31%	8%	41%
Heartburn Medicine	2.7	3.8	72% (M)	67% (M)	74% (M)	31%	33%	30%
Volvo Automobile	5.1	5.3	72% (F)	75% (F)	70% (F)	36%	25%	41%
Dog Products	2.9	4.8	69% (M)	58% (M)	74% (M)	61%	58%	63%
Nutrition Bar	4.8	4.0	54% (M)	50% (M)	56% (M)	49%	33%	56%
Saturn Automobile	4.8	3.4	54% (F)	50% (F)	56% (F)	26%	0%	37%
Salad Dressing	4.7	6.0	62% (F)	67% (F)	59 % (F)	87%	75%	93%
Cinnamon Rolls	4.6	4.6	54% (F)	50% (F)	56% (F)	64%	50%	70%
Palm Pilot	4.6	4.3	51% (M)	33% (M)	59% (M)	49%	42%	52%
CD Player	3.5	6.9	36% (M)	50% (M)	30% (M)	100%	100%	100%
Credit Cards	4.4	5.4	54% (N)	58% (N)	52% (N)	74%	92%	67%
Cold Medicine	4.2	6.2	69% (N)	75% (N)	67% (N)	87%	67%	96%
Breath Freshening Gum	4.1	6.2	74% (N)	67% (N)	78% (N)	87%	83%	89%
Coffee	4.0	4.6	75% (N)	83% (N)	70% (N)	56%	50%	59%
Lexus Automobile	4.0	4.3	56% (N)	58% (N)	56% (N)	54%	33%	63%

APPENDIX C

DESCRIPTION OF ADVERTISEMENTS VIEWED IN STUDY 1

Product	Ad Traditionality	Description
Cheese Singles	Neutral	Plate of grilled cheese sandwich squares with copy reading: "Not every source of calcium comes with a milk mustache."
Toothpaste	Neutral	A tube of toothpaste is shown with copy reading "THE FIRST AND ONLY TOOTHPASTE THAT WORKS ALL DAY TO FIGHT CAVITIES, TARTER, BAD BREATH, GINGIVITIS AND PLAQUE. At the bottom of the ad reads, "THE BRUSHING THAT WORKS BETWEEN BRUSHINGS."
Vegetable Juice	Neutral	A bottle of vegetable juice set on grass with blue sky and clouds in the background. Copy reads, "AND YOU THOUGHT CALCIUM CAME FROM COWS."
Minivan	Traditional	Young female standing with silver minivan in background. Copy at top of ad reads, "Not to worry, Mom. Copy at bottom of ad reads, "Relax, it's got the government's highest rating in frontal collision tests. And 3-point seat belts for all seven seats. What? You worry?"
Truck	Traditional	Ad shown from inside of cab of truck with male standing outside the driver's window dressed in cowboy hat, gloves, and denim shirt looking into the truck. Copy reads, "BIG IS GOOD. BIGGER IS EVEN BETTER." Additional copy describes the size, comfort, safety and dependability of the truck.
Cat Food	Traditional	Close up of female holding a cat. Copy reads, "All the love in the world won't help maintain his urinary tract health. Fortunately, you can do that with what you feed him."
Dog Food	Traditional	Ad shows a male throwing a frisbee with his dog in a park. The dog appears to be running with such speed that the sidewalk is left in shambles behind the dog. The copy reads, "It's gotta be the XXX dog food." Copy at the bottom of the ad reads, "INCREDIBLE DOG FOOD. INCREDIBLE DOGS." Additional copy describes the food's benefits for your dog."
Wine	Traditional	Ad shows a cropped scene of a female relaxing on a chair on the shore of a sandy beach. The copy reads, "HAVE YOU HEARD?" and provides a positive quote from a writer of a reputable wine magazine. The copy at the bottom of the ad reads, "For the love of wine."
Hard Liquor	Traditional	Ad shows a cropped picture of three young adult males near a billiard table, arms around each other, smiling. The copy, in bold black letters on a red background read, "YOU'VE BEEN FRIENDS SINCE GETTING TOGETHER FOR A DRINK MEANT THE WATER FOUNTAIN AFTER RECESS." The copy at the bottom of the page next to a picture of a bottle of the bourbon reads, "Real friends. Real bourbon."

Product	Ad Traditionality	Description
Minivan	NonTraditional	Young male standing with silver minivan in background. Copy at top of ad reads, "Not to worry, Dad. Copy at bottom of ad reads, "Relax, it's got the government's highest rating in frontal collision tests. And 3-point seat belts for all seven seats. What? You worry?"
Truck	NonTraditional	Ad shown from inside of cab of truck with female standing outside the driver's window dressed in cowboy hat, and denim shirt looking into the truck. Copy reads, "BIG IS GOOD. BIGGER IS EVEN BETTER." Additional copy describes the size, comfort, safety and dependability of the truck.
Cat Food	NonTraditional	Close up of male holding a cat. Copy reads, "All the love in the world won't help maintain her urinary tract health. Fortunately, you can do that with what you feed her."
Dog Food	NonTraditional	Ad shows a female throwing a frisbee with his dog in a park. The dog appears to be running with such speed that the sidewalk is left in shambles behind the dog. The copy reads, "It's gotta be the XXX dog food." Copy at the bottom of the ad reads, "INCREDIBLE DOG FOOD. INCREDIBLE DOGS." Additional copy describes the food's benefits for your dog."
Wine	NonTraditional	Ad shows a cropped scene of a male relaxing on a chair on the shore of a sandy beach. The copy reads, "HAVE YOU HEARD?" and provides a positive quote from a writer of a reputable wine magazine. The copy at the bottom of the ad reads, "For the love of wine."
Hard Liquor	NonTraditional	Ad shows a cropped picture of two young adult females laughing while sitting outdoors on wooden lawn chairs. The copy, in bold black letters on a red background read, "YOU'VE BEEN FRIENDS SINCE GETTING TOGETHER FOR A DRINK MEANT THE WATER FOUNTAIN AFTER RECESS." The copy at the bottom of the page next to a picture of a bottle of the bourbon reads, "Real friends. Real bourbon."

