

THE PRESENCE AND PORTRAYAL OF RACIAL MINORITIES IN
MAGAZINE ADVERTISING

by

HYE JIN YOON

(Under the Direction of Karen King)

ABSTRACT

Racial minority consumers have been growing in both numbers and buying power. Although the importance of marketing to a diverse audience is being recognized by a few companies who promote ethnic marketing in specialty media, there has been ample evidence that mainstream advertising is lagging behind in a multicultural society by portraying minority models in stereotypical ways. This study will examine magazines from 2004 and 2005 to provide an update of the portrayals of minority models in advertising. In addition to the traditional factors that past studies have measured to determine the existence of minority stereotypes such as product categories and settings, this study will further look at subtler and newer stereotypes that can be found in images in advertising. Social implications of negative stereotyping and implications for advertisers on how to best depict minority models will be provided.

INDEX WORDS: Racial minority portrayal, magazine advertising, stereotypes, model minority

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B.A., Korea University, South Korea, 2001

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2006

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, my true inspirations in life, who give me unconditional support day in and day out.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Karen King, my major professor, for her guidance and support. Without her, I would still be lost in a pool of topics. I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Mariko Morimoto and Dr. Janice Hume, who encouraged me with different points of view.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The demographic profile of United States consumers has become increasingly diverse in the last century. Minority consumers have increased substantially in numbers to consist of over 30 percent of the total population. This number is projected to rise to 49.9 percent by the year 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). The buying power among ethnic minorities has also become significant. In 2004, the buying power of the top four largest minority groups accounted for 21.2 percent of the total U.S. buying power. With an average annual growth rate of 8 percent for each minority group, buying power of African Americans (\$965 billion, 8.7 percent), Asian Americans (\$528 billion, 4.8 percent), Hispanics/Latinos (\$992 billion, 9 percent), and Native Americans (\$65.5 billion, 0.6 percent) is projected to account for 23.1 percent of the nation's total buying power by the year 2009 (Humphreys, 2004).

As a result, the marketing and advertising industry is finding it impossible to ignore racial minority groups as significant market segments. It has become increasingly important for the marketers to sensitize themselves to the consumption patterns, different wants and needs, and cultural backgrounds of minority groups in their target range. Large retailers such as Sears, Wal-Mart, and Kroger have produced new product lines, hired more bilingual associates, and

remodeled existing stores for their ethnic consumers (Heller, 2004). The advertising industry has followed suit with more advertising agencies creating messages targeted toward minority groups and selecting specialty media to place the advertisements. General Motors, Wal-Mart, and Kraft have begun to create in-language messages exclusively for Asians (Reyes, 2005) and Ford has created an eight-step program which includes direct mail and regional public relations to target Hispanic communities (Bernstein, 2003). According to a multicultural marketing survey of its members by the Association of National Advertisers, an overwhelming 89 percent of the respondents reported that they implement multicultural marketing, with the majority of the other 11 percent citing lack of budget as the reason for not joining in (Wentz, 2004).

The advertising industry's realization of the importance of racial minority groups as substantial consumers has also influenced mainstream advertising. African Americans were portrayed in a more diverse and impartial manner in mainstream advertising of the early 2000s compared to advertising of 1970s and 1980s (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000; Mastro and Stern, 2003). The overall percentage of portrayals of African Americans and Asian Americans in both television and magazine advertising has exceeded their population proportion (Mastro and Stern, 2003; Paek and Shah 2003). And although still very limited, a greater percentage of magazine advertisements containing minority models in 2001 portrayed them in diversified settings and relationships (Lee and Joo, 2005) compared to advertisements in 1992 (Taylor and Lee, 1994).

Although some progress has been made, skewed portrayals of minority models and “token” representations are still frequently reported in standardized advertising. In television advertising, both African American women and men have been reported to be non-existent in romantic and family relationships (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000). Observations of television advertising from the mid 1990s to early 2000s have reported Hispanics/Latinos and Asians to be underrepresented and stereotypically portrayed (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000; Mastro and Stern, 2003). Studies of magazine advertising show similar results of minorities filling minor roles as “tokenism” and being depicted in limited settings and relationships (Bowen and Schmid, 1997; Lee and Joo, 2005; Morimoto and La Ferle, 2002).

With each year, advertising is becoming more and more multicultural (Wentz, 2004). Mainstream magazines are broadening their appeal to draw in new audiences and specialty magazines are being created to target small but precise market segments. Big corporations are joining forces with minority agencies to better implement ethnic as well as mainstream marketing (Bowen and Shmid, 1997). The fact that the environment is rapidly changing year by year in terms of the industry’s attitude towards racial minority groups calls for a current look at the presence and portrayal of minorities in mainstream advertising. This study chose to observe mainstream advertising mainly for two reasons. First, although specialty media are gaining ground by meeting the demands of racial minority consumers (Bowen and Schmid, 1997), many of the racial minority group members are still substantial consumers of mainstream

media (Magazine Publishers of America, 2004). The type of minority portrayal the company chooses to use in mainstream advertising could lead to either winning or losing this important market segment as their customers. Second, an observation of mainstream advertising is important in the way that it has a significant influence on how people view the world. The images of racial minorities shown in mainstream advertising will not only influence the majority's view of minorities, but may also shape the views minority group members have of themselves (Chae, 2004; Mastro and Stern, 2003; Taylor, Landreth, and Bang, 2005).

This study will examine the presence and portrayal of minority models in mainstream magazines by updating and extending the Taylor and Lee (1994) article. The most recent articles focused mainly on portrayals of Asian Americans (Lee and Joo, 2005; Taylor, Landreth and Bang, 2005) and a comprehensive study of all racial minorities in magazines dates back to 1992 (Bowen and Shmid, 1997). In this study, portrayals of the models of three representative racial minority groups in the U.S., Black, Asian, and Hispanic/Latino, will be observed. In addition to the traditional themes studied by previous research, the current study will examine some new elements of model characteristics. Here, traditional themes refer to the reoccurring themes common in the majority of articles on minority portrayal in the media, such as presence, prominence, settings, product categories, and relationships. Observation of new elements attempts to capture the existence of other subtler forms of stereotypes by studying the appearance and behavioral characteristics of models.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Racial Minority Stereotypes and Its Negative Impact

Stereotypes are impressions that one social group hold about another. Certain forms of behavior and dispositions of a group are taken out of context and magnified to depict all members of that group (Pickering, 2001). Although we are taught stereotypes are inaccurate because they nonchalantly homogenize people of diverse characteristics and backgrounds, they are perpetuated in society because of the illusion of control and order they give to people (Schudson, 1984).

Stereotyping is particularly common in advertising. Advertisers use stereotypes frequently as a countermeasure for being pressed for time (Firth, 2005). They are only given 15 or 30 seconds on television, with no guarantee of full audience attention. In the case of magazines, the average reader spends less than 3 seconds on each page (Firth, 2005). Not enough time is provided to develop elaborate storylines or characters, let alone portray multiple values and viewpoints. So the advertiser aims at evoking familiarity by triggering existing beliefs. This is often done by employing a single, often stereotypical image or concept (Kim and Lowry, 2005).

These images, when perpetuated, can be harmful to the society as well as to the advertisers. Cultivation theory posits that the media are responsible for shaping viewers' conceptions of social reality (Gerbner, Morgan, and Signoriell, 1980). The images provided by the mass media cultivate attitudes and values that are already present in a culture in a more exaggerated fashion, which in turn, sustains and perpetuates them among the members of the society. When stereotypes are shown repeatedly in the media, the viewers may gradually become accustomed to those values and exaggerated images that they draw upon them when forming attitudes and expectations about the society (Gerbner, Morgan, and Signoriell, 1994).

Once they become cultivated, these expectations people start to form lead their mindset of how things should be in reality. According to expectancy theory, after a certain amount of exposure to stereotypes, people start building expectations that a member of a certain minority group will have traits that coincide with those stereotypes (Jussim, 1990). These expectations are dangerous for two reasons. First, they obscure people's view of individuals, making it hard for others to see beyond the preconceptions to discover the unique individual characteristics. Second, when expectations are not met in the eyes of the majority, minority members may be judged as being out of the ordinary or not living up to the standards. Consequently, the minority members might feel pressure to fit the norm or perform as expected and feel inadequate when they fail to do so. This can cause anxiety and frustration for the minority group members and can be a cause of social conflict and animosity among different racial groups (Chae, 2004).

The case of Asian Americans provides a good example of the negative impact of stereotypes and expectations they create. Asian Americans are often stereotyped as model minorities, as hard working, educationally driven, and proficient with technology. In studies of stereotypes in school settings, Asian American students reported their frustrations of being categorized as model minorities, complaining that the students as well as the teachers assume they are well-off and well educated (Chae, 2004; Pyke and Dang, 2003; Zhou and Xiong, 2005). These students reported feeling an enormous amount of pressure to achieve high academic standards. Furthermore, it was observed that hostile environments were created by other racial minority groups, blaming the unfairness of teacher bias towards Asian American students (Rosenbloom and Way, 2004).

Stereotypes not only bring harm to society, but they can bring unwanted results for advertisers as well. Consumers value certain products and evaluate advertisements favorably on the basis of the extent to which they can relate their self-concept (Solomon, 1983). Underrepresentation and stereotyping of racial minority groups in advertisements can cause the minority group members to develop reluctance and resentment towards the advertising and the brand. By not representing racial minority members in adequate numbers and with fair representations, marketers and advertisers are failing to provide the basis needed for consumers to establish strong brand associations. In fact, it has been reported that Asian Americans complain they have a hard time seeing portrayals of themselves (Hong, 2005) and people with

whom they can identify with in the media and advertising (Cohen, 1992). Instead of mere appearances, African Americans wish advertising would feature African American spokespersons who are accurate representations of their race (Jewler, 1995). Such cases can cause the minority group members to feel exploited or not targeted, consequently evoking less positive attitudes towards the advertising message (Appiah, 2001).

Such observed negative impact and the increasing importance of minority groups in the marketplace have prompted researchers to study minority portrayals in advertising, especially to the presence and portrayal of representations.

Past Research on Portrayals of Minorities in Advertising

The studies on portrayals of minority groups in advertising have focused on two major themes, the presence and portrayal of minority models. Past findings have found an absence of minority models in advertising and when present, portrayals that are often stereotypical.

The Presence of Minority Models

Minority portrayal studies have examined the number of minorities in ads by the proportionality criterion which states that the percentage of minority representation in advertising should approximately equal the minority's proportion in the population (Faber, O'Guinn, and Meyer, 1987). The numerical representation of minority members in the media is significant in the fact that it is perceived, both by the majority and minority group members, as equal to social status and importance (Dorr, 1982; Taylor and Stern, 1997).

The number of racial minority portrayals has seen a substantial increase with the exception of Hispanics/Latinos, as the representation frequency in studies will show. Comparing two studies that examined television advertising from 1992 (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000) and 2001 (Mastro and Stern, 2003), out of all human characters coded, the number of Blacks slightly increased from 11 percent to 12.4 percent and Asians from 2 percent to 2.3 percent. Magazine advertising has undergone greater progress in terms of representation frequency, as seen in a comparison of two studies of magazines from 1993 (Taylor and Lee, 1994) and 2001 (Lee and Joo, 2005). Of all the ads containing human models in the sample, advertising that included Black models increased from 11.4 percent to 17.5 percent and Asian models from 4 percent to 8.3 percent. The minority representations have each exceeded the 2004 population of African Americans (12.2 percent) and Asian Americans (4.2 percent) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). Hispanics/Latinos, however, who make up 14.2 percent of the total U.S. population, were reported to be virtually invisible in both television (1.0 percent) and magazine (2.6 percent) advertising in 2001.

Representation frequency of racial minority models is often dealt together with observations of the role prominence, for mere appearances are insufficient in determining the quality of the representations. In fact, the increase in numbers of minorities depicted did not necessarily mean a progress in the quality of the representations as all recent studies showed minority models often occupying minor or background roles (Bowen and Shmid, 1997; Lee and

Joo, 2005; Paek and Shah, 2003; Taylor and Stern, 1997). These studies have interpreted such results as evidence of racial minority marginalization. Such marginalizations have been argued to reinforce the minority status of racial minorities in society, which consequently strengthens in-group and out-group boundaries (Verkuyten, 2003).

The Portrayal of Minority Models

Stereotypical portrayals of minority models in advertising have been evident in the past. Although the questions asked and results analyzed in numerous studies of minority portrayals were diverse, there seemed to be a few reoccurring themes for certain minority groups. While the portrayal of African Americans has become more diverse (Mastro and Stern, 2003), there still exists evidence of stereotypical portrayals. In television advertising, Black men were often shown as aggressive, active, and symbols of masculinity and as a consequence, were deprived of domestic and romantic fulfillment (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000). Black women were seldom shown in domestic settings as well (Marable, 1996) and Black models, in general, were frequently associated with sports and music (Bowen and Shmid, 1997).

The biggest issue facing Asian Americans in terms of unjust portrayals has been the model minority stereotype. The monolithic view of Asian Americans as academically successful and economically mobile, although empirically proven otherwise (Lee, 2001; Osajima, 1988), has been hard to cast away despite the efforts of critics and the Asian community. Although this stereotype has been constructed from a combination of facts, as Asian-Americans

have indeed become the group with higher average income and education levels than any other ethnic group in America (Green, 2005), it asserted erroneous claims of Asian Americans being workaholics and money-driven people which entailed images of being distant, arrogant, and unfriendly. And because they were perceived to be “all work and no play,” they were also categorized as being “socially dull,” “unfashionable,” and “nerdy” (Pyke and Dang 2003). These stereotypes have been reflected in the images chosen for this minority group in advertising. Studies, of television and magazine advertising alike, have confirmed the existence of the model minority stereotype of Asian Americans in advertising as hardworking and technology-savvy. Asian models were shown mostly in business settings and holding occupations of professional, technical, and business background, but were underrepresented in familial and social settings (Lee and Joo, 2005; Mastro and Stern, 2003; Morimoto and La Ferle, 2002; Paek and Shah 2003; Taylor et al., 2005).

In contrast to the lively discussions of stereotypical images of Black and Asian models in advertising, discourses on Hispanic/Latino portrayals have been scarce due to their absence in advertising in mainstream media. Studies of both television and magazines report lack of representation, with Hispanics/Latinos comprising only 1 to 2 percent of all examined advertising (Mastro and Stern, 2003; Taylor et al., 2005). Although limited in their number of representations, Hispanic/Latino portrayals were also found to be stereotypical. Among the few appearances, they were often shown suggestively clad and engaging in alluring behavior in

television advertisements (Mastro and Stern, 2003). Related results were found in another study of prime time television, where Hispanics/Latinos were dressed less professionally and used excessive accessories more than any other models (Mastro and Greenberg, 2000).

Whichever racial minority the advertising featured, a few problematic portrayals were commonly found. First, all women of racial minority groups, with the exception of Hispanics/Latinos, were seldom portrayed as attractive compared with White women. According to Coltrane and Messineo (2000), this could be argued as evidence that in the advertising world, minority women are less revered than White women. Such repeated depictions may consequently send out a message to the society that women of color are less beautiful and attractive. Second, minority models were less likely to be featured in family/social settings and familial roles, but more likely to be in formal and professional settings (Bowen and Schmid, 1997; Mastro and Stern, 2003; Morimoto and La Ferle, 2002; Paek and Shah 2003; Taylor, Landreth and Bang, 2005). Third, a noticeable number of models of racial minority groups were children and babies (Bowen and Schmid, 1997; Coltrane and Messineo, 2000; Paek and Shah, 2003). This has been suggested as evidence of marginalizing racial minority groups in advertising by assigning them roles of lower power and status (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000).

Underrepresentation and stereotypical portrayals in advertising have proven to be harmful for both the society and advertisers. A comprehensive observation will provide a look at the

progress and setbacks of racial minority portrayals in advertising. Based on the evidence of past stereotypical portrayals of racial minorities in advertising, the following chapter addresses research questions that explore the presence and portrayal of racial minority groups in current mainstream magazine advertising.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this chapter, research questions of traditional as well as relatively novel themes of racial minority portrayal are addressed. Leading up to the research questions, questions addressed and findings reported by prior research are presented. All research questions will be examined for models of three representative racial minority groups in the U.S., Black, Asian, and Hispanics/Latinos.

Presence, Prominence, and Age of Minority Models

Numerical representation of minorities in advertising can be an indicator of how much the majority attaches importance to the minorities in a society. Also, from the viewpoint of minority members, it can be an indicator of how much the society values them as a group. Comparing three studies of magazine advertising (Taylor and Lee, 1994; Lee and Joo, 2005; Taylor et al., 2005), it can be observed that the numerical representation of some minority groups has significantly changed over the last decade. Although direct comparisons cannot be made because the magazine samples of the three studies vary slightly, a general overview of the trends in minority portrayals in magazine advertising over the past years can be drawn. For the observations in the years 1992 and 1993, 2000 and 2001, and 2003 and 2004, the percentages of

Black models have been reported as 11.4 percent, 17.5 percent, and 18.5 percent, respectively. For Asian models, the numbers were 4 percent, 8.3 percent, and 10.5 percent, and for Hispanics/Latinos, 4.7 percent, 2.6 percent, and 6.8 percent. The numbers show a steady increase in frequency for Blacks and Asians while the number for Hispanics/Latinos fluctuated from year to year. To form a clear pattern of the developments of numerical minority presence, a latest count of minority appearance is called for.

Numerical representations alone cannot account for the extent to which society and the advertising industry value the importance of racial minority group members. As mentioned in the literature review, although there was an increase in the frequency of minorities in advertising, the models were often marginalized to minor or background roles (Bowen and Schmid, 1997; Lee and Joo, 2005; Paek and Shah, 2003; Taylor and Stern, 1997). Such marginalizing was further found in the age of the models, for a significant percentage of each group were observed as under twelve years of age (Bowen and Schmid, 1997; Coltrane and Messineo, 2000; Paek and Shah, 2003).

To determine the presence and importance of racial minority groups in advertising, the following questions on the presence, role prominence, and age of minority models will be addressed:

RQ1: What is the comparative frequency of portrayals of minority groups in magazine advertising?

RQ2: When minority models appear in magazine ads, do they appear mostly in major roles, minor roles, or background roles?

RQ3: What is the age of the minority models in magazine advertising?

Type of Magazines and Product Categories

Past research indicates racial stereotypes can be detected by examining magazine types and product categories. Asian Americans tend to appear in limited magazine types of business and technology and for products associated with work and affluence (Lee and Joo, 2005; Morimoto and La Ferle, 2002; Taylor et al., 2005; Taylor and Lee, 1994). Hispanics/Latinos have been reported as unlikely to represent professional products (Mastro and Stern, 2003). For Asian Americans, such selective representations may reinforce the minority model stereotype. For Hispanics/Latinos, it could deprive them of being associated with characteristics of professionalism and productivity. From past discussions, the following research questions on magazine type and product categories that feature minority models are suggested:

RQ4: Which magazine types are most likely to feature minority models in their advertising?

RQ5: In what product categories of magazine advertising are minority models most likely to be featured?

Settings and Relationships

Examining magazine types and product categories is not sufficient for compiling a thorough report on type of portrayals. Even though the product type of the advertising can belong to one category, the setting and relationship portrayed in it might vary by brand or execution. For example, the advertising can endorse a business product, but the settings and relationships depicted in it might show that of a social or familial nature. Hence, the following research questions on the settings and relationships the minority models are portrayed in will be addressed:

RQ6: In what types of advertising settings in magazine advertising are minority models likely to be portrayed?

RQ7: In what types of relationships, family, social, or professional, in magazine advertising are minority models likely to be portrayed?

Behavioral Characteristics and Appearance Characteristics

Although the frequency and portrayal diversity in advertising has shown some progress, Coltrane and Messineo (2000) suggested that advertising might be perpetuating newer and more subtle stereotypes. In their study of prime-time television advertising, Mastro and Stern (2003) found the media to be assigning different behavioral and appearance characteristics to different minority groups. In order to discover the possible existence of stereotypes in magazine advertising in categories beyond product association and settings, this study will observe

variables of behavioral and appearance characteristics, adapted from the studies of Coltrane and Messineo (2000), Mastro and Greenberg (2000), and Mastro and Stern (2003). Although such characteristics of minorities have been examined in television (Bowen and Shmid, 1997; Mastro and Greenberg, 2000; Mastro and Stern, 2003), it has not been previously reported in observations of magazine advertisements.

Three variables were selected to measure behavioral characteristics; level of activity (Mastro and Greenberg, 2000; Mastro and Stern, 2003), level of facial expression (Mastro and Stern, 2003), and show of sexual suggestiveness (Mastro and Greenberg, 2000; Mastro and Stern, 2003). For appearance characteristics, level of attire, level of accessories worn, and the level of attractiveness of the models (Mastro and Greenberg, 2000; Mastro and Stern, 2003) were selected. All variables were chosen on the basis of the significant findings of past studies and their ability to be examined in magazine advertising.

The following questions on model characteristics with the specific variables mentioned above will be addressed:

RQ8: What behavioral characteristics, level of activity, level of facial expression, and sexual suggestiveness, do minority models show in magazine advertising?

RQ9: What appearance characteristics, level of attire, level of accessories worn, and level of attractiveness, do minority models show in magazine advertising?

CHAPTER 4

METHOD

Sample

A content analysis of five categories of consumer magazines was conducted. The magazine categories studied were popular business press, popular science/mechanics magazines, general interest magazines, women's magazines, and men's magazines. Specific magazine publications for each category included: (1) *Business Week* and *Fortune* to represent popular business magazines, (2) *Scientific American*, *Popular Science*, and *Popular Mechanics* for popular science/mechanics magazines, (3) *Time* and *Newsweek* for general interest magazines, (4) *Good Housekeeping* and *Vogue* for women's magazines, and (5) *Esquire* and *GQ* for men's magazines. Magazines in categories (1), (2), (3), and (4) were chosen from the Taylor and Lee (1994) study for comparison purposes. Category (5) of men's magazines was added to obtain a more complete picture of the portrayal of minority models in magazines. The specific men's magazines were chosen by examining the Magazine Publishers of America's 2004 average circulation for top 100 magazines. Employing the method utilized by Taylor and Lee (1994), a table of random digits was used to select the months of the magazines that would be included in the sample. Four months between August 2004 and August 2005 were selected: August and

December of 2004 and April and July of 2005. For weekly magazines, all issues in the chosen month were included in the analysis.

Unit of Analysis

Consistent with past research on minority portrayals (Lee and Joo, 2005; Mastro and Stern, 2003; Paek and Shah 2003; Taylor et al., 2005), the unit of analysis was individual ads including all duplicates. Duplicates were an important part of the sample because the goal of the research was to obtain an overall representation of the racial minority models, which would be best depicted by analyzing all ads sampled, including duplicates. All ads including human models that were one or more pages long were counted to determine the percentage of ethnic minorities' presence. Only ads that contained at least one model from an ethnic minority were coded for quality of representation and stereotypical portrayal. Advertisements with parts of human bodies (e.g., hands, feet, torso, etc.), cartoon characters, or human models featured on product packaging only were excluded from the sample.

Due to the lack of uniformity in society when describing people of Asian origin, the boundaries of Asian models needed to be addressed. Past research has defined Asian Americans as people whose country of origin is among any of the following Asian countries: Cambodia, China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand, Malaysia, and Hong Kong (Taylor and Stern, 1997). The coders were instructed to code models of such origin as Asians. Models of other Asian countries were coded as other race due to the fact that the U.S.

public views immigrants from other countries as from different groups (e.g., Saudi Arabians as “Arabs”; Indians as a distinct group) than Asian Americans (Taylor and Lee, 1994).

The Coding Process

A pilot test was undertaken in an attempt to identify any problems in the coding sheet and coding directions. The researcher and another graduate student, other than the two main coders, were given coding sheets and copies of ten magazine advertisements which were not included in the final sample. After the initial pretest, the five levels of level of activity, level of facial expression, and level of accessories worn were deemed inappropriate and hard to judge for magazine advertising and were thus modified. Specific modifications are mentioned in the following *Variables* section of this chapter. After the coders identified the difficulties in understanding some of the instructions, changes were made to the coding instructions for the variables, prominence of models, relationship, and level of attire. The researcher and the coder for the first pretest conducted a second and final pretest of 20 magazine advertisements. The intercoder reliability yielded the acceptable Scott’s *Pi* figures of above .75 for all variables (Wimmer and Dominick, 1991).

For the main coding process, a male and a female graduate student in mass communication were recruited as coders. Their country of origin was Korea. The coders were given a codebook detailing the operational definitions of each variable. Coders were trained over a 2-week period with ads that were not included in the final sample. After the training

process, each coder coded 70 percent of the sample, independently coding 50 percent of the sample with a 20 percent overlap for intercoder reliability. Disagreements between two coders were resolved by the judgment of the researcher. Hard copies of *Time* and *Good Housekeeping* were provided to the coders with ads that were to be coded marked. All other hard copies of the magazines were accessed from the Main Library and the Scientific Library of University of Georgia. The magazines in the library were also temporarily marked with paper clips by the researcher.

Ads were coded for the presence of Black, Asian, and Hispanic/Latino models, the gender and age of models, the prominence of models, the product category of the ad, the setting of the ad, and the relationship of the models. Also included in the analysis were activity and facial expression level, existence of sexual suggestiveness, level of attire and accessories, and physical attractiveness. Following are the specific definitions and coding schemes of the variables.

Variables

The operational definitions and coding schemes were adapted from the following studies. Traditional themes of racial minority portrayal in magazine advertising, presence, prominence, types of magazines, product categories, settings, and relationships, were modified from the study of Taylor and Lee (1994). Adapted from Paek and Shah (2003), age of minority models was included in addition to presence and prominence to further examine the role importance of racial minority models in magazine advertising. Behavioral characteristics and appearance

characteristics, relatively novel themes of racial minority portrayal in magazine advertising, were adapted from the studies of Coltrane and Messineo (2000), Mastro and Greenberg (2000), Mastro and Stern (2003), and Soley and Reid (1988).

Presence, Prominence, and Age of Minority Models

Presence Coders were asked to identify the presence of Black, Asian, and Hispanic/Latino models in advertising. If more than one racial minority group was represented in an advertisement, all minority groups present were recorded.

Prominence of Model Coders were asked to code the most prominent model from each minority group as appearing in a major role, minor role, or a background role.

Age Age of models was coded into four groups: children (0-17), young adults (18-39), older adults (40-59), and seniors (60+). Coders were instructed to choose the most prominent model for each minority present and analyze the age.

Type of Magazines and Product Categories

Types of Magazines The magazine which contained the advertisement was coded as one of the following: *Business Week*, *Fortune*, *Scientific American*, *Popular Science*, *Popular Mechanics*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Vogue*, *Esquire*, and *GQ*.

Product category The advertising was coded for its representation of one of the following product categories: food/beverage, alcohol/cigarettes, restaurants/fast food, retail stores, home/office appliance, education/publication, fashion/cosmetics, business/finance/insurance,

personal care, health/medicine, electronics/computer, jewelry/watch, hotel/airlines/travel, telecommunication, internet company, automobile, entertainment, non-profit organization/PSA, and other.

Settings and Relationships

Setting Settings depicted in the ads were coded as one of the following: home, work place, leisure place (restaurants, movie theaters, vacation, parks, sports events), outdoors (forest, ocean, fields, streets, sidewalks), studio/no background (artificial settings), and other. If more than one setting was shown in an ad, the settings were all recorded with the information of which minority model it featured.

Relationship Human relationships portrayed in the ad were coded as one of the following: family (including married couples, relatives, children, and extended family), social (friends or any other depicted in social settings), work (members of the work place, colleagues, and employees), and impersonal. Coders were instructed to choose the most prominent model for each minority group and analyze their relationship with others in the ad.

Behavioral Characteristics

Level of Activity Level of activity was coded as none, moderate, or strong. The coding scheme was adapted from a study by Mastro and Greenberg (2000) of television advertisements. After conducting a pretest, coding models in still pictures with five levels of activity was deemed extremely difficult. Because magazines cannot show the wide range of activity levels the

moving images of televisions can, the five levels of activity from passive (1) to active (5) were compressed into three levels, none, moderate, and strong. None was defined as models not showing any physical activity such as standing still with arms down, sitting still with arms folded or down. Examples would include models posing still for the camera without engaging in any type of activity, sleeping, watching TV, and etc. Moderate physical activity referred to images of models captured during activities that required moderate movement such as standing or sitting with arms moving. Some examples would include cooking, studying, writing, or driving. Strong physical activity was chosen when the image of the model was captured during activities that required much movement such as dancing or exercising. Coders were instructed to choose the most prominent model for each minority group and analyze the activity level. If two or more models of the same ethnicity and prominence existed, coders were asked to code the model with the highest level of activity for that minority group.

Level of Facial Expression Level of facial expression was coded as none, moderate or strong. Mastro and Stern (2003) measured the affective state of characters by observing their facial expressions in TV advertising. This idea of measuring facial expressions was adapted for the current study. None was defined as no distinct facial movement or expression, moderate referred to models smiling without teeth showing, frowning without teeth showing, and strong as models laughing, smiling with teeth showing, crying, looking surprised, or screaming. Coders were instructed to choose the most prominent model for each minority present and analyze the

level of facial expression. If two or more models of the same ethnicity and prominence existed, coders were asked to code the model with the highest level of facial expression for that minority group.

Sexual Suggestiveness Sexual suggestiveness of models in advertising referred to actions of the model that is staged to provoke a sexual response from the reader. It included behaviors such as alluring gaze, winking, flirting, posing sexually, or sexual teasing (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000). Coders were instructed to choose the most prominent model for each minority group and analyze the presence or absence of sexual suggestiveness.

Appearance Characteristics

Level of Attire Soley and Reid's (1988) coding scheme for level of attire was used to determine the models' dress level. It was coded as one of the following: nude, partially clad, suggestive, or demure. For operational definitions of the categories of level of attire, please see Appendix B. Coders were instructed to choose the most prominent model for each minority present and analyze the level of attire. If two or more models of the same ethnicity and prominence existed, the model with the highest level of nudity was coded for that minority group (Soley and Reid, 1988).

Level of Accessories Level of accessories was rated on a three-point scale as either none, moderate, or excessive. The pretest revealed the five levels of accessories from none (1) to excessive (5) (Mastro and Greenberg, 2000) as difficult to judge. As a result, the current study

compressed the five levels of accessories into three levels. None was defined as models wearing no visible accessories, moderate as models wearing one or two moderately sized accessories, and strong as models wearing three or more moderately sized accessories or more than one lavish or noticeably huge accessory. Examples of moderately sized and lavish accessories are provided in Appendix B. Coders were instructed to choose the most prominent model for each minority present and analyze the level of accessories. If two or more models of the same ethnicity and prominence existed, coders were asked to code the model with the highest level of accessories for that minority group.

Level of Attractiveness Level of attractiveness was rated on a five-point scale from very unattractive (1) to very attractive (5) by mainstream U.S. standards (Mastro and Stern, 2003). Coders were instructed to choose the most prominent model for each minority present and analyze the level of attractiveness. If two or more models of the same ethnicity and prominence existed, coders were asked to code the most attractive model for that minority group.

Data Analysis

Given the nominal and ordinal nature of the data, analyses were conducted using descriptive statistics and chi-square. When comparisons were made with results from previous content analysis, difference in proportions test was used to test for statistical significance. The $p \leq .05$ level of significance was used as a baseline for all statistical analyses reported in the next chapter. Non-significant statistical results were marked as n.s.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Reliability

Reliability was calculated using two methods of reliability assessment: Scott's *Pi* and Krippendorff's *Alpha*. As was done by Mastro and Stern (2003), Scott's *Pi* was used for nominal level variables, and Krippendorff's *Alpha* was used to assess ordinal/interval level variables. Scott's *Pi* assumes nominal-level data and corrects for chance agreement (Scott, 1955) and Krippendorff's *Alpha* can be used with non-nominal data (Riffe, Lacy, and Fico, 1998).

Table 1 reports the reliability figures of all variables coded. Agreement figures measured by Scott's *Pi* ranged from .81 for presence of Hispanic/Latino models to 1.0 for presence of Asian models. Figures measured by Krippendorff's *Alpha* ranged from .83 for physical attractiveness of the models and .97 for level of accessories. All figures were above the acceptable level of .75 suggested by Wimmer and Dominick (1991) for Scott's *Pi* and Krippendorff's *Alpha*.

Table 1
Reliability Figures of Variables

Scott's <i>Pi</i>	
Presence of Black Models	.94
Presence of Asian Models	1.0
Presence of Hispanic/Latino Models	.81
Age of Models	.87
Role Prominence	.92
Product Category	.97
Setting	.95
Relationship of Models	.89
Sexual Suggestiveness	.90
Krippendorff's <i>Alpha</i>	
Level of Activity	.93
Level of Facial Expression	.88
Level of Attire	.95
Level of Accessories	.97
Physical Attractiveness	.83

General Sample Characteristics

Of the 1,654 ads included in the sample, 446 (27.0 percent) contained at least one minority model. This is a significant increase from the 17.8 percent of the Taylor and Lee (1994) study ($z=6.31$, $p \leq .001$). When calculating without men's magazines to increase comparability, an even higher percentage of 28.2 (394 out of 1,398) contained at least one minority model. As shown in Table 2, the magazine categories of popular business press (36 percent) and general interest (32.5 percent) had the highest number of ads that carried at least one minority model. Popular science and mechanics magazines followed with a category average of 23.9 percent. Women's (16.4 percent) and Men's (18.2 percent) magazines carried the lowest percentage of ads with minority models. When observing individual magazines,

Business Week had the highest percentage of ads with minority models (36.2 percent) followed by Fortune (35.8 percent), Time (35.0 percent), and Newsweek (30.0 percent). The proportion of the ads of all individual magazines from the women's and men's magazine category was below 20 percent with the exception of GQ (24.9 percent). Table 2 shows a summary of the number and percentage of ads with minority models in each publication.

Table 2
Percentage of Ads With Minorities by Publication

	Total Ads with Human Models	Total Ads with Minorities	% of Ads with Minorities	% of Ads with Minorities (Category Mean)
Popular Business Press				
Business Week	257	93	36.2	36.0
Fortune	226	81	35.8	
Popular Science and Mechanics				
Scientific American	28	7	25.0	23.9
Popular Science	51	12	23.5	
Popular Mechanics	56	13	23.2	
General Interest Magazines				
Time	217	76	35.0	32.5
Newsweek	160	48	30.0	
Women's Magazines				
Good Housekeeping	129	24	18.6	16.4
Vogue	274	39	14.2	
Men's Magazines				
Esquire	87	10	11.5	18.2
GQ	169	42	24.9	
Total	1654	446		

Question 1: Minority Presence

Table 3 shows the representation of each minority group. Black models were found in 318 (19.2 percent) advertisements, Asian models in 102 (6.2 percent), and Hispanics/Latinos in 110 (6.7 percent). This is a significant increase compared to the 11.4 percent of Black ($z=6.21$, $p\leq.001$), 4.0 percent of Asian ($z=2.78$, $p\leq.01$), and 4.7 percent of Hispanic/Latino ads ($z=2.44$, $p\leq.05$), from the overall sample in the study done by Taylor and Lee (1994). When compared with a more recent study of magazines from 2003 and 2004 (Taylor et al., 2005), the percentage of group representation for Blacks (18.5 percent) ($z=.49$, $p=n.s.$) and Hispanics/Latinos (6.8 percent) ($z=.11$, $p=n.s.$) yielded a similar result with the current study, showing no significant difference of proportions. Results for Asians (10.5 percent) showed a significantly higher percentage ($z=3.99$, $p\leq.001$) compared to the current study (6.2 percent). This could be due to the difference in the samples collected in the two studies since the current study additionally included the category of men's magazines. However, when the two men's magazines were excluded from the analysis to increase comparability, Asian models occupied an even lower proportion (5.9 percent) of the sample. This suggests that the inclusion of men's magazines was not the reason for the discrepancy in the two studies and narrows down the reasons accountable for the unusually high percentage of Asian models in the Taylor et al. (2005) study; the discrepancy could have been caused by sampling error by chance or the magazines in 2003 and 2004 could have contained a high percentage of ads with Asian models.

Comparing the numbers of the findings with the proportion of African Americans (12.5 percent) and Asian Americans (4.1 percent) in the overall population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004), representations in magazine advertising have been found to exceed the proportionality criterion. In the case of Hispanics/Latinos, although the percentage of ads containing Hispanic/Latino models has increased since the past, Hispanics/Latinos are still represented in advertising significantly less (6.7 percent) than their proportion of the population (14.0 percent) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004).

When models were coded by sex, past research findings have reported men of all minority groups to be better represented than minority women in terms of frequency in both magazine and television advertisements (Taylor and Lee, 1994; Taylor and Stern, 1997). However, as Table 3 reports, both Asian and Hispanic/Latino models had a slightly higher percentage of female than male models ($\chi^2 = 12.36$, d.f.=2, $p \leq .005$).

Table 3
Group Representation in Sample

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All Minority Models	318	19.2	102	6.2	110	6.7
Male Minority Models*	217	13.1	55	3.3	50	3.0
Female Minority Models*	160	9.7	58	3.5	75	4.5

Note: * $\chi^2 = 12.36$, d.f.=2, $p \leq .005$

Question 2: Minority Prominence

Table 4 shows that when minority models do appear in ads, they largely occupy major

roles. All models were featured as a major character in over 50 percent of their appearances and Black and Hispanic/Latino models played a major role in over 70 percent of the ads in which they appeared. These percentages are higher than the numbers reported in the Taylor and Lee study (1994), where 37.0 percent, 50.8 percent, and 47.4 percent represented the percentage of major roles for Black, Asian, and Hispanic/Latino models, respectively. Compared with a more recent study (Taylor et al., 2005), difference in proportions test yielded no statistically significant results from the current study for racial minority models in major roles.

The level of role prominence was revealed to be significantly related to the race of the minority model ($\chi^2 = 23.92$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .001$). Comparing across race, Black and Hispanic/Latino models were found to be more likely in major roles than Asian models. Compared with the results of Taylor and Lee (1994), the proportion of the former two model groups in major roles have risen significantly in the past ten years, from 37.0 percent to 70.4 percent for Black models ($z=4.39$, $p \leq .001$), and from 47.4 percent to 70.9 percent for Hispanic/Latino models ($z=3.24$, $p \leq .005$). Compared to that, there was no significant difference in the frequency of Asian models in major roles between the study done by Taylor and Lee (1994) (50.8 percent) and the current study (53.9 percent) ($z=.39$, $p=n.s.$). And more than any other minority, Asian models were often featured in assistant and background roles.

The situation was similar when the sex of the model was taken into account. Black and Hispanics/Latinos were portrayed significantly more in prominent roles than Asian models for

both male ($\chi^2 = 25.27$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .001$) and female models ($\chi^2 = 13.45$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .01$). And when models were compared across sex, male and female models of Blacks and Hispanics/Latinos were portrayed with an equal amount of importance while Asian females were more likely to be in assistant or background roles compared to Asian males. Although the frequency and raw number of female model appearances was greater than that of male models, the percentage of Asian female models appearing in assistant roles (43.1 percent) was significantly higher than that of Asian male models (27.3 percent).

Table 4
Role Prominence of Minority Models

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All Minority Models*						
Major Role	224	70.4	55	53.9	78	70.9
Assistant Role	87	27.4	34	33.3	28	25.5
Background Role	7	2.2	13	12.7	4	3.6
Total	318	100.0	102	100.0	110	100.0
Male Minority Models**						
Major Role	142	65.4	30	54.5	34	68.0
Assistant Role	71	32.7	15	27.3	14	28.0
Background Role	4	1.8	10	18.2	2	4.0
Total	217	100.0	55	100.0	50	100.0
Female Minority Models***						
Major Role	109	68.1	27	46.6	50	66.7
Assistant Role	47	29.4	25	43.1	23	30.7
Background Role	4	2.5	6	10.3	2	2.7
Total	160	100.0	58	100.0	75	100.0

Note: * $\chi^2 = 23.92$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .001$

** $\chi^2 = 25.27$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .001$

*** $\chi^2 = 13.45$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .01$

Question 3: Age of Models

The age of models was significantly related to race of the model ($\chi^2 = 15.49$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .05$). For all minority groups, the models were most often depicted as young adults and least often as seniors. Compared with other minority groups, Blacks were most likely to be portrayed as older adults and seniors whereas Hispanics/Latinos were most likely to be portrayed as children. Over 90 percent of the time, Hispanics/Latinos were portrayed as either children (23.6 percent) or young adults (67.3 percent).

When models were separated by sex, age of male models did not show a statistically significant relationship to race, but analysis of female models revealed statistical significance ($\chi^2 = 12.91$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .05$). Similar to the analysis of all minority models, both male and female models appeared most often as young adults. Black females were represented significantly more in diverse age groups than Asian and Hispanic/Latino females. The percentage of Black females portrayed as either older adults or seniors (20.6 percent) well exceeded the numbers for Asian (10.3 percent) and Hispanic/Latino females (6.7 percent) in these older age groups. Also, Both Asian and Hispanic/Latino females tended to be more often portrayed as children and less often as older adults or seniors compared to their male counterparts (see Table 5).

Table 5
Age of Minority Models

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All Minority Models*						
Children	37	11.6	15	14.7	26	23.6
Young Adult	215	67.6	69	67.6	74	67.3
Older Adult	51	16.0	16	15.7	8	7.3
Senior	15	4.7	2	2.0	2	1.8
Total	318	100.0	102	100.0	110	100.0
Male Minority Models**						
Children	26	12.0	6	10.9	11	22.0
Young Adult	146	67.3	37	67.3	32	64.0
Older Adult	35	16.1	11	20.0	5	10.0
Senior	10	4.6	1	1.8	2	4.0
Total	217	100.0	55	100.0	50	100.0
Female Minority Models***						
Children	26	16.3	11	19.0	21	28.0
Young Adult	101	63.1	41	70.7	49	65.3
Older Adult	24	15.0	5	8.6	5	6.7
Senior	9	5.6	1	1.7	0	0.0
Total	160	100.0	58	100.0	75	100.0

Note: $\chi^2 = 15.49$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .05$

** $\chi^2 = 5.96$, d.f.=6, n.s. at $\alpha = .05$

*** $\chi^2 = 12.91$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .05$

Question 4: Magazine Type

Table 6 shows the number and percentage of appearances of minority models by magazine types. Magazine type was significantly related to race of models portrayed ($\chi^2 = 15.05$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .05$). Observing across magazines, Black models were featured most often in the popular business press (27.3 percent) followed by general interest magazines (21.8 percent).

Their proportion was the lowest in women's and men's magazines (12.6 percent).

Asians were also featured most often in the popular business press (10.1 percent) followed by general interest magazines (8.0 percent), but their presence was very small in women's and men's (2.6 percent) magazines. Contrary to previous beliefs that Asian Americans would be more often portrayed in magazines closely associated with technology, the percentage of appearances of Asians in popular science and mechanics magazines (4.5 percent) was less than that of Blacks (15.7 percent) and Hispanics/Latinos (9.7 percent).

In the case of Hispanics/Latinos, the highest representation was in general interest magazines (10.1 percent) and the lowest was in women's and men's magazines (4.4 percent). Their representation in the popular business press (6.2 percent) was notably less than other minority groups, especially considering the fact that the popular business press carried the highest percentage of ads with minority models (36.0 percent). The proportion of ads with Hispanics/Latinos in popular science and mechanics magazines (9.7 percent) was relatively high compared to the women's and men's magazines and the popular business press.

Table 6
Representation of Minorities in Each Publication

	Black	Asian	Hispanic/ Latino	Total Number of Ads
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	
Popular Business Press	27.3 (132)	10.1 (49)	6.2 (30)	483
Popular Science and Mechanics	15.7 (21)	4.5 (6)	9.7 (13)	134
General Interest Magazines	21.8 (82)	8.0 (30)	10.1 (38)	377
Women's and Men's Magazines	12.6 (83)	2.6 (17)	4.4 (29)	659

Note: $\chi^2 = 15.05$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .05$

Question 5: Product Category

Table 7 presents the top 8 product categories in which minority models were represented. Products associated with both work and affluence (business/finance/insurance, electronics/computer, and telecommunication) and personal and social life (fashion/cosmetics, health/medicine, alcohol/cigarettes) were among the products featuring minority models most frequently. Product categories of food/beverage, restaurants, retail stores, personal care, jewelry/watch, and internet company portrayed minorities too infrequently to be included in further analyses.

There was a significant relationship between product categories and race of minority models ($\chi^2 = 38.95$, d.f.=24, $p \leq .05$). Among the top 8 product categories, Blacks were most commonly depicted in the business/finance/insurance (18.2 percent) followed by electronics/computer categories (14.8 percent). Although small in numbers, ads featuring Black models were more spread out across product categories compared to other minority groups. Of

the ads that featured Black models, a noticeable 10.1 percent, 6.3 percent, and 5.7 percent were in the product fields of fashion/cosmetics, health/medicine, and alcohol/cigarettes, respectively. The frequency of Blacks appearing in products in the alcohol/cigarette category was relatively high, especially when other minorities were rarely present.

Product categories featuring Asians were less diverse; they were mostly concentrated in ads for work and affluence products. Although Asians were not featured in popular science and mechanics magazines any more than other minority models, their representation in categories of such products was relatively high. Among the ads featuring Asian models, depictions were most often in products in the electronics/computer category (22.5 percent), followed by the category of business/finance/insurance (15.7 percent). When combining products into two categories, technology/business based (business/finance/insurance, electronics/computer, automobile, telecommunication) and nontechnology/nonbusiness based (fashion/cosmetics, health/medicine, NGO/PSA, and alcohol/cigarettes), Asians had a higher percentage in the former category (55.8 percent) than Blacks (51.0 percent) or Hispanics/Latinos (48.2 percent). But when compared with past studies, the results can be interpreted as progress for Asian models towards representation diversity in product categories. Although the product categories used for coding differ slightly, the percentage of Asian models appearing in technology/business based products are relatively lower for the current study (55.8 percent) compared with the results of Taylor and Lee (1994) (75.4 percent) and Taylor et al. (2005) (77.1 percent).

Of the ads featuring Hispanics/Latinos, the models of this group were also featured most frequently in the categories of business/finance/insurance (18.2 percent) and electronics/computer (17.3 percent). But as mentioned above, the percentage of ads carrying Hispanic/Latino models was the least in technology/business based categories compared with other minority groups. The percentages of Hispanics/Latinos appearing in ads for categories of fashion/cosmetics (13.6 percent) and health/medicine (9.1 percent) were high considering the scarcity of minority models appearing in such categories, higher than the percentages for Black and Asian models.

Table 7
Minority Group Representation in Leading Product Categories

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Business/finance/insurance	58	18.2	16	15.7	20	18.2
2. Electronics/computer	47	14.8	23	22.5	19	17.3
3. Fashion/Cosmetics	32	10.1	7	6.9	15	13.6
4. Automobile	32	10.1	10	9.8	9	8.2
5. Telecommunication	25	7.9	8	7.8	5	4.5
6. Health/medicine	20	6.3	5	4.9	10	9.1
7. NGO/PSA	17	5.3	4	3.9	5	4.5
8. Alcohol/cigarettes	18	5.7	1	1.0	1	0.9
Total	249	78.4	74	72.5	84	76.3

Note: $\chi^2 = 38.95$, d.f.=24, $p \leq .05$

Question 6: Settings

Table 8 shows the settings depicted in ads for each minority group. Excluding the “other” category, which was mostly artificial studio settings, Black models were most often

portrayed outdoors (22.6 percent) or in work places (21.7 percent). Of their total appearances, Blacks appeared least in home settings (9.4 percent).

Asians were also most commonly depicted in outdoor settings followed by work place settings. This is a significant change from the portrayals found by the Taylor and Lee (1994) study. The percentage of Asians in work place settings significantly decreased from 60.0 to 23.3 percent ($z=4.77$, $p\leq.001$) while the percentages rose significantly for outdoor settings from 14.5 percent to 29.1 percent ($z=2.18$, $p\leq.05$). When compared with a more recent study (Taylor et al., 2005), there was a significant increase in leisure settings from 5.7 percent to 11.7 percent ($z=2.0$, $p\leq.05$).

Hispanics/Latinos were found most frequently in studio settings (37.3 percent) and the least in leisure settings (4.5 percent). When excluding artificial studio settings to observe “everyday” settings only, Hispanics/Latinos appeared most frequently in outdoor settings (23.6 percent) followed by work place settings (20.9 percent).

Table 8
Settings Depicted in Ads by Minority Groups

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Home	30	9.4	11	10.7	15	13.6
Work Place	69	21.7	24	23.3	23	20.9
Leisure Place	45	14.2	12	11.7	5	4.5
Outdoors	72	22.6	30	29.1	26	23.6
Other (includes studio)	102	32.1	25	24.5	41	37.3
Total	318	100.0	102	100.0	110	100.0

Note: $\chi^2 = 12.23$, d.f.=8, n.s. at $\alpha = .05$

Question 7: Relationships

Relationships were coded as family, social, work, or impersonal. Because the objective of observing this variable was to understand the relationships between models, models coded as appearing alone were excluded from further analysis. As can be observed in Table 9, when minority models were featured in relationships with other models in the ad, all three minority groups were most often in work, followed by social and the least in family relationships. Although the order of frequency of relationship types from most often to least often is the same for all three minority groups, the difference in proportions of the relationship categories was statistically significant across race ($\chi^2 = 17.14$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .01$). Blacks were found to be most often in work relationships (41.8 percent) followed by Asians (33.8 percent) and Hispanics/Latinos (33.8 percent). Although the percentage of Asians in work relationships was not high compared to other minority groups as often suggested to be the case in previous studies (Lee and Joo, 2005; Taylor and Lee, 1994; Taylor et al., 2005), the percentage of ads depicting Asians in family (4.6 percent) and social relationships (16.9 percent) was relatively lower than that of both Blacks (family: 14.9 percent, social: 21.9 percent) and Hispanics/Latinos (family: 9.5 percent, social: 23.0 percent). In addition, Asians had a significantly higher percentage of impersonal depictions (44.6 percent) compared to Blacks (21.4 percent) or Hispanics/Latinos (33.8 percent).

Relationships broken down by sex of the models revealed a significant relationship between relationships depicted and the race of minority group for both male ($\chi^2 = 17.93$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .01$) and female models ($\chi^2 = 12.64$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .05$). Black males were dominantly portrayed in work relationships (48.3 percent) and significantly less in family (17.9 percent) and social relationships (15.2 percent). But the low percentages of the latter two could be considered a moderate representation compared to other minority groups, especially Asians. Asian males in family (9.1 percent) and social relationships (9.1 percent) were notably less than those of Blacks or Hispanics/Latinos, and over half (51.5 percent) appeared impersonally to other models in the ad. Hispanic/Latino males, on the other hand, were depicted in a more diverse manner, with highest frequency in work relationships (35.9 percent) and the lowest in family (15.4 percent).

Black females had the most even percentages across the types of relationships with the highest for work type (27.8 percent) and the lowest for family (23.5 percent). Compared to the male models, Asian female models were more evenly depicted in work (34.9 percent), social (25.6 percent), and impersonal relationships (34.9 percent), but the percentage of ads in family relationships (4.7 percent) was lower than that of the males (9.1 percent). It is also noteworthy that the percentage of Asian females in family relationships (4.7 percent) was notably lower than any other minority females (Black females: 23.5 percent, Hispanic/Latino females: 12.2 percent). As for the Hispanic/Latino females, they were more diversely depicted across relationship types than Asian females.

Table 9
Relationships Depicted in Ads by Minority Groups

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All Models*						
Family	30	14.9	3	4.6	7	9.5
Social	44	21.9	11	16.9	17	23.0
Work	84	41.8	22	33.8	25	33.8
Impersonal	43	21.4	29	44.6	25	33.8
Total	201	100.0	65	100.0	74	100.0
Male Models**						
Family	26	17.9	3	9.1	6	15.4
Social	22	15.2	3	9.1	9	23.1
Work	70	48.3	10	30.3	14	35.9
Impersonal	27	18.6	17	51.5	10	25.6
Total	145	100.0	33	100.0	39	100.0
Female Models***						
Family	27	23.5	2	4.7	6	12.2
Social	30	26.1	11	25.6	8	16.3
Work	32	27.8	15	34.9	18	36.7
Impersonal	26	22.6	15	34.9	17	34.7
Total	115	100.0	43	100.0	49	100.0

Note: * $\chi^2 = 17.14$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .01$

 ** $\chi^2 = 17.93$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .01$

 *** $\chi^2 = 12.64$, d.f.=6, $p \leq .05$

Question 8: Behavioral Characteristics

Behavioral characteristics of models included level of activity, level of facial expression, and sexual suggestiveness.

Level of Activity The level of activity of models was analyzed as none, moderate, or strong.

Although statistically significant relationships did not emerge by race, Table 10 show that Blacks

tended to be depicted at higher levels of physical activity (24.2 percent) compared to Asians (17.6 percent) and Hispanics/Latinos (18.2 percent).

Table 10
The Level of Activity by Minority Groups

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
None	114	35.8	42	41.2	51	46.4
Moderate	127	39.9	42	41.2	39	35.5
Strong	77	24.2	18	17.6	20	18.2
Total	318	100.0	102	100.0	110	100.0

Note: $\chi^2 = 5.32$, d.f.=4, n.s. at $\alpha = .05$

Level of Facial Expression Analysis of level of facial expression produced an interesting result, with a statistically significant relationship by race ($\chi^2 = 21.48$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .001$). As reported in Table 11, compared across the groups, Black models were more likely depicted as having the strongest facial expression (51.6 percent) compared with Asians (44.1 percent) or Hispanics/Latinos (39.1 percent), while Asian models were significantly more likely to be depicted with no facial expression (41.2 percent) compared to Blacks (24.5 percent) or Hispanics/Latinos (24.5 percent). Level of facial expression was relatively evenly spread out for Hispanics/Latinos across levels of facial expression.

Analysis of levels of facial expression broken down by sex revealed statistically significant relationship by race for both male ($\chi^2 = 13.56$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .01$) and female ($\chi^2 = 13.49$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .01$) models. Black males had the highest percentage of models with strong facial expressions (47.5 percent) than other minority groups. Asian males had a noticeably high

percentage of models with no facial expression (50.9 percent). Overall, female minority models showed more facial expressions than male models, with the percentage of female models with moderate and strong facial expression combined for each minority group (Black: 78.7 percent, Asian: 70.6 percent, Hispanic/Latino: 76 percent) being higher than that of the male models (Black: 74.2 percent, Asian: 49.1 percent, Hispanic/Latino: 70.0 percent). Both Black and Asian females had a higher proportion of models with strong facial expressions than that of their gender counterparts. However, the difference in levels of facial expression between Asian females (none: 29.3 percent, strong: 60.3 percent) and Asian males (none: 50.9 percent strong: 27.3 percent) was dramatic. When looking at the results for facial expressions only, it seems the danger of Asian stereotypes appearing in ads apply only to Asian males. Both Hispanic/Latino males and females showed relatively diverse levels of facial expressions compared to other minority groups.

Table 11
The Level of Facial Expression by Minority Groups

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
All Minority Models*						
None	78	24.5	42	41.2	27	24.5
Moderate	76	23.9	15	14.7	40	36.4
Strong	164	51.6	45	44.1	43	39.1
Total	318	100.0	102	100.0	110	100.0
Male Minority Models**						
None	56	25.8	28	50.9	15	30.0
Moderate	58	26.7	12	21.8	14	28.0
Strong	103	47.5	15	27.3	21	42.0
Total	217	100.0	55	100.0	50	100.0
Female Minority Models***						
None	34	21.3	17	29.3	18	24.0
Moderate	37	23.1	6	10.3	27	36.0
Strong	89	55.6	35	60.3	30	40.0
Total	160	100.0	58	100.0	75	100.0

Note: * $\chi^2 = 21.48$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .001$

 ** $\chi^2 = 13.56$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .01$

 *** $\chi^2 = 13.49$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .01$

Sexual Suggestiveness Analysis of the existence of sexual suggestiveness showed statistically significant results by race ($\chi^2 = 6.38$, d.f.=2, $p \leq .05$). Table 12 presents the specific findings. The majority of Black (87.7 percent), Asian (91.2 percent), and Hispanic/Latino (80.0 percent) models did not show any sexual suggestiveness. But compared across race, Hispanics/Latinos had the highest percentage (20.0 percent) of sexual suggestiveness and Asians had the lowest (8.8 percent). This coincides with the results of Mastro and Stern (2003), where Hispanics/Latinos were most often found giving sexual gazes and alluring behavior and Asians

were least likely to show sexual suggestiveness.

Broken down by sex, differences in sexual suggestiveness by race were not statistically significant for male or female models. An examination of sexual suggestiveness by sex of models revealed a somewhat higher existence of sexual suggestiveness for female models (average of 21.5 percent) than male models (average of 5.2 percent). Hispanic/Latino females tended to be portrayed more sexually (26.7 percent) and Asian females tended to be less often portrayed sexually (17.2 percent) than other minority groups.

Table 12
The Existence of Sexual Suggestiveness by Minority Groups

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All Minority Models*						
Nonsexual	279	87.7	93	91.2	88	80.0
Sexual	39	12.3	9	8.8	22	20.0
Total	318	100.0	102	100.0	110	100.0
Male Minority Models**						
Nonsexual	209	96.3	53	96.4	48	96.0
Sexual	8	3.7	2	3.6	2	4.0
Total	217	100.0	55	100.0	50	100.0
Female Minority Models***						
Nonsexual	127	79.4	48	82.8	55	73.3
Sexual	33	20.6	10	17.2	20	26.7
Total	160	100.0	58	100.0	75	100.0

Note: * $\chi^2 = 6.38$, d.f.=2, $p \leq .05$

** $\chi^2 = .01$, d.f.=2, n.s. at $\alpha = .05$

*** $\chi^2 = 1.34$, d.f.=2, n.s. at $\alpha = .05$

Question 9: Appearance Characteristics

Appearance characteristics of models included level of attire, level of accessories worn, and level of attractiveness.

Level of Attire No significant relationships were found for level of attire when analyzing all models, female only, or male only models. The four levels of attire (demure, suggestive, partially clad, and nude) used for the initial coding were compressed into two categories in the data analysis stage due to the lack of appearances of models in the category of “partially clad” and “nude.” These two categories were combined with the “suggestive” category to form the “suggestive attire” category. Consequently, all models were categorized into either two categories, “demure” or “suggestive attire.” The few counts in the “unsure” level of attire category, which were due to blurred images or models’ clothing hidden behind objects or other models, was excluded from further analysis. As presented in Table 13, although not statistically significant, the percentage of Hispanics/Latinos with suggestive attire (19.1 percent) compared to Blacks (15.1 percent) or Asians (10.0 percent) were slightly higher, suggesting directional support to the claim that Hispanics/Latinos are more often shown wearing suggestive attire in advertisements (Mastro and Stern, 2003). Chi-square could not be conducted for the male minority models because a few of the cell sizes were too small. For female minority models, no significant relationships were found by race. Breaking down by sex, it was revealed that the differences between minority groups came from the female models’ level of attire rather than the

male models. The level of attire of male models of all minority groups was mostly depicted as demure.

Table 13
Level of Attire by Minority Groups

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All Minority Models*						
Demure	264	84.9	90	90.0	89	80.9
Suggestive Attire	47	15.1	10	10.0	21	19.1
Total	311	100.0	100	100.0	110	100.0
Male Minority Models						
Demure	204	96.2	53	98.1	49	98.0
Suggestive Attire	8	3.8	1	1.9	1	2.0
Total	212	100.0	54	100.0	50	100.0
Female Minority Models**						
Demure	117	74.5	47	82.5	55	73.3
Suggestive Attire	40	25.5	10	17.5	20	26.7
Total	157	100.0	57	100.0	75	100.0

Note: * $\chi^2 = 3.41$, d.f.=2, n.s. at =.05

** $\chi^2 = 1.76$, d.f.=2, n.s. at =.05

Level of Accessories Level of accessories was coded into three categories, none, moderate, and strong. In the data analysis stage, due to small cell sizes of the strong accessories category, “moderate” and “strong” level of accessories were combined into accessories as “present.”

No statistically significant results were found for the difference in level of accessories across race. Although not statistically significant, 41.8 percent of Blacks and 42.7 percent of Hispanics/Latinos while only 29.4 percent Asians were seen wearing accessories.

Broken down by sex of the models, the difference of accessory levels of male models was statistically significant by race ($\chi^2 = 9.32$, d.f.=2, $p \leq .01$). The percentage of Black male models wearing accessories (31.3 percent) was significantly higher than Hispanic/Latino (26.0 percent) and Asian male models (10.9 percent).

Although not statistically significant, analysis of female models showed Hispanic/Latino females having a directionally higher percentage of models wearing accessories (54.7 percent) than Black (47.5 percent) or Asian females (44.8 percent).

Table 14
Level of Accessories by Minority Groups

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All Minority Models*						
None	185	58.2	72	70.6	63	57.3
Present	133	41.8	30	29.4	47	42.7
Total	318	100.0	102	100.0	110	100.0
Male Minority Models**						
None	149	68.7	49	89.1	37	74.0
Present	69	31.3	6	10.9	13	26.0
Total	217	100.0	55	100.0	50	100.0
Female Minority Models***						
None	84	52.5	32	55.2	34	45.3
Present	76	47.5	26	44.8	41	54.7
Total	160	100.0	58	100.0	75	100.0

Note: * $\chi^2 = 5.53$, d.f.=2, n.s. at $\alpha = .05$

** $\chi^2 = 9.32$, d.f.=2, $p \leq .01$

*** $\chi^2 = 1.51$, d.f.=2, n.s. at $\alpha = .05$

Level of Attractiveness The five levels of attractiveness from very unattractive (1) to very attractive (5) used in the initial coding process were compressed into three levels in the data analysis stage from unattractive (1) to attractive (3), due to the absence of models coded as very unattractive. Attractiveness of models showed statistically significant differences by race ($\chi^2 = 18.97$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .01$). Hispanics/Latinos were most often found attractive (49.1 percent) followed by Blacks (42.7 percent) and Asians (33.4 percent). The proportion of unattractive models featured in ads was relatively high for Asians (7.8 percent) compared with Blacks (1.3 percent) or Hispanics/Latinos (0.9 percent). Separated by sex, the difference in results was significant for both male ($\chi^2 = 24.13$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .001$) and female models ($\chi^2 = 10.38$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .05$). Similar to the analysis of all models, Hispanic/Latino male models were portrayed as attractive more than models from other minority groups. Both Asian males (10.9 percent) and females (6.9 percent) were significantly shown more often as unattractive than other male or female minority groups which all had the percentages of unattractive models in ads below 2.5 percent. Hispanic/Latino females were shown most often as very attractive (22.7 percent) compared to Asian (19.0 percent) or Black females (12.5 percent).

Table 15
Level of Attractiveness by Minority Groups

	Black		Asian		Hispanic/Latino	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All Minority Models*						
Unattractive	4	1.3	8	7.8	1	.9
Neutral	178	56.0	60	58.8	55	50.0
Attractive	136	42.8	34	33.3	54	49.1
Total	318	100.0	102	100.0	110	100.0
Male Minority Models**						
Unattractive	1	.5	6	10.9	0	.0
Neutral	136	62.7	32	58.2	30	60.0
Attractive	80	36.9	17	30.9	20	40.0
Total	217	100.0	55	100.0	50	100.0
Female Minority Models***						
Unattractive	4	2.5	5	8.6	1	1.3
Neutral	87	54.4	34	58.6	34	45.3
Attractive	69	43.1	19	32.8	40	53.3
Total	160	100.0	58	100.0	75	100.0

Note: * $\chi^2 = 18.97$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .01$

 ** $\chi^2 = 24.13$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .001$

 *** $\chi^2 = 10.38$, d.f.=4, $p \leq .05$

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Overall, the results show some improvements as well as stagnations in the presence and portrayal of minority groups in advertising. The presence of minority models has substantially increased compared to the findings of ten years ago with over half of the appearances of all minority groups studied were in major roles. Magazines that carried few ads with racial minorities, such as women's magazines, have increased proportions of ads with minority models. The ad settings that the minority models are depicted in have become more diverse, with an increase in the percentages of models in outdoor nature and city settings and a decrease in what was considered to be their traditional setting, the workplace. Relationships portrayed have become less skewed as ads depicting minority relationships in social and family contexts have increased. Female representation has improved in terms of frequency, with some minority groups having more female models than male models.

In spite of such improvements, skewed portrayals still exist. Although the number of minority appearances has increased, many of those portrayed were children or young adults. The high percentage of minority models appearing as young adults (18-39) could be due to the advertisers targeting the core readers of the magazines. The mean age of minority magazine

readers (African American/Black: 41, Asian American: 38, Hispanic/Latino: 38) is lower than the mean age of the total U.S. magazine readers (45) (Magazine Publishers of America, 2004). This mean age of minority magazine readers fits into or is close to the age group of young adult minority models appearing often in magazine advertising (18 to 39). But the frequent appearance of minority models as children (0-17), sometimes well exceeding the percentage of models appearing as older adults (40-59), such as in the case of Hispanics/Latinos (children: 23.6 percent, older: adult 7.3 percent), could be evidence of group marginalization as suggested in previous studies (Bowen and Schmid, 1997; Coltrane and Messineo, 2000). The advertisers' concerns of minority models in ads causing unfavorable reaction among non-minority consumers (Bowen and Schmid, 1997; Cohen, 1992) may have played a part in depicting the group as children of low-power status or as babies who may seldom invoke negative feelings. The fact that females are portrayed this way more so than the male minorities may indicate stronger marginalization for the former group. Also, minorities appeared in 100 percent of public service advertisements and government-sponsored ads, giving the impression that minorities need assistance and help from the majority and society as a whole (Bowen and Schmid, 1997).

Although minorities are more diversely portrayed than in the past, their association with business and work is still strong. Minorities appeared often in business settings, in work relationships, and in the popular business press. On the other hand, their appearance in women's and men's magazines was fairly low. This is a puzzling fact considering the

substantial minority readership of women's and men's magazines. According to Simmons 2003 Study of Media and Markets, 8.3 percent of all Vogue readers are Asian American, yet in the current study, 2.2 percent Vogue advertisements included Asian models; 16.2 percent is Hispanic/Latino readership, yet 3.3 percent of the advertisements included Hispanic/Latino models. Among Esquire readers, 34.5 percent are Black/African American, yet 8 percent of advertisements included Black models and 15.1 percent of the readership is Hispanic/Latino but only 3.4 percent included Hispanic/Latino models. Magazines and advertisers should have better knowledge of who their audiences are and include them in their advertising. This will help advertisers to avoid the danger of neglecting any potential consumers.

Of the racial minority groups in magazine advertising, Black models enjoyed the most diverse portrayal. On average, the appearance of Black models in ads (19.2 percent) well exceeded their proportion in the U.S. population (12.5 percent). Although like other minority groups studied, Blacks appeared significantly less in women's and men's magazines than business and general interest publications; the proportion of Blacks in the former category was considerably higher than that of Asians and Hispanics/Latinos. Also, when present, Black models occupied major roles most of the time, were portrayed in a wider range of ages than other minority models, endorsed relatively diverse categories of products, and were more often featured in family and social settings and relationships than other minorities.

In spite of the improvements in the portrayals of Blacks, there seemed to be a few reoccurring stereotypes. Black models, more than any other group, showed high physical activity, giving partial support to the former claim that African Americans are often pictured as physically active or as athletes (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000; Bowen and Shmid, 1997). They were also the group that wore accessories most often, which could have the risk of being interpreted, when perpetuated, as non-professional and appearance-oriented (Bowen and Schmid, 1997). In addition, the frequency of Black models appearing in products for alcohol and cigarettes was much higher than other minority models. On one hand, it can be argued that advertisers are placing much value in their minority target consumers, but on the other hand, it raises ethical concerns of promoting consumption of unhealthy products to a group that already consumes such products at a high level (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004).

The representation frequency of Asians has also exceeded the proportion of their population. Compared with past results (Taylor and Lee, 1994), Asians in business settings have significantly decreased while the depictions in outdoor settings saw a significant rise. Leisure settings significantly increased when compared with a more recent study (Taylor et al., 2005). This suggests an improvement in the variety of ad settings for Asian models in magazine advertising. Unlike the previous findings of high Asian representation in technology magazines as evidence of the model minority stereotype (Lee and Joo, 2005; Taylor and Lee, 1994), the current finding shows that Asian models have no more, and in some cases less

representation in ads featured in popular science and mechanics publications than other minority groups.

The overall results for portrayals of Asian models saw the least progress of all minority groups. Although they were well represented in terms of frequency, they were most often marginalized to assistant and background roles while the portrayals were found to highly reflect the model minority stereotype. They were most often in business magazines, represented in products for work and affluence, and were seldom depicted in family and social relationships. This gives support to Asians being often associated with business and work, which can perpetuate the “all work and no play” stereotypes of Asian Americans. Also, the percentage of models in impersonal relationships and with expressionless faces, which are often interpreted as characteristics of being cold and detached, was significantly higher for Asians than any other minority group. These two depictions combined together may cause the viewers to think that Asian Americans are distant, unfriendly, or even arrogant. Asians were also seen more often with significantly fewer accessories than other models and were most often unattractive, coinciding with stereotypes of Asian Americans as “unfashionable” and “nerdy” (Pyke and Dang 2003).

Somewhat different results were revealed when looking at just the Asian female models. Unlike past findings where Asian females were least visible, least important, and least multidimensional (Taylor and Stern, 1997), the current study found results in the opposite

direction. Compared to their male counterparts, Asian female models appeared more often, were depicted in more diverse relationships, showed more facial expression, and were found to be more attractive. In fact, the level of attractiveness, facial expression, and accessories worn were not any lower than other female minorities. Also, the percentage of Asian female models in social relationships was above the average of all female minorities coded. This suggests the model minority stereotype may be decreasing for Asian females. But further investigation revealed some troubling factors for this group. More so than Asian males, Asian females were assigned to assistant and background roles, were mostly young, and in family relationships notably less than other minority females. When observed from a critical standpoint, Asian females as young, attractive, fashionable, but peripheral gives subtle implications of the possibility of their role as “eye candy,” which refers to people who are deliberately placed in a setting solely for the visual enjoyment of the viewers. The changes are a deviation from the model minority stereotype, but advertisers should be aware not to encourage a new stereotype forming for Asian American females.

Among the three minority groups, Hispanics/Latinos are the only group that appeared significantly less than their proportion of the population. This might be due to the difficulty of identifying people of Hispanic/Latin origin in advertisements. Despite the underrepresentation, some positive aspects of Hispanic/Latino portrayal can be observed. Hispanics/Latinos tended to occupy major roles in advertising and appear relatively in a higher percentage of advertising

for products that are seldom represented by racial minorities such as cosmetics and medicine. Relationships portrayed and settings were also more diverse compared to the highly skewed portrayals of Asians, with a significant percentage of the ads portraying family/social relationships and settings. In the past decade, Hispanics/Latinos have established their positions as highly skilled mechanics and engineers in the industrial world (Artze, 2003). This has been reflected in the high proportion of ads with Hispanics/Latinos in popular science and mechanics magazines (9.7 percent) compared with women's and men's magazines (4.4 percent) and the popular business press (6.2 percent).

But as with Blacks and Asians, some setbacks could be observed for Hispanic/Latino models. Of the few representations they had, Hispanics/Latinos appeared mostly as children and young adults. Also, their appearance in the popular business press and business settings were lower than any other racial minority group. The low representation in the popular business press could be explained by the low readership of Hispanics/Latinos of the magazines in this category. According to Simmons 2003 Study of Media and Markets, the Hispanic/Latino readership of Business Week was 5.1 percent and Fortune was 6.2 percent while in the present study, the percentage of Hispanic/Latino models in advertisements of these magazines were 5.1 percent and 7.5 percent, respectively. When considering the common sense of marketing to your audience, the representation frequency of Hispanic/Latino models in this magazine category seems adequate. But the infrequent appearance of Hispanics/Latinos in the popular business

press combined with their scarcity of representation in business settings may perpetuate the stereotype that Hispanics/Latinos are infrequently associated with business and jobs in the managerial level. One might argue that this is merely following the rule of marketing to match the demographic profile of the targets. But the advertisements placed in magazines are seen and interpreted by not only the targets of those advertisements, but all other readers. Media imagery has powerful influences on people's ideologies and perceptions. Many feel the responsibility of the advertisers should extend beyond persuading key demographics to promoting equality among diverse peoples by portraying them in fair and diverse ways. The significantly lower percentage of Hispanics/Latinos in leisure settings compared to all other minority groups can be interpreted as an extension of the previous stereotype mentioned. In the coding process, leisure setting was referred to as artificial manmade places, such as hotels, resorts, theaters, saunas, bars, restaurants, and sports events. The stereotypes of Hispanics/Latinos seen as a less-educated, low-income group, therefore having little association with the high-end luxuries of the upper-middle class, could have influenced the creation of such skewed depictions. In addition, Hispanics/Latinos were most often depicted as sexually suggestive, with less clothing, and wearing accessories more often than other minority models, which coincides with results found by Mastro and Stern (2003). Similar to the case of Asian females, the fact that these characteristics pertained to female more so than the male Hispanics/Latinos raises questions as to the motives of such depictions. It can be suggested that

beyond being targets of tokenism (Taylor and Stern, 1997), such skewed depictions have a potential of demeaning minority females to embellishments and attention-attracting elements of the ad.

On the face of it, there is nothing wrong with portraying Blacks as physically active, Asians as hard working, Asian females as attractive, and Hispanics/Latinos as non-professional and sexual. But the danger lies in perpetuating one-sided depictions, which leaves little room for portrayals of the diverse life styles, interests, appearances, and behaviors that minorities have in real life (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000). Skewed images in repetition sustain stereotypes that already exist in a society and create new forms of subtle stereotypes. People rely on media images on a conscious or an unconscious level when trying to make sense of the world around them (Coltrane and Messineo, 2000). The subtle stereotypes of minorities in advertising shape the media consumers' perceptions and expectations, which come into play during social interaction. Both the minority and the majority may come to believe that these perceptions and expectations should be met. As in the case of Asian Americans, the members of this racial minority group may establish their self-perceptions based on the model minority stereotype, expecting, as with the majority, a certain level of performance to be met in certain fields. The high standards may be difficult to meet in most cases and in fact, studies have reported the anxiety, frustration, and depression the minority members feel when they fail to do so (Chae, 2004). While positive stereotypes may play a part in motivating the subjects of the stereotype,

negative stereotypes may deter expectations and goals. Advertising has accentuated sexuality and physical appearance as subtle stereotypes of Hispanics/Latinos. The viewers, including the Hispanics/Latinos themselves, may become accustomed to associating these characteristics to this group over other characteristics such as professionalism or intellect (Mastro and Stern, 2003). This is dangerous especially for the minority, because when society as a whole sets low standards for the group, it may become hard for individuals in that group to set high goals, let alone develop the motivation to achieve them (Chae, 2004).

For the advertisers, underrepresentation of ethnic groups and stereotypical portrayals put them in danger of losing valuable, growing markets. On the one hand, practitioners may not be aware of the reoccurring stereotypes of minority models in advertising or whether the images they choose are stereotypical or not. The images the advertisers nonchalantly depicted following old habits or because they deemed it appropriate for the target market may just fall under the category of stereotypical portrayal. On the other hand, sometimes advertisers may be very aware of the stereotypes in advertising, but cannot help using them. Advertisers are given very little time to deliver their message and are seldom awarded with full audience attention. So their objective is to grab hold of the consumers' attention at a glance with simple, clear-cut images, that can often be stereotypical. Whichever the case, advertisers should take the time to learn about the overall situation of the racial minority stereotypes in advertising and the consequences it can bring. It has been reported that the minority group members wish to see

people like themselves portrayed in accurate ways (Cohen 1992; Hong, 2005; Jewler, 1995). Realization of tokenism and skewed portrayal of ones' group in an ad may prompt minorities to form negative attitudes toward the message and the brand (Appiah, 2001). The importance of the size and buying power of the minority markets, has made it difficult for advertisers to disregard such consequences of stereotyping of minority models in advertising.

Due to the damaging consequences to both the society and the market, advertisers and marketers should be more conscious of the decisions they make when including minority models. Advertisers should sensitize themselves to respect the diversity of the minority and reflect it in the images it chooses. From a societal perspective, diverse portrayals of minority groups will gradually help minorities to be viewed as legitimate members of the society by diminishing unfair portrayals and subtle stereotypes (Lee and Joo, 2005). From a marketer's perspective, overthrowing old sequences and stereotypical images in ads by portraying minorities in unconventional ways may help the ad stand out from the clutter of clichéd advertising and leave a strong impression in the minds of the consumers.

Magazine Publishers of America (2004) reports in their African-American/Black, Asian American, and Hispanic/Latino Market Profile that 85 percent of African-American/Black, 75 percent of Asian American, and 70 percent Hispanic/Latino adults read magazines, with a substantial proportion reading mainstream magazines. This counter-argues any claim that underrepresentation and limited images in mainstream advertising are due to the minority groups

not being the targets of mainstream magazines. The evidence of racial minorities as important readers of mainstream magazines is clear. The impact of the media on the majority as well as the minorities' perceptions and viewpoints has been well documented. With this knowledge, instead of merely including minorities in advertising and assigning stereotypical roles, advertisers should invest the time to understand the diverse dimensions of the minority groups and reflect on their various representations.

CHAPTER 7

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Although this study provides insights as to the depictions of racial minorities in magazines, there exist several limitations that future research should address. First, the current sample consisted of magazines of high readership among all magazine readers. Inclusion of magazines with high minority readership may produce different frequency counts and representations. Second, the current study analyzed advertisements with only Black, Asian, and Hispanic/Latino models. Including White models in the observations would provide a comparison to the racial minority portrayals in advertising. Third, frequency counts of some minorities in magazines fluctuated from year to year (e.g., the representation percentage for Asians were 8.3 percent for 2000 and 2001, 10.5 percent for 2003 and 2004, and 6.2 percent for 2004 and 2005). To get a clear view of the overall pattern of minority representation, future replications and updates are called for with a similar sample. And fourth, the country of origin of the coders for the current study was Korea. This might have influenced the way the coders interpreted some of the variables such as model attractiveness. Although the coders agreed on the standards of physical attractiveness and beauty, country of origin and cultural background could have played a part in their coding decisions. Employing coders from a mix of ethnic

backgrounds might. Also, further research on attractiveness of models could employ a more clear-cut and robust operationalization of attractiveness. Lastly, although the intercoder reliability met the acceptable level provided by researchers (Wimmer and Dominick, 1991), the difficulty of identifying Hispanic/Latino models was mentioned by the coders. This may be the reason for the low frequency counts in all content analytic studies of Hispanics/Latinos in advertising. Future research should include Hispanic/Latino coders to increase the accuracy of frequency counts of the presence of Hispanic/Latino models.

Observations of magazines cannot account for all representations and portrayals of minorities in the media. Although there have been studies of portrayals on television advertising, there has never yet been a study of minority portrayal on the Internet or local outdoor advertising. Replications of portrayals on television as well as studies that expand to the realms of other media will help provide a more accurate and wide view of minority portrayal in advertising. Future research should also employ other research methods. The current study mainly assessed manifest content by way of content analysis. Although the results provide a wide range of information on stereotypical portrayals, it is insufficient in revealing the underlying meanings in the images and copy. Qualitative studies such as textual analysis are suggested to probe these underlying messages. The descriptive nature of the study also limits us from knowing the motives of the advertisers in depicting minority models in certain ways. It would be interesting to find out directly from the advertisers by way of surveys or in-depth

interviews. Also, surveys can be conducted to learn the extent to which minority and the majority consumers acknowledge the existence of minority stereotypes in ads. Experiments can be conducted to learn the different reactions to the ads that portray minority stereotypes, including attitude toward the minority, attitude toward the ad, and purchase intentions of the brand.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CODE SHEET

1. **Coder ID No.:**_____ 2. **Ad ID No.:**_____ 3. **Year and month:**_____

4. **Brand:**_____

5. **Magazine:** 1) Business Week 2) Fortune 3) Good Housekeeping 4) Vogue 5) Time
6) Newsweek 7) Scientific Fiction 8) Popular Science 9) Popular Mechanics
10) Esquire 11) GQ

6. **Ad sizes:** 1) Less than one-page 2) One-page 3) More than one-page less than two
4) Two pages 5) Three pages 6) More than three pages (write page #): _____

7. **Settings:** 1) Home (room, backyard, patio, garage) 2) Work (office, factory, conferences)
3) Leisure (bar/tavern, restaurants/dinner movie theaters, spas, hotels, swimming pool)
4) Outdoor (forest, ocean, desert, park, mountain, fields, streets, sidewalks, parking lot)
5) Studio/no background (artificial settings) 6) Other (specify): _____
7) Mixed settings

8. **Product Category:** 1) Food/beverage 2) Alcohol/cigarettes 3) Restaurants/fast food
4) Retail Stores 5) Home/office appliance 6) Education/publication 7) Fashion/cosmetics
8) Business/finance/insurance 9) Personal care 10) Health/medicine
11) Electronics/computer 12) Jewelry/watch 13) Hotel/airlines/travel
14) Telecommunication 15) Internet company 16) Automobile 17) Entertainment
18) Non-profit organization/PSA 19) Other (specify): _____

9. Number of Minority Models:

Black	Male	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+
	Female	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+
Asian	Male	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+
	Female	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+
Hispanic	Male	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+
	Female	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+

10. Age of Minority Models:

- Black** Male: 1) Children 2) Young adult 3) Older adult 4) Senior 5) Mixed age
Female: 1) Children 2) Young adult 3) Older adult 4) Senior 5) Mixed age
- Asian** Male: 1) Children 2) Young adult 3) Older adult 4) Senior 5) Mixed age
Female: 1) Children 2) Young adult 3) Older adult 4) Senior 5) Mixed age
- Hispanic** Male: 1) Children 2) Young adult 3) Older adult 4) Senior 5) Mixed age
Female: 1) Children 2) Young adult 3) Older adult 4) Senior 5) Mixed age

11. Importance of Models:

- Black** Male: 1) Major 2) Assist 3) Background
Female: 1) Major 2) Assist 3) Background
- Asian** Male: 1) Major 2) Assist 3) Background
Female: 1) Major 2) Assist 3) Background
- Hispanic** Male: 1) Major 2) Assist 3) Background
Female: 1) Major 2) Assist 3) Background

12. Relationship to Other in Ad

- Black** Male: 1) Family 2) Social 3) Work 4) Impersonal 5) Nobody else
6) Other:_____ 7) Unsure 8) Mixed relationship
Female: 1) Family 2) Social 3) Work 4) Impersonal 5) Nobody else
6) Other:_____ 7) Unsure 8) Mixed relationship
- Asian** Male: 1) Family 2) Social 3) Work 4) Impersonal 5) Nobody else
6) Other:_____ 7) Unsure 8) Mixed relationship
Female: 1) Family 2) Social 3) Work 4) Impersonal 5) Nobody else
6) Other:_____ 7) Unsure 8) Mixed relationship
- Hispanics** Male: 1) Family 2) Social 3) Work 4) Impersonal 5) Nobody else
6) Other:_____ 7) Unsure 8) Mixed relationship
Female: 1) Family 2) Social 3) Work 4) Impersonal 5) Nobody else
6) Other:_____ 7) Unsure 8) Mixed relationship

13. Showing Physical Activity

- Black** Male: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure
Female: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure
- Asian** Male: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure
Female: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure
- Hispanic** Male: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure
Female: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure

14. Showing Facial Expression

- Black** Male: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure
Female: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure
- Asian** Male: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure
Female: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure

Hispanic Male: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure
Female: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong 4) Unsure

15. Level of Attire

Black Male: 1) Demure 2) Suggestive 3) Partially Clad 4) Nude 5) Unsure
Female: 1) Demure 2) Suggestive 3) Partially Clad 4) Nude 5) Unsure
Asian Male: 1) Demure 2) Suggestive 3) Partially Clad 4) Nude 5) Unsure
Female: 1) Demure 2) Suggestive 3) Partially Clad 4) Nude 5) Unsure
Hispanic Male: 1) Demure 2) Suggestive 3) Partially Clad 4) Nude 5) Unsure
Female: 1) Demure 2) Suggestive 3) Partially Clad 4) Nude 5) Unsure

16. Models Wearing Accessories

Black Male: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong
Female: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong
Asian Male: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong
Female: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong
Hispanic Male: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong
Female: 1) None 2) Moderate 3) Strong

17. Sexual Suggestiveness

Black Male: 1) Yes 2) No
Female: 1) Yes 2) No
Asian Male: 1) Yes 2) No
Female: 1) Yes 2) No
Hispanic Male: 1) Yes 2) No
Female: 1) Yes 2) No

18. Level of Attractiveness

Black Male: 1) Very unattractive 2) Somewhat unattractive 3) Neutral
4) Somewhat attractive 5) Very attractive
Female: 1) Very unattractive 2) Somewhat unattractive 3) Neutral
4) Somewhat attractive 5) Very attractive
Asian Male: 1) Very unattractive 2) Somewhat unattractive 3) Neutral
4) Somewhat attractive 5) Very attractive
Female: 1) Very unattractive 2) Somewhat unattractive 3) Neutral
4) Somewhat attractive 5) Very attractive
Hispanic Male: 1) Very unattractive 2) Somewhat unattractive 3) Neutral
4) Somewhat attractive 5) Very attractive
Female: 1) Very unattractive 2) Somewhat unattractive 3) Neutral
4) Somewhat attractive 5) Very attractive

APPENDIX B

CODE BOOK

Visual Depictions of Minority Models in Advertisements

All advertisements containing Black, Asian, and Hispanic models will be coded. Ads without human models or White models only will not be included in the coding.

Advertisements with parts of human bodies (e.g., hands, feet, torso, etc.), cartoon characters, or human models featured on product packaging only should not be included in the coding.

1. Coder ID no.

: Write down the coder ID number given to you

2. Ad ID

: Write down the ad ID indicated on ad and paper given

3. Year & Month

: Write down the year and month of the issue

4. Brand

: Write down the brand of the advertising

5. Magazine

: Circle the magazine name being coded

6. Ad Sizes

: Circle the number for how much space the ad uses in the magazine. If it is spread across more than three pages record the number of pages

7. Settings

: Circle the setting the ad is portrayed in

1 Home: recognizable as properties of one's home e.g.) kitchen, room, garage, yard, driveway or

parking space

- 2 Business: factories, offices, and retail settings
3. Leisure: bar/tavern, restaurants/dinner, artificial manmade places, such as hotels, resorts, theaters, saunas, bars, restaurants, and sports events
- 4 Outdoor: outdoor nature such as forests, rivers, ocean, fields, parks, sky and outdoor city such as public roads, sidewalks, streets, or pathways
- 5 Studio/no background: if any settings of the above cannot be identified, if it is clear that it is an artificial setting
- 6 Other: if other, specify
- 7 Mixed settings: choose when more than one setting is shown in an ad, and circle from 1 to 11 of all the settings featured

8. Product Category

: Circle the product category the ad belongs to

- 1 Food/beverage: tangible consumer products in this category e.g.) soup, cereal, water, coffee, tea
2. Alcohol/cigarettes: tangible consumer products in this category e.g.) beer, vodka, cigars, tobacco
- 3 Restaurants/fast food: places where people eat out e.g.) McDonald's, Wendy's
- 4 Retail stores: places where people shop by retail e.g.) Home Depot, Wal-mart, Lowe's, Target
- 5 Home/office appliance: appliances found in home e.g.) refrigerators, washers, dryers, dishwashers, microwave, vacuum cleaner, and in the office e.g.) fax machines, file cabinets, office desks
- 6 Education/publication: learning institutes, universities, books
- 7 Fashion/cosmetics: tangible products such as clothing, shoes, perfume and fashion shows
- 8 Business/finance/insurance: banks, insurance companies, loan companies
- 9 Personal care: e.g.) soap, shampoo, deodorant, toothbrush, toothpaste, teeth whitening, tampons
- 10 Health/medicine: all health related products e.g.) fitness machines, health bars, health, drinks
- 11 Electronics/computer: tangible high technology consumer products e.g.) television, dvd players, cell phones, PDAs, digital cameras, game players, computers, printers
- 12 Jewelry/watch
- 13 Hotel/airlines/travel: hotels, travel agencies, travel spots
- 14 Telecommunication: telecommunication companies and services, cell phone service providers, Internet service providers
- 15 Internet company: companies that service only through the Internet e.g.) Internet shopping malls, Internet search engines, job search engines, Monster.com, Amazon.com, Overstock.com, google.com, yahoo.com

- 16 Automobile: automobile products and companies, repair services, automobile parts
- 17 Entertainment: movie advertisement, DVD releases, TV shows, popular books
- 18 Non-profit organization/PSA: non-profit organizations and public service announcements asking for donations, change of action, and building awareness
- 19 Other: If other, specify

9. Number of Sex of Minority Models

: Circle the number of male/female models of each race in the ad

10. Age of Models

: Circle the age of male and female models for each race in the ad

: Choose the most prominent model for each minority group and code their age

- 1 Children: age 0-17, babies, kids in kindergarten, any student before college
- 2 Young adult: age 18-39, college students, new office workers, young couples
- 3 Older adult: age 40-59, middle aged, managers, supervisors, parents with school children
- 4 Senior: age 60 and above, retired, grandparents, with work experience of more than 20 years
- 5 Mixed age: choose when age of the models of equal prominence differ, circle from 1 to 4 of all the ages of models

11. Importance of models

: Circle the importance of male/female models of each race in the ad

: Choose the most prominent model for each minority group and code their role importance

- 1 Major role: character who is important to the advertising theme or layout, shown in the foreground or shown holding the product
- 2 Assistant role: character who is of average importance to the advertising theme or layout, generally these characters are not spotlighted in the ad and do not hold the product, but they are not difficult to find in the ad when casually looking at it
- 3 Background role: character who is difficult to find in an ad, not likely to be noticed by a reader glancing at the ad, and is not important to its theme or layout

12. Relationship to Others in Ad

: Circle the type of relationship portrayed in the ad for male/female models of each race

: Choose the most prominent model for each minority group and code their relationship to other models

- 1 Family context: married couples, relatives, children, and extended family
- 2 Social context: friends or any other depicted in social settings

- 3 Work: members of the work place, colleagues, and employees
- 4 Impersonal: more than one model appears but there isn't a clear relationship between the models
- 5 Nobody else in ad: there is only one model in the ad
- 6 Other relationship: all other relationships portrayed, specify
- 7 Unsure: unable to tell the relationship
- 8 Mixed relationship: choose when more than one relationship is shown in an ad, and circle from 1 to 7 of all the relationships portrayed

13. Showing physical activity

: Circle the level of physical activity of models

: Choose the most prominent model for each minority group and code their level of physical activity, if two or more models of the same ethnicity and prominence exist, code the model with the highest level of activity for that minority group

- 1 None: standing still with arms down, sitting still with arms folded or down, not showing much physical activity
- 2 Moderate: standing with arms moving, sitting with arms moving e.g.) cooking, studying, writing, driving, holding something up
- 3 Strong: standing or sitting with arms up, picture taken when showing strong physical activity e.g.) dancing, pushing, exercising, jumping
- 4 Unsure: unable to tell the level of physical activity

14. Showing facial expression

: Circle the level of facial expressions of models

: Choose the most prominent model for each minority group and code their level of facial expression, if two or more models of the same ethnicity and prominence exist, code the model with the highest level of facial expression for that minority group

- 1 None: no facial expression
- 2 Moderate: smiling without teeth showing, frowning without teeth showing
- 3 Strong: laughing, smiling with teeth showing, crying, surprised, screaming
- 4 Unsure: unable to tell the facial expression

15. Level of Attire

: Check the level of attire of male/female models of each race in the ad

: Choose the most prominent model for each minority group and code their level of attire, if two or more models of the same ethnicity and prominence exist, code the model with the highest level of nudity

- 1 Demure: models are fully clothed without any degree of sexual suggestiveness, typical everyday dress, work clothing, fitness outfits including walking shorts and tennis outfits but without any suggestiveness
- 2 Suggestive: models are clothed but portray sexual suggestiveness, open blouses and shirts which expose chest areas, mini-skirts, tight clothing which accentuates the figure or middle inseam of trousers, full-length lingerie, except where translucent, evening gowns which expose cleavage, hiked skirts, exposing thighs
- 3 Partially clad: models are not wearing everyday clothing or are wearing clothing but barely covering up, such as wearing bathing suits, under apparel and three-quarter length or shorter lingerie except where translucent
- 4 Nude: models are not wearing any clothes or wearing something but clearly can see through, such as unclothed models including silhouettes, wearing of translucent under apparel or lingerie, or covering only with a towel
- 5 Unsure: when only the models' face is shown, unable to see the clothing of the model

16. Models Wearing Accessories

: Circle the level of accessories the model is wearing

: Accessories include; rings, necklaces, bracelets, earrings, watches, sunglasses, hair accessories, tiaras, fashionable hats

: Choose the most prominent model for each minority group and code their level of accessories, if two or more models of the same ethnicity and prominence exist, code the model with the highest level of accessory

- 1 None: no visible accessories
- 2 Moderate: when model is wearing one or two moderately sized accessories
- 3 Strong: when model is wearing three or more moderately sized accessories or when the model is wearing lavish or noticeably huge accessory

17. Sexual Suggestiveness

: Circle the existence of sexual suggestiveness of each race of male/female models in the ad, sexual appeal referring to uses of sexually provocative characters in advertisements to provoke a sexual response (the character tries to be sexy or behave in a sexy way) from the viewer, alluring gaze, winking, sexual pose, circle the number of models and not the level of sexual suggestiveness

- 1 Yes: the existence of sexual suggestiveness
- 2 No: there is no sexual suggestiveness in the ad

18. Level of Attractiveness

: Circle the level of attractiveness of models

: Choose the most prominent model for each minority group and code their level of attractiveness, if two or more models of the same ethnicity and prominence exist, code the model with the highest level of attractiveness

1 Very unattractive

2 Somewhat unattractive

3 Neutral: neither attractive nor unattractive

4 Somewhat attractive

5 Very attractive