APPENDIX D

ADVERTISING EFFECTIVENESS QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions: Please place an **X** in the space that most accurately reflects your attitude:

1. How would you rate this ***advertisement***?

Pleasant	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Unpleasant
Appealing	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Unappealing
Dislikable	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Likable
Interesting	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Boring
Extremely Ineffective	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Extremely Effective
Not Authentic	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Authentic
Tasteful	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Tasteless

2. In thinking about this ***product***, it strikes me as:

Good	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Bad
Worthless	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Valuable
Impractical	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Practical
Desirable	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Undesirable
Awful	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Nice

3. The ***person*** shown in the advertisement is _____ as a model for this product.

Extremely Ineffective	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Extremely Effective
Not Credible	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Credible
Appropriate	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Inappropriate
Inexpert	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Expert
Trustworthy	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Not Trustworthy

4. If you were in the market for a product of this type and had the finances necessary for the purchase, how likely would you be to buy the product advertised?

Not at all Likely	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Extremely Likely

APPENDIX E

DESCRIPTION OF ADVERTISEMENTS VIEWED IN STUDY 2

Product	Ad Traditionality	Description of Ad
Wine	NonTraditional	Ad shows a cropped scene of a male relaxing on a chair on the shore of a sandy beach. The copy reads, "HAVE YOU HEARD?" and provides a positive quote from a writer of a reputable wine magazine. The copy at the bottom of the ad reads, "For the love of wine."
Hard Liquor	NonTraditional	Ad shows a cropped picture of two young adult females laughing while sitting outdoors on wooden lawn chairs. The copy, in bold black letters on a red background read, "YOU'VE BEEN FRIENDS SINCE GETTING TOGETHER FOR A DRINK MEANT THE WATER FOUNTAIN AFTER RECESS." The copy at the bottom of the page next to a picture of a bottle of the bourbon reads, "Real friends. Real bourbon."
Nutrition Bar	NonTraditional	Ad shows close-up of young adult female sitting on an exercise bench wearing exercise clothing, smiling. Copy reads, "The New Year's resolution that's easy to keep" Copy at the bottom of the ad reads, "Love Your Body." Additional copy next to picture of the nutrition bar describes the benefits of the nutrition bar.
Low Calorie/Low Fat Frozen Dinner	NonTraditional	Top half of ad shows young adult male dressed in short-sleeve sweatshirt and shorts jogging across an open field with mountains in the background. The bottom half of ad shows a plate of herb roasted chicken with potatos and vegetables. The copy reads, "DO SOMETHING GOOD FOR YOURSELF" Additional copy above a picture of the frozen dinner box describes the dish shown.
Heartburn Medicine	NonTraditional	Ad shows a young adult female, smiling, dressed in black evening wear who just threw her hat in the air. She is standing on a clock-face that has the number "24" on it. The sand beneath the clock is orange with blue sky in the background. The copy reads, "Frequent Heartburn? 24-hour complete heartburn relief really is possible." Additional copy describes the symptoms helped by the drug as well as side-effects and the way to obtain the drug from a doctor.
Facial Lotion/Cleanser	NonTraditional	Ad shows a facial close-up of a young adult male smiling. The copy at the top of the ad reads, "Your Skin Will Understand Why More Dermatologists Trust XXX Cleanser." Bottles of the product line are shown near the bottom of the ad along with the copy, "The source for serious skin care." Additional copy describes how safe, gentle and effective the cleanser is on even sensitive skin.
Cheese Singles	Neutral	Plate of grilled cheese sandwich squares with copy reading: "Not every source of calcium comes with a milk mustache."

Product	Ad Traditionality	Description of Ad
Toothpaste	Neutral	A tube of toothpaste is shown with copy reading "THE FIRST AND ONLY TOOTHPASTE THAT WORKS ALL DAY TO FIGHT CAVITIES, TARTER, BAD BREATH, GINGIVITIS AND PLAQUE. At the bottom of the ad reads, "THE BRUSHING THAT WORKS BETWEEN BRUSHINGS."
Vegetable Juice	Neutral	A bottle of vegetable juice set on grass with blue sky and clouds in the background. Copy reads, "AND YOU THOUGHT CALCIUM CAME FROM COWS."

APPENDIX F

SELF-REFERENCING QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions: At this time, please consider the behavior portrayed in the advertisement in terms of your own experiences. Please place an **X** in the space that best represents your answer.

1. The model in this advertisement is _____ to me.

Not at all Similar										Extremely Similar
	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	

2. How easily was it for you to imagine yourself in the situation portrayed by the model in the advertisement?

Very Difficult										Very Easily
	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	

3. How often do you purchase the product advertised?

Never										Very Often
	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	

4. How often (if ever) do you use the product advertised?

Never										Very Often
	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